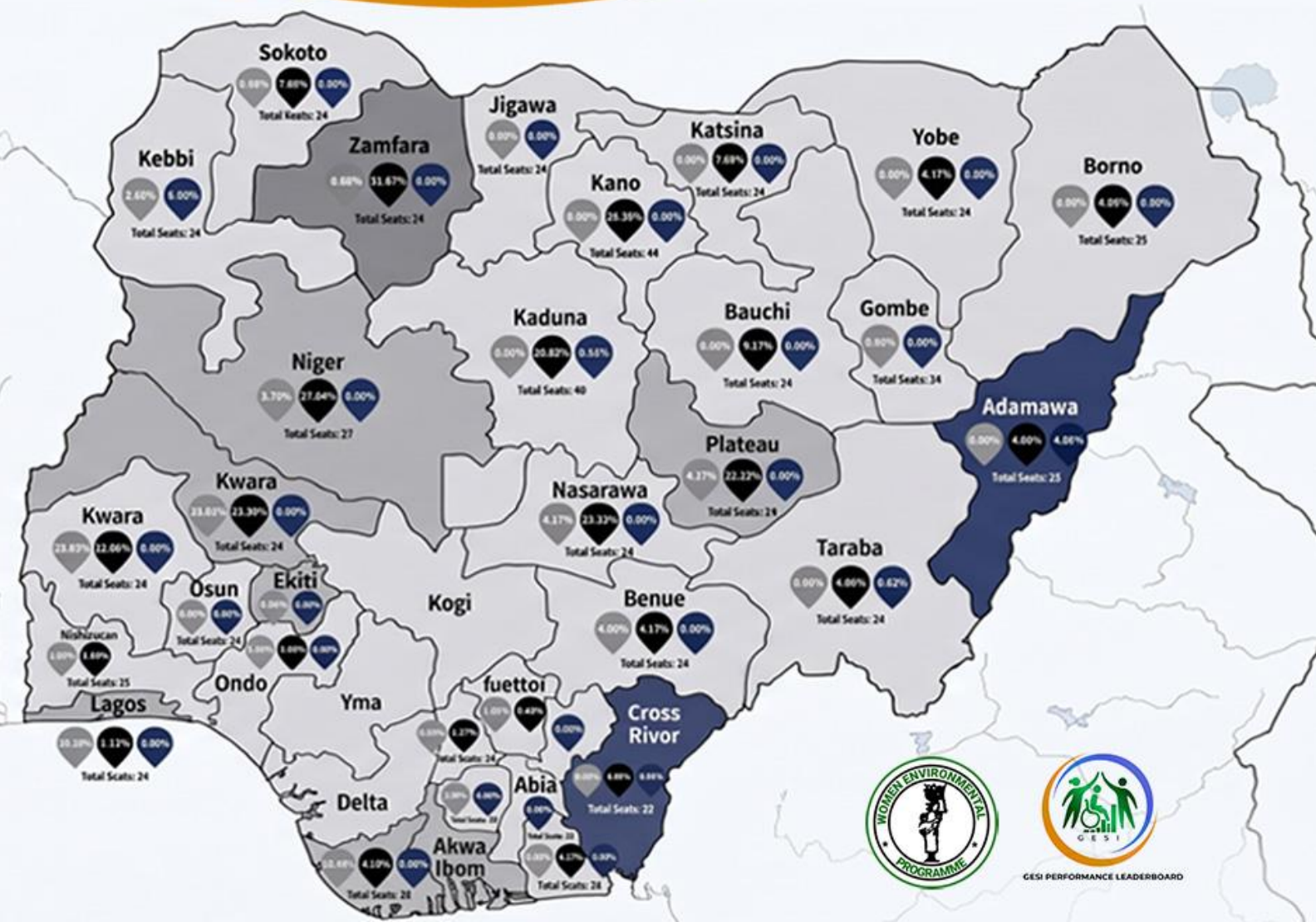


GENDER EQUALITY AND SOCIAL INCLUSION (GESI) PERFORMANCE LEADERBOARD OF NIGERIA'S 36 STATES

2024 ASSESSMENT REPORT

Measuring Progress, Promoting Inclusion, Driving Accountability



GESI PERFORMANCE LEADERBOARD



GENDER EQUALITY AND SOCIAL INCLUSION (GESI) PERFORMANCE LEADERBOARD OF NIGERIA'S 36 STATES FOR YEAR 2024

**PREPARED BY
WOMEN ENVIRONMENTAL PROGRAMME**

Supported by:



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Abbreviations/Acronyms

EU – European Union

GAME – Gender Advocacy Movement for the Environment

GESI – Gender Equality and Social Inclusion

GLA – Green Livelihood Alliance

HAPI – Hope Alive for Possibilities Initiative

OGP – Open Government Partnership

PWDs – Persons with Disabilities

SDGs – Sustainable Development Goals

VOWEF – Voice of Women Empowerment Foundation

WECF – Women Engage for a Common Future

WEP – Women Environmental Programme

Acknowledgement

The Women Environmental Programme (WEP) sincerely acknowledges the invaluable partnership and technical contributions of Christian Aid, ActionAid, Hope Alive for Possibilities Initiative (HAPI), Gender Advocacy Movement for the Environment (GAME), and the Voice of Women Empowerment Foundation (VOWEF) throughout the design, data collection, analysis, validation, and review processes of this assessment.

We extend our profound appreciation to the 108 data collectors whose dedication and commitment to gathering both primary and secondary data provided the critical evidence base for assessing the extent to which Gender Equality and Social Inclusion (GESI) principles are being mainstreamed within the governance processes of subnational governments across Nigeria.

WEP is particularly grateful to Women Engage for a Common Future (WECF) for the technical and financial support provided through the Green Livelihood Alliance (GLA) Project, supported by the Government of the Netherlands, and the WomenPower2030: Feminists Accelerate Actions for Sustainable Development Project, supported by the European Union (EU). Their support has been instrumental in advancing this important work.

Special recognition is accorded to our team members, Dr. Priscilla Achakpa and John Baaki, whose leadership, expertise, and dedication were pivotal to the analysis, interpretation of findings, and compilation of this report.

We also express our sincere gratitude to the various government ministries, departments, and agencies across the thirty-six (36) states of Nigeria for their cooperation and willingness to provide the information and documentation required for this assessment. Their contributions have significantly enriched the quality, credibility, and comprehensiveness of this report.

Finally, we appreciate all individuals and institutions who contributed, directly or indirectly, to the successful completion of this assessment and the production of this report. Their support reinforces our collective commitment to promoting gender-responsive, inclusive, and accountable governance in Nigeria.

Executive Summary

The 2024 Gender Equality and Social Inclusion (GESI) Performance Leaderboard Assessment was conducted by the Women Environmental Programme (WEP) in collaboration with Christian Aid, ActionAid, Hope Alive for Possibilities Initiative (HAPI), Gender Advocacy Movement for the Environment (GAME) and the Voice of Women Empowerment Foundation (VOWEF). The assessment evaluated the performance of all 36 states in Nigeria on key GESI indicators.

The assessment examined six thematic areas: representation of women, youth and persons with disabilities (PWDs) in public leadership; policy and legal frameworks; accessibility of public infrastructure; budgetary allocation for vulnerable groups; access to justice mechanisms; and commitment to open governance. Data was collected through official records, interviews, online research, and physical inspections conducted by 108 trained data collectors across the country.

Key Findings

1. **Leadership and Representation:** Findings reveal significant gaps in inclusive governance across Nigeria's states. Women remain severely underrepresented in State Houses of Assembly, accounting for only 5.6% of legislators nationwide, while persons with disabilities constitute only 0.2% of members. Although women's representation is somewhat higher in State Executive Councils at 14.2%, youth and PWD representation at this level is almost nonexistent. The judiciary demonstrated relatively better female representation, but youth and persons with disabilities were entirely absent from the senior judicial positions assessed.
2. **Policy and Legal Frameworks:** Progress on policy and legal frameworks remain uneven. Only eight (8) states have domesticated the National Gender Policy, although substantial progress has been recorded in the enactment of laws addressing violence against persons and disability rights. However, no state was found to have legislation specifically promoting the political participation of marginalized groups. Additionally, while all states maintain institutions focusing on women and youth affairs, fewer than half have dedicated institutions addressing the needs and rights of persons with disabilities.
3. **Accessible Infrastructure:** The assessment also identified major infrastructure deficiencies. Most state secretariats lack basic accessibility features such as ramps, functional elevators, accessible toilets, and crèches for nursing mothers. Only a small number of states demonstrated meaningful progress in making public facilities accessible and inclusive.
4. **GESI-Responsive Budgeting:** Capital allocations for GESI-related development programs in the 2024 state budgets were consistently negligible: For women's programs, capital allocations were extremely low, with Sokoto allocating the highest at 2.28% of its total budget. Funding for youth programs was highly limited,

led by Abia at 2.7%, while PWD funding was nearly non-existent across almost all subnational, with the highest allocation recorded in Jigawa at just 0.47%.

5. **Access to Justice:** In the area of access to justice, Lagos State emerged as the only state operating an anonymous online platform for reporting human rights violations, highlighting a significant nationwide gap in safe reporting mechanisms. Similarly, only a limited number of states have established independent legal aid institutions dedicated to supporting vulnerable populations.
6. **Accountability and Open Governance:** Regarding accountability and transparency, commitment to the Open Government Partnership (OGP) varied considerably among states, indicating differing levels of willingness to institutionalize transparent, participatory, and inclusive governance practices.

Overall, the assessment demonstrates that while some progress has been made in strengthening legal protections and institutional structures, substantial gaps remain in representation, accessibility, inclusion, and accountability across Nigeria's subnational governments. The findings underscore the urgent need for stronger political commitment, targeted policy reforms, improved infrastructure accessibility, enhanced budgetary investments, and deliberate measures to increase the participation of women, youth, and persons with disabilities in governance processes. Advancing these priorities will be critical to achieving the Sustainable Development Goals' commitment to "Leave No One Behind" and building more equitable and inclusive governance systems across Nigeria.



1.0 Introduction

Leave No One Behind is the overarching principle of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), to which Nigeria is a signatory. Achieving this commitment requires deliberate efforts to promote Gender Equality and Social Inclusion (GESI) across all aspects of governance, including policies, programmes, planning, and resource allocation. Without integrating GESI considerations into development processes, it is unlikely that any society can ensure that all citizens benefit equitably from development outcomes.

Despite Nigeria's commitment to the SDGs, evidence suggests that certain population groups continue to face exclusion and unequal access to opportunities, services, and decision-making processes. While the full extent of this exclusion may not be precisely known, its existence underscores the need for systematic assessment and monitoring of efforts to advance gender equality and social inclusion across the country.

In this context, it is important to evaluate the extent to which state governments in Nigeria are mainstreaming GESI principles in governance structures, policies, programmes, and public service delivery. Such assessments provide critical insights into progress made, existing gaps, and areas requiring further action to ensure inclusive and equitable development.

To support this objective, the Women Environmental Programme (WEP), in collaboration with Christian Aid, ActionAid, Hope Alive for Possibilities Initiative (HAPI), Gender Advocacy Movement for the Environment (GAME) and the Voice of Women Empowerment Foundation, conducted the 2024 GESI Performance Leaderboard Assessment focusing on subnational governments in Nigeria. The assessment evaluated and ranked the efforts of state governments in promoting gender-responsive and inclusive governance. This initiative recognizes that inclusive governance contributes to more effective and equitable resource management by addressing the diverse needs of all citizens, particularly marginalized and vulnerable groups, thereby advancing the SDG commitment to leave no one behind.

2.0 Methodology

2.1 Scope of GESI Issues Assessed

The assessment focused on 6 GESI areas in the 36 States of Nigeria for year 2024. The focused areas were leadership of women, youth and persons with disabilities; policy and legal frameworks; infrastructure; budget; access to justice; and accountability mechanisms.

a. Leadership of women, youth and persons with disabilities

The focus here was to ascertain the representation of women, youth and persons with disabilities in the executive councils of the states, the state houses of assembly and in some selected leadership positions in the state judiciary. In this research, youth are defined based on the African Youth Charter as persons between the ages of 15-35 years. But because the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria as amended recognizes 18 years as legal age when one is considered as an adult to vote and contest in elections among other things, we limited our definition of a youth as a person between 18-35 years.

b. Policy and legal frameworks

We assessed if states have a gender policy, violence against persons prohibition law, laws that promote participation of marginalized groups in political leadership, laws that protect the rights of persons with disabilities, and if states had relevant institutions that protect the rights of the vulnerable groups.

c. Infrastructure

Here, we accessed state secretariats by observing the accessibility of the building designs. We assessed if the state secretariats had ramps and or functional elevators, accessible toilets and creche for breastfeeding and nursing mothers.

d. Budget Allocation

We analysed the approved budgets of the states for year 2024 to identify the percentage of the total budget allocated as capital budget for programmes and projects for women, youth and persons with disabilities.

e. Access to Justice

We gathered information to ascertain if states had anonymous online reporting platforms for human rights violation. We also assessed if states had independent state-owned agency with primary mandate of delivering legal aid to the vulnerable.

f. Accountability Mechanisms

We assessed the commitment of the states to open governance by identifying the states that signed up to Open Government Partnership.

2.2 Data Collection

This assessment employed a mix of methodologies to gather information on the GESI issues that were assessed. Prior to the assessment, we recruited and trained 108 data collectors from the 36 States of Nigeria. In each state, 3 data collectors were responsible for collecting data from and about government agencies that were relevant to the GESI issues that were assessed.

Methodologies such as online search, official request for information from government agencies, physical inspection of government facilities, interviews with senior government officials, were employed as appropriate.

The methodologies employed to gather information on specific GESI issues were:

Table 1: Data collection methods

GESI Issue	Data collection methods
Leadership of Women, Youth and Persons with Disabilities	• Online search • Request for official information about members of State Houses of Assembly, Executives and the Judiciary • Interview with senior officials to clarify and validate information
Policy and Legal Frameworks	• Online search • Request for official information about GESI policy and legal frameworks • Interview with senior officials to clarify and validate information
Infrastructure	• Physical inspection • Interview with senior officials to clarify and validate information
Budget	• Online search • Request for official information about States' Appropriation Acts and reports of funds released to agencies. • Interview with senior officials to clarify and validate information
Access to Justice	• Online search • Request for official information about structures, policies, laws or programmes of the States that enhance access to justice by the vulnerable • Interview with senior officials to clarify and validate information
Accountability Mechanisms	• Online search • Request for official information about accountability structures • Interview with senior officials to clarify and validate information

2.3 Data Analysis and Ranking

The data collected about each GESI issue in every state was analysed and scored, using the **Scoring Guide** in Appendix 1. Data collected about Leadership of Women, Youth and Persons with Disabilities, was first converted to percentages before it was scored. States were first ranked, based on how they performed on specific GESI issues, before the final ranking based on the total scores across all the GESI areas assessed.

3.0 Performance of States on The Assessed GESI Areas

3.1 Leadership of Women, Youth and Persons with Disabilities

We assessed the extent to which women, youth and persons with disabilities were in public and political leadership in the States. We did this by identifying the number of women, youth and persons with disabilities that were in the State Houses of Assembly, State Executive Councils (Commissioners), and the top hierarchy of the State Judiciaries.

3.1.1 Women, Youth and Persons with Disabilities in State Houses of Assembly

Ascertaining the representation of women, youth and persons with disabilities in the State Houses of Assembly was done by obtaining information about the sex, age and disability of the members of the State Houses of Assembly. This information was obtained from the State Houses of Assembly and through the Independent National Electoral Commission's (INEC) 2023 General Election Final List of Candidates for State Elections Governorship and House of Assembly⁴.

Our findings show that Nigeria's 36 State Houses of Assembly comprised 993 legislators, of whom 937 were men and only 56 were women, meaning women accounted for just 5.6% of all members. Youth representation (18-35 years) stood at 102 members or 10.3%, while persons with disabilities (PWDs) were represented by only 2 legislators, accounting for a negligible 0.2% of the total membership. The data highlighted a significant inclusion gap, with male legislators overwhelmingly dominating state-level legislative representation.

Table 2: Number of women, youth and persons with disabilities in State Houses of Assembly

STATE	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	YOUTH (18-35 YEARS)	PWDS
ABIA	24	0	24	1	0
ADAMAWA	24	1	25	1	1
AKWA IBOM	22	4	26	1	0
ANAMBRA	28	2	30	4	0
BAUCHI	31	0	31	0	0
BAYELSA	21	3	24	1	0
BENUE	30	2	32	4	0
BORNO	28	0	28	1	0
CROSS RIVER	24	1	25	2	1
DELTA	27	2	29	2	0
EBONYI	22	2	24	3	0

⁴ Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC). (2023). 2023 General Election Final List of Candidates for State Elections Governorship and House of Assembly [2023 General Election Final List Of Candidates For State Elections Governorship & Houses Of Assembly – INEC](#)

EDO	22	2	24	1	0
EKITI	20	6	26	2	0
ENUGU	22	2	24	1	0
GOMBE	24	0	24	4	0
IMO	27	0	27	1	0
JIGAWA	30	0	30	2	0
KADUNA	33	1	34	0	0
KANO	40	0	40	8	0
KATSINA	34	0	34	5	0
KEBBI	24	0	24	2	0
KOGI	23	2	25	2	0
KWARA	19	5	24	3	0
LAGOS	36	4	40	1	0
NASARAWA	23	1	24	2	0
NIGER	26	1	27	10	0
OGUN	24	2	26	2	0
ONDO	23	3	26	2	0
OSUN	26	0	26	4	0
OYO	30	2	32	5	0
PLATEAU	23	1	24	8	0
RIVERS	26	6	32	1	0
SOKOTO	30	0	30	3	0
TARABA	23	1	24	1	0
YOBE	24	0	24	2	0
ZAMFARA	24	0	24	10	0

Women were found to be significantly underrepresented, with 13 states having no female legislators in their State Houses of Assembly. Among the states with female representation, Ekiti, Kwara, and Rivers recorded the highest numbers of women legislators, each having five or more, while Niger and Zamfara had the highest number of youth representatives with ten each. PWD representation was almost non-existent, with only Adamawa and Cross River having one PWD legislator each. Overall, the findings indicate modest progress in youth participation but persistent underrepresentation of women and persons with disabilities, underscoring the need for stronger policies and political reforms to promote inclusive governance at the state level.

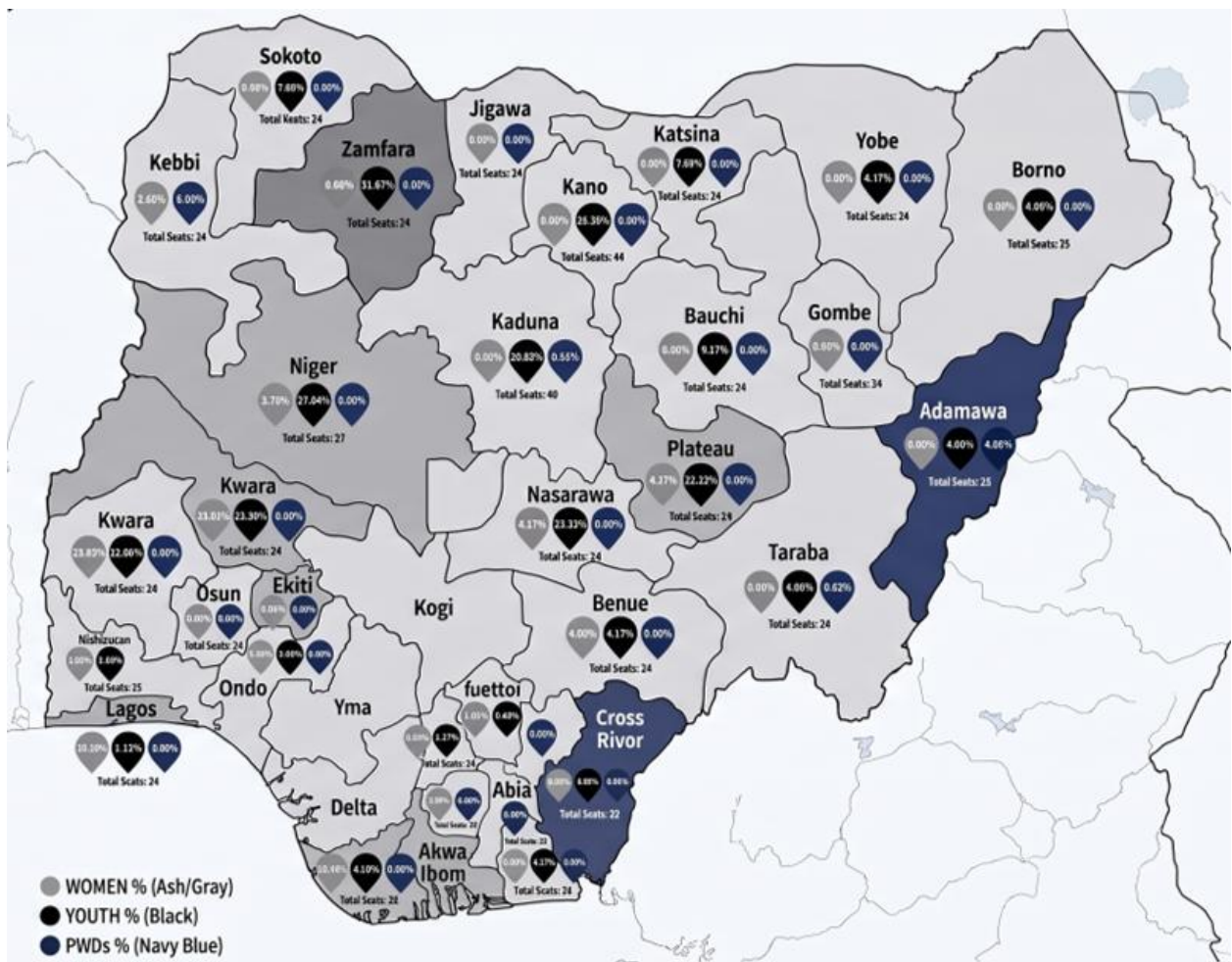


Figure 1: Percentage of women, youth and persons with disabilities in State Houses of Assembly

3.1.2 Women, Youth and Persons with Disabilities in the State Executive Councils

The focus of the assessment was on Commissioners and no other appointive positions.

Findings show that State Executive Councils across the 36 states comprised 789 commissioners, of which 677 were men (85.8%) and 112 were women (14.2%). While women's representation in executive councils was considerably higher than in the State Houses of Assembly, men still occupied more than five out of every six positions. Female representation varied significantly across states, with Kwara recording the highest number of women (8), followed by Bauchi, Cross River, and Taraba with 7 women each, while Edo and Kebbi had no female representation at all.

Table 3: Number of women, youth and persons with disabilities in State Executive Councils

STATE	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	YOUTH (18-35 YEARS)	PWDS
ABIA	21	2	23	0	0
ADAMAWA	19	4	23	0	0
AKWA IBOM	9	2	11	0	0
ANAMBRA	14	6	20	2	0
BAUCHI	29	7	36	0	0
BAYELSA	19	2	21	0	0
BENUE	15	2	17	0	0
BORNO	17	2	19	0	0
CROSS RIVER	24	7	31	0	0
DELTA	26	3	29	0	0
EBONYI	35	1	36	0	0
EDO	3	0	3	0	0
EKITI	17	4	21	0	0
ENUGU	18	3	21	0	0
GOMBE	15	2	17	0	0
IMO	24	1	25	0	0
JIGAWA	16	2	18	0	0
KADUNA	13	4	17	0	0
KANO	23	3	26	0	0
KATSINA	17	3	20	0	0
KEBBI	25	0	25	0	0
KOGI	16	2	18	0	0
KWARA	11	8	19	4	0
LAGOS	19	4	23	0	0
NASARAWA	16	2	18	0	0
NIGER	24	6	30	0	0
OGUN	16	4	20	0	0
ONDO	19	2	21	0	0
OSUN	25	2	27	0	0
OYO	15	3	18	0	0
PLATEAU	15	5	20	0	0
RIVERS	26	2	28	0	0
SOKOTO	26	2	28	0	0
TARABA	15	7	22	0	0
YOBE	18	2	20	0	0
ZAMFARA	17	1	18	0	0

Representation of young people and persons with disabilities was particularly weak. Only 6 youth (18-35 years) were identified across all state executive councils, representing less than 1% of total membership, with youth appointments recorded only in Anambra (2) and Kwara (4). Furthermore, no person with disability was represented in any of the 36 state executive councils, highlighting a complete absence of disability inclusion at this level of governance.

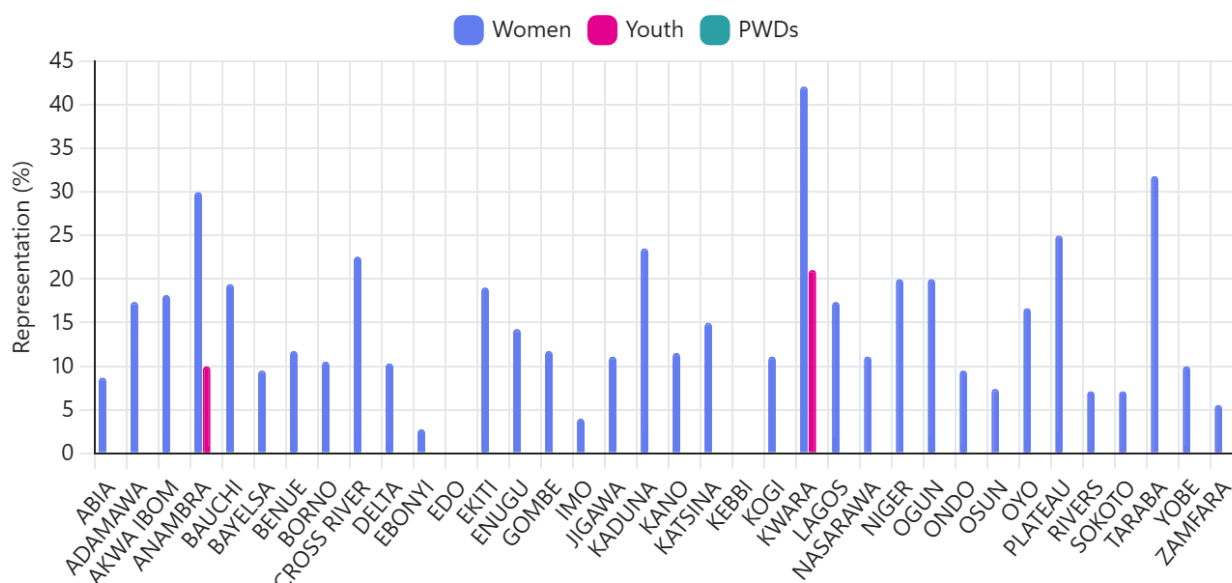


Figure 2 : Representation of women, youth and persons with disabilities in state executive councils

3.1.3 Women, Youth and Persons with Disabilities in the Top Hierarchy of the State Judiciaries

We assessed the extent to which women, youth and persons with disabilities were found in the top management hierarchy of the State Judiciaries. We limited this assessment to the following top positions in the State Judiciaries: Chief Judge of the States, Chief Registrars of the State High Courts, Presidents of the Customary Courts of Appeal, Chief Registrars of the Customary Court of Appeal, Grand Kadis of the Sharia Courts of Appeal and Chief Registrars of the Sharia Courts of Appeal.

The data on leadership positions within state judiciaries, including Chief Judges, Chief Registrars, Presidents of Customary Courts of Appeal, Grand Kadis and their Chief Registrars, indicates that women had a stronger presence in judicial leadership than in the legislative and executive branches, although men still dominated many senior positions. Female Chief Judges were found in several states (41.7%) including Abia, Adamawa, Akwa Ibom, Bauchi, Bayelsa, Cross River, Delta, Gombe, Kano, Nasarawa, Niger, Ogun, Osun, Oyo and Zamfara, while women also occupied numerous Chief Registrar positions and leadership roles in Customary Courts of Appeal. 41.7%, representing 15 State Chief Registrars of High Courts were found to be women. States such as Akwa Ibom and Delta stood out for having predominantly female leadership across multiple judicial offices. However, male officials continue to dominate judicial leadership in many states, particularly in the northern states where Sharia Courts of Appeal exist.

Youth representation in the senior leadership of the judiciary was completely absent. All holders of leadership positions assessed were above 35 years of age, reflecting the experience and professional requirements associated with senior judicial appointments.

Representation of persons with disabilities (PWDs) was completely absent from the data. There was no judicial leadership position across the states that was occupied by a person with disability.

At the time of this assessment, Edo State had no Customary Court of Appeal as the law establishing it was repealed⁵ by the former Governor, Adams Oshiomole in 2023.

Lagos State was yet to establish a Customary Court of Appeal and had no Sharia Court of Appeal. We were unable to obtain information regarding some positions in some states.

⁵ Vanguard (2023). Edo abolishes Customary Court of Appeal.

<https://www.vanguardngr.com/2015/12/edo-abolishes-customary-court-of-appeal/>

Table 4: Number of women, youth and persons with disabilities in senior leadership positions in the States Judiciary

STATE	State Chief Judge			Chief Registrar, State High Court			President, Customary Court of Appeal			Chief Registrar, State Customary Court of Appeal			Grand Kadi, Sharia Court of Appeal			Chief Registrar, Sharia Court of Appeal		
	Sex	Age	PWD?	Sex	Age	PWD?	Sex	Age	PWD?	Sex	Age	PWD?	Sex	Age	PWD?	Sex	Age	PWD?
ABIA	F	>35	No	F	>35	No	M	>35	No	F	>35	No	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
ADAMAWA	F	>35	No	M	>35	No	M	>35	No	M	>35	No	M	>35	No	M	>35	No
AKWA IBOM	F	>35	No	F	>35	No	F	>35	No	F	>35	No	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
ANAMBRA	M	>35	No	F	>35	No	M	>35	No	F	>35	No	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
BAUCHI	F	>35	No	F	>35	No	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	M	>35	No	M	>35	No
BAYELSA	F	>35	No	F	>35	No	M	>35	No	M	>35	No	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
BENUE	M	>35	No	F	>35	No	M	>35	No	M	>35	No	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
BORNO	M	>35	No	M	>35	No	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	M	>35	No	No info	No info	No info
CROSS RIVER	F	>35	No	F	>35	No	M	>35	No	F	>35	No	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
DELTA	F	>35	No	F	>35	No	F	>35	No	F	>35	No	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
EBONYI	M	>35	No	M	>35	No	M	>35	No	F	>35	No	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
EDO	M	>35	No	M	>35	No	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
EKITI	M	>35	No	F	>35	No	F	>35	No	F	>35	No	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
ENUGU	M	>35	No	M	>35	No	M	>35	No	F	>35	No	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
GOMBE	F	>35	No	M	>35	No	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	M	>35	No	M	>35	No
IMO	M	>35	No	F	>35	No	M	>35	No	M	>35	No	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
JIGAWA	M	>35	No	F	>35	No	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	M	>35	No	M	>35	No
KADUNA	M	>35	No	M	>35	No	M	>35	No	F	>35	No	M	>35	No	M	>35	No
KANO	F	>35	No	M	>35	No	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	M	>35	No	M	>35	No
KATSINA	M	>35	No	M	>35	No	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	M	>35	No	M	>35	No
KEBBI	M	>35	No	M	>35	No	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	M	>35	No	M	>35	No
KOGI	M	>35	No	M	>35	No	M	>35	No	F	>35	No	M	>35	No	M	>35	No
KWARA	M	>35	No	F	>35	No	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	M	>35	No	M	>35	No
LAGOS	M	>35	No	M	>35	No	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
NASARAWA	F	>35	No	M	>35	No	M	>35	No	M	>35	No	M	>35	No	F	>35	No
NIGER	F	>35	No	M	>35	No	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	M	>35	No	M	>35	No
OGUN	F	>35	No	F	>35	No	M	>35	No	F	>35	No	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
ONDO	M	>35	No	F	>35	No	F	>35	No	F	>35	No	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA

OSUN	F	>35	No	M	>35	No	M	>35	No	M	>35	No	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
OYO	F	>35	No	F	>35	No	M	>35	No	No info	No info	No info	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
PLATEAU	M	>35	No	M	>35	No	M	>35	No	M	>35	No	M	>35	No	No info	No info	No info
RIVERS	M	>35	No	M	>35	No	M	>35	No	M	>35	No	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
SOKOTO	M	>35	No	M	>35	No	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	M	>35	No	No info	No info	No info
TARABA	M	>35	No	M	>35	No	M	>35	No	M	>35	No	M	>35	No	No info	No info	No info
YOBE	M	>35	No	M	>35	No	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	M	>35	No	M	>35	No
ZAMFARA	F	>35	No	M	>35	No	No info	No info	No info	No info	No info	No info	M	>35	No	No info	No info	No info

3.2 Policy and Legal Frameworks

We sought to know the policy and legal frameworks that existed in the States to promote gender equality and social inclusion. We focused on 3 key areas: gender policies, gender equality and social inclusion laws, and institutional structures to ensure gender equality and social inclusion.

3.2.1 Gender Equality Policies

Our assessment verified states that domesticated the National Gender Policy. As of the research period, fewer than one-quarter of Nigerian states had a gender policy in place, while more than two-thirds had not yet adopted one.

Findings indicate that gender policy domestication in Nigeria remains at an early stage, with only 8 of 36 states (22.2%) having adopted a gender policy. Most states (69.4%) had not yet adopted one, while 8.3% were in the process of development.

Table 5: Status of adoption of the National Gender Policy by the States

STATE	STATUS OF GESI POLICIES		
	Gender policy		
	Yes	No	Being developed
ABIA		X	
ADAMAWA		X	
AKWA IBOM		X	
ANAMBRA	X		
BAUCHI	X		
BAYELSA		X	
BENUE		X	
BORNO		X	
CROSS RIVER	X		
DELTA		X	
EBONYI		X	
EDO	X		
EKITI		X	
ENUGU		X	
GOMBE		X	
IMO		X	
JIGAWA	X		
KADUNA		X	
KANO		X	
KATSINA	X		
KEBBI		X	
KOGI		X	
KWARA		X	
LAGOS		X	

NASARAWA		X	
NIGER			X
OGUN		X	
ONDO		X	
OSUN		X	
OYO		X	
PLATEAU	X		
RIVERS			X
SOKOTO		X	
TARABA	X		
YOBE		X	
ZAMFARA			X

3.2.2 Gender Equality and Social Inclusion Laws

Findings from our analysis reveal that Nigeria has made substantial progress in enacting violence prohibition laws⁶, with 35 states having relevant legislation. Disability rights legislation has also gained significant traction, with most states having adopted or developing relevant laws. However, the complete absence of laws promoting the political participation of marginalized groups highlights a major gap in Nigeria's GESI framework.

Table 6: Status of GESI laws in the 36 States of Nigeria

STATE	STATUS OF GESI LAWS								
	Violence prohibition law			Laws that protect persons with disabilities			Laws that promote participation of marginalized groups in political leadership		
	Yes	No	Being developed	Yes	No	Being developed	Yes	No	Being developed
ABIA	X			X				X	
ADAMAWA	X					X		X	
AKWA IBOM	X					X		X	
ANAMBRA	X			X				X	
BAUCHI	X			X				X	
BAYELSA	X				X			X	
BENUE	X					X		X	
BORNO	X				X			X	
CROSS RIVER	X			X				X	
DELTA	X			X				X	
EBONYI	X					X		X	
EDO	X			X				X	

⁶ Rule of Law and Empowerment Initiative (2025). VAPP Tracker. <https://www.partnersnigeria.org/vapp-tracker/>

EKITI	X			X				X	
ENUGU	X			X				X	
GOMBE	X			X				X	
IMO	X					X		X	
JIGAWA	X			X				X	
KADUNA	X			X				X	
KANO		X		X				X	
KATSINA	X				X			X	
KEBBI	X			X				X	
KOGI	X			X				X	
KWARA	X			X				X	
LAGOS	X			X				X	
NASARAWA	X			X				X	
NIGER	X			X				X	
OGUN	X			X				X	
ONDO	X			X				X	
OSUN	X			X				X	
OYO	X			X				X	
PLATEAU	X			X				X	
RIVERS	X			X				X	
SOKOTO	X			X				X	
TARABA	X					X		X	
YOBE	X			X				X	
ZAMFARA	X			X				X	



Figure 3 Figure 3: Status of GESI laws in the 36 states

3.2.3 Relevant Institutional Structure to Ensure GESI

We assessed if the states had institutions responsible for promoting the rights of women, youth and persons with disabilities. While all states were found to have institutions responsible for women and youth issues, only 16 states had institutions for persons with disabilities⁷. These states were: Abia, Anambra, Bauchi, Ekiti, Gombe, Kaduna, Kogi, Lagos, Nasarawa, Ondo, Osun, Oyo, Plateau, Sokoto, Yobe, and Zamfara states.

⁷ National Commission for Persons with Disabilities (NCPWD). (2024). State of Disability Inclusion Report 2024: Disability Inclusion Landscape in Nigeria. https://access360.africa/assets/State of Disability Inclusion Report 2024-C40K_a02.pdf

Table 7: Relevant institutional structures to ensure GESI in the 36 States

STATE	INSTITUTIONAL STRUCTURE FOR GESI								
	Institution to promote the rights of women			Institution to promote the rights of PWDs			Institution to promote the right of youth		
	Yes	No	Established buy not yet functional	Yes	No	Established buy not yet functional	Yes	No	Established buy not yet functional
ABIA	X			X			X		
ADAMAWA	X			X			X		
AKWA IBOM	X				X		X		
ANAMBRA	X				X		X		
BAUCHI	X			X			X		
BAYELSA	X				X		X		
BENUE	X				X		X		
BORNO	X				X		X		
CROSS RIVER	X				X		X		
DELTA	X				X		X		
EBONYI	X				X		X		
EDO	X				X		X		
EKITI	X			X			X		
ENUGU	X				X		X		
GOMBE	X			X			X		
IMO	X				X		X		
JIGAWA	X				X		X		
KADUNA	X			X			X		
KANO	X				X		X		
KATSINA	X				X		X		
KEBBI	X				X		X		
KOGI	X			X			X		
KWARA	X				X		X		
LAGOS	X			X			X		
NASARAWA	X			X			X		
NIGER	X				X		X		
OGUN	X				X		X		
ONDO	X			X			X		
OSUN	X			X			X		
OYO	X			X			X		
PLATEAU	X			X			X		
RIVERS	X				X		X		
SOKOTO	X			X			X		
TARABA	X				X		X		
YOBE	X			X			X		
ZAMFARA	X			X			X		



3.3 Infrastructure

3.3.1 Building Designs of State Secretariats

Our assessment of infrastructure was limited to State Secretariats. Our data collectors visited and observed the building designs of the State Secretariats to verify if the Secretariats were accessible to the vulnerable groups such as women and persons with disabilities.

Accessibility of state secretariats was assessed using three indicators: (1) Availability of ramps/functional elevators for persons with disabilities, (2) Availability of accessible toilets for persons with disabilities, and (3) Availability of crèches for breastfeeding/nursing mothers.

Our observations revealed that most of the State Secretariats were inaccessible to persons with disabilities as many had no ramps nor accessible toilets. Even though some of the State Secretariats had elevators, they were not functional and, in some cases where they were functional, were reserved to be used only by senior government officials. We scored such States as though this infrastructure was being constructed.

While a few states, notably Delta, Lagos, Edo, Kaduna, Rivers, and Ekiti, have made progress, most state secretariats lack basic accessibility infrastructure such as ramps, elevators, and accessible toilets. The findings revealed a substantial gap between disability inclusion commitments and the actual design of government buildings.

In summary, out of the 36 states assessed, only 8 (22%) had ramps or functional elevators, while only 6 (18%) had accessible toilets, and only 10 (28%) had crèches for nursing mothers.

Table 8: Accessibility of State Secretariats of the 36 States of Nigeria

STATE	BUILDING DESIGNS OF STATE SECRETARIATS								
	The State Secretariat has ramps/functional elevators for easy access for persons with disabilities			The State Secretariat has toilets suitable for persons with disabilities			The State Secretariat has creche for breastfeeding/nursing mothers		
	Yes	No	Being constructed	Yes	No	Being constructed	Yes	No	Being constructed
ABIA		X			X			X	
ADAMAWA		X			X			X	
AKWA IBOM		X			X		X		
ANAMBRA		X			X			X	
BAUCHI		X			X			X	
BAYELSA		X		X				X	
BENUE		X			X			X	
BORNO	X				X			X	
CROSS RIVER		X			X			X	
DELTA	X			X			X		
EBONYI		X			X			X	
EDO	X			X			X		
EKITI	X				X		X		
ENUGU		X			X			X	
GOMBE		X			X			X	
IMO		X			X			X	
JIGAWA		X			X			X	
KADUNA	X			X				X	
KANO		X			X			X	
KATSINA		X			X			X	
KEBBI		X		X			X		
KOGI		X			X			X	
KWARA		X			X		X		
LAGOS	X			X				X	
NASARAWA			X		X			X	
NIGER		X			X				X
OGUN		X			X		X		
ONDO		X			X		X		
OSUN		X			X			X	
OYO			X		X		X		
PLATEAU		X			X		X		
RIVERS	X				X		X		
SOKOTO		X			X			X	
TARABA		X			X			X	
YOBE		X			X			X	
ZAMFARA	X				X			X	

3.4 Budget

3.4.1 Budget Allocation for Projects and Programmes for Youth, Women and Persons with Disabilities

We calculated the amount allocated as capital budget for women and youth development programmes/projects as well as programmes and projects for persons with disabilities. We did this by verifying the budget allocated to agencies responsible for women, youth and persons with disabilities. In States without disability rights agencies, we scanned the entire budget for capital projects and programmes meant to address challenges of persons with disabilities. We calculated this amount as a percentage of the total budget for the State for year 2024.

Table 9: Capital budget allocated for projects and programmes for youth, women and persons with disabilities

STATE	CAPITAL BUDGET ALLOCATION		
	Budget for women's development projects and programmes	Budget for youth development projects and programmes	Budget for projects and programmes for persons with disabilities
ABIA	0.9%	2.7%	0.036%
ADAMAWA	0.01%	1.49%	0%
AKWA IBOM	0.09%	0.35%	0%
ANAMBRA	0.55%	1.33%	0.04%
BAUCHI	0.48%	0.77%	0.10%
BAYELSA	0.04%	2.04%	0%
BENUE	0.52%	1.90%	0%
BORNO	1.18%	1.09%	0%
CROSS RIVER	0.46%	0.19%	0.02%
DELTA	0.30%	0.23%	0.01%
EBONYI	0.40%	2.43%	0.01%
EDO	0.20%	0.60%	0%
EKITI	0.33%	0.19%	0.11%
ENUGU	0.04%	0.27%	0%
GOMBE	0.58%	1.18%	0.01%

IMO	0.42%	0.45%	0.02%
JIGAWA	1.27%	0.30%	0.47%
KADUNA	1.20%	1.20%	0.03%
KANO	0.69%	0.86%	0.05%
KATSINA	0.34%	0.46%	0.11%
KEBBI	1.60%	0.58%	0.21%
KOGI	0.20%	0.19%	0.05%
KWARA	0.07%	0.21%	0%
LAGOS	0.052%	0.13%	0.01%
NASARAWA	0.01%	1.21%	0.04%
NIGER	0.23%	1.24%	0.01%
OGUN	0.25%	0.01%	0%
ONDO	1.58%	0.21%	0.04%
OSUN	0.15%	0.08%	0.01%
OYO	0.08%	0.34%	0.11%
PLATEAU	0.01%	0.28%	0.15%
RIVERS	0.31%	0.20%	0%
SOKOTO	2.28%	0.76%	0.07%
TARABA	1.03%	0.73%	0.13%
YOBE	0.52%	0.26%	0%
ZAMFARA	0.81%	1.03%	0%

3.5 Access to Justice

3.5.1 Anonymous Online Platforms to Report Human Rights Violations

One of the parameters that enhances access to justice is the ease and anonymity of reporting. Anonymous online platforms for reporting human rights violations are important because they provide a safe and confidential channel for victims, witnesses, and whistleblowers to report abuses without fear of retaliation, intimidation, discrimination, or harm. By protecting the identity of reporters, these platforms encourage more people to come forward with information that might otherwise remain hidden, thereby improving the documentation of violations, supporting timely intervention by authorities and human rights organizations, and strengthening accountability. They also increase accessibility for vulnerable groups, facilitate evidence collection, and contribute to more accurate monitoring of human rights conditions, especially in environments where speaking openly may be risky.

Where reporting is face-to-face, it prevents many abuses from being reported. As at 2024, Lagos was the only state in Nigeria with an anonymous online reporting platform for human right abuses⁸. - <https://citizensgate.lagosstate.gov.ng/>.

3.5.2 Independent State-owned Structure to Provide Legal Aid to the Vulnerable

Many states rely on the states Ministries of Justice for providing legal aid to the vulnerable. We found that this arrangement is grossly inadequate for protecting the vulnerable in the society. The best practice for protecting the vulnerable is for states to have independent state-owned legal aid agencies, staffed and funded for the primary purpose of delivering justice to the vulnerable in the society. Our assessment focused on identifying states that established independent state-owned agencies such as public defender commissions whose primary mandate is to provide legal aid to the vulnerable.

Table 10: States with anonymous reporting platforms and state-owned legal aid structures

STATE	ACCESS TO JUSTICE					
	State has anonymous online platform to report human rights violations			State has own independent structure to provide legal aid to the vulnerable		
	Yes	No	Being developed	Yes	No	Being developed
ABIA		X			X	
ADAMAWA		X			X	
AKWA IBOM		X			X	
ANAMBRA		X		X		
BAUCHI		X			X	
BAYELSA		X			X	

⁸ Lagos State Citizens Gate. <https://citizensgate.lagosstate.gov.ng/>

BENUE		X			X	
BORNO		X			X	
CROSS RIVER		X		X		
DELTA		X		X		
EBONYI		X			X	
EDO		X			X	
EKITI		X		X		
ENUGU		X			X	
GOMBE		X			X	
IMO		X			X	
JIGAWA		X			X	
KADUNA		X			X	
KANO		X		X		
KATSINA		X			X	
KEBBI		X			X	
KOGI		X		X		
KWARA		X		X		
LAGOS	X			X		
NASARAWA		X			X	
NIGER		X			X	
OGUN		X			X	
ONDO		X		X		
OSUN		X			X	
OYO		X			X	
PLATEAU		X				X
RIVERS		X		X		
SOKOTO		X			X	
TARABA		X			X	
YOBE		X			X	
ZAMFARA		X			X	

3.6 Accountability Mechanisms

3.6.1 Commitment to Open Governance

The questions we sought for information to answer here were: How many states were committed to Open Government Partnership (OGP) in 2024? How many states were in the process of committing to OGP? How many states were not signed up to OGP?

Commitment to OGP is an important indicator of Gender Equality and Social Inclusion as governments that sign up to it commit to make government more transparent, accountable, participatory, and responsive. While signing up to OGP alone may not translate to transparent, accountable and inclusive governance, it is a basic step that indicates the intent of the government and lays a framework for the citizens to hold the government accountable.

Table 11: Commitment of States to open governance

STATE	COMMITMENT TO OPEN GOVERNANCE ⁹		
	State has signed up to Open Government Partnership		
	Yes	No	In the process to sign up
ABIA	X		
ADAMAWA	X		
AKWA IBOM		X	
ANAMBRA	X		
BAUCHI	X		
BAYELSA		X	
BENUE		X	
BORNO		X	
CROSS RIVER	X		
DELTA	X		
EBONYI	X		
EDO	X		
EKITI	X		
ENUGU	X		
GOMBE	X		
IMO	X		
JIGAWA	X		
KADUNA	X		
KANO	X		
KATSINA	X		
KEBBI	X		
KOGI	X		
KWARA		X	
LAGOS		X	
NASARAWA	X		
NIGER	X		
OGUN		X	
ONDO	X		
OSUN	X		
OYO	X		
PLATEAU	X		

⁹ Open Government Partnership, Nigeria. <https://ogpnigeria.gov.ng/subnational/>

RIVERS		X	
SOKOTO	X		
TARABA	X		
YOBE	X		
ZAMFARA	X		



4.0 Scores of States on the Assessed GESI Areas

4.1 Leadership of Women, Youth and Persons with Disabilities

Table 12: Percentage of women, youth and persons with disabilities in public leadership

STATE	LEADERSHIP OF WOMEN, YOUTH AND PERSONS WITH DISABILITIES																		
	% in State Assembly						% in State Executive Council						% in the Judiciary						Total Scores
	% of women	Score	% of youth	Score	% of PWDs	Score	% of women	Score	% of youth	Score	% of PWDs	Score	% of women	Score	% of youth	Score	% of PWDs	Score	
ABIA	0.00%	0	4.17%	2	0.00%	0	8.70%	3	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	75%	5	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	10
ADAMAWA	4.0%	2	4.0%	2	4.0%	2	17.39%	5	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	16.66%	5	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	16
AKWA IBOM	15.38%	4	3.85%	2	0.00%	0	18.18%	5	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	100%	5	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	16
ANAMBRA	6.67%	3	13.33%	4	0.00%	0	30.00%	5	10.00%	3	0.00%	0	50%	5	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	20
BAUCHI	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	19.44%	5	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	50%	5	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	10
BAYELSA	12.50%	4	4.17%	2	0.00%	0	9.52%	3	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	50%	5	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	14
BENUE	6.25%	3	12.50%	4	0.00%	0	11.76%	4	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	25%	5	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	16
BORNO	0.00%	0	3.57%	2	0.00%	0	10.53%	3	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	5
CROSS RIVER	4.00%	5	8.00%	3	4.00%	2	22.58%	5	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	75%	5	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	20
DELTA	6.90%	3	6.90%	3	0.00%	0	10.34%	3	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	100%	5	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	14
EBONYI	8.33%	3	12.50%	4	0.00%	0	2.78%	2	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	25%	5	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	14
EDO	8.33%	3	4.17%	2	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	5
EKITI	23.08%	5	7.69%	3	0.00%	0	19.05%	5	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	75%	5	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	18
ENUGU	8.33%	3	4.17%	2	0.00%	0	14.29%	4	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	25%	5	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	14
GOMBE	0.00%	0	16.67%	5	0.00%	0	11.76%	4	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	25%	5	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	14
IMO	0.00%	0	3.70%	2	0.00%	0	4.00%	2	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	25%	5	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	9
JIGAWA	0.00%	0	6.67%	3	0.00%	0	11.11%	4	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	25%	5	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	12
KADUNA	2.94%	2	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	23.53%	5	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	16.66%	5	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	12
KANO	0.00%	0	20.00%	5	0.00%	0	11.54%	4	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	25%	5	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	14
KATSINA	0.00%	0	14.71%	4	0.00%	0	15.00%	4	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	8
KEBBI	0.00%	0	8.33%	3	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	3
KOGI	8.00%	3	8.00%	3	0.00%	0	11.11%	4	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	16.66%	5	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	15
KWARA	20.83%	5	12.50%	4	0.00%	0	42.11%	5	21.05%	5	0.00%	0	25%	5	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	24
LAGOS	10.00%	3	2.50%	2	0.00%	0	17.39%	5	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	10
NASARAWA	4.17%	2	8.33%	3	0.00%	0	11.11%	4	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	33.33%	5	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	14
NIGER	3.70%	2	37.04%	5	0.00%	0	20.00%	5	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	25%	5	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	17
OGUN	7.69%	3	7.69%	3	0.00%	0	20.00%	5	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	75%	5	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	16
ONDO	11.54%	5	7.69%	3	0.00%	0	9.52%	3	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	75%	5	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	16

OSUN	0.00%	0	15.38%	4	0.00%	0	7.41%	3	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	25%	5	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	12
OYO	6.25%	3	15.62%	4	0.00%	0	16.67%	5	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	66.66%	5	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	17
PLATEAU	4.17%	2	33.33%	5	0.00%	0	25.00%	5	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	12
RIVERS	18.75%	5	3.12%	2	0.00%	0	7.14%	3	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	10
SOKOTO	0.00%	0	10.00%	3	0.00%	0	7.14%	3	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	6
TARABA	4.17%	2	4.17%	2	0.00%	0	31.82%	5	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	9
YOBE	0.00%	0	8.33%	3	0.00%	0	10.00%	3	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	6
ZAMFARA	0.00%	0	41.67%	5	0.00%	0	5.56%	2	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	33.33%	5	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	12



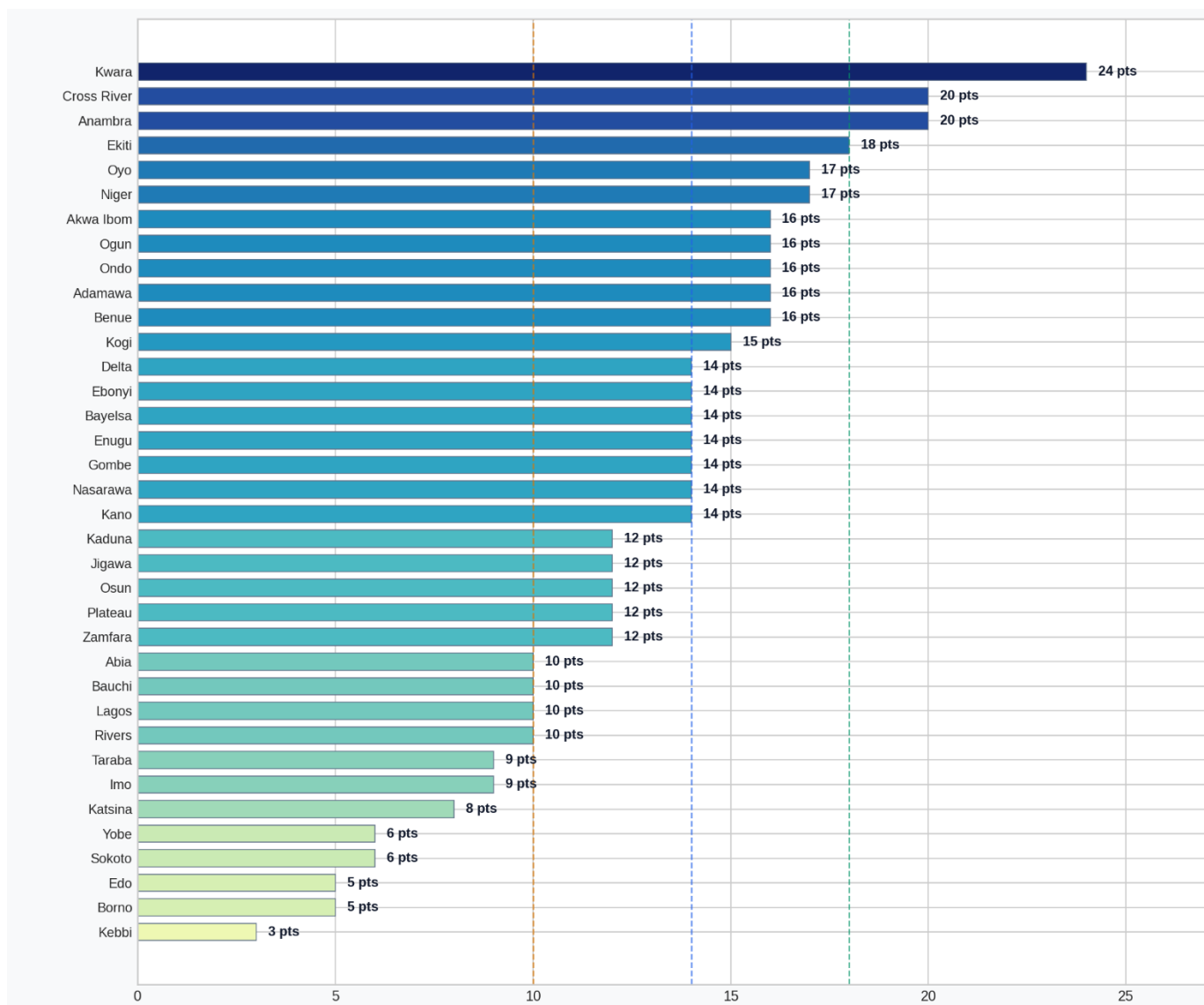


Figure 4: Performance of states on the leadership of women, youth and persons with disabilities

4.2 Policy and Legal Frameworks

Table 13: Scores for states policy and legal frameworks

STATE	POLICY AND LEGAL FRAMEWORKS																				
	GESI POLICIES				GESI LAWS												GESI INSTITUTIONS				
	GENDER POLICY				VIOLENCE PROHIBITION AGAINST WOMEN				PROTECTION OF RIGHTS OF PWDS				PROMOTING PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN/MARGINALIZED IN PUBLIC LEADERSHIP				AGENCY ON WOMEN	AGENCY ON YOUTH	AGENCY ON PWDS		
	YES	NO	BEING DEVELOPED	SCORE	YES	NO	BEING DEVELOPED	SCORE	YES	NO	BEING DEVELOPED	SCORE	YES	NO	BEING DEVELOPED	SCORE	YES/NO/NOT FULLY FUNCTIONAL	YES/NO/NOT FULLY FUNCTIONAL	YES/NO/NOT FULLY FUNCTIONAL	SCORE	TOTAL SCORES
ABIA		X		0	X			1.5	X			2		X		0	YES	YES	YES	5	8.5
ADAMAWA		X		0	X			1.5			X	1		X		0	YES	YES	NO	3	5.5
AKWAIBOM		X		0	X			1.5			X	1		X		0	YES	YES	NO	3	5.5
ANAMBRA	X			5	X			1.5	X			2		X		0	YES	YES	YES	5	13.5
BAUCHI	X			5	X			1.5	X			2		X		0	YES	YES	YES	5	13.5
BAYELSA		X		0	X			1.5		X		0		X		0	YES	YES	NO	3	4.5
BENUE		X		0	X			1.5			X	1		X		0	YES	YES	NO	3	5.5
BORNO		X		0	X			1.5		X		0		X		0	YES	YES	NO	3	4.5
CROSS RIVER	X			5	X			1.5	X			2		X		0	YES	YES	NO	3	11.5
DELTA		X		0	X			1.5	X			2		X		0	YES	YES	NO	3	6.5
EBONYI		X		0	X			1.5			X	1		X		0	YES	YES	NO	3	5.5
EDO	X			5	X			1.5	X			2		X		0	YES	YES	NO	3	11.5
EKITI		X		0	X			1.5	X			2		X		0	YES	YES	YES	5	8.5
ENUGU		X		0	X			1.5	X			2		X		0	YES	YES	NO	3	6.5
GOMBE		X		0	X			1.5	X			2		X		0	YES	YES	YES	5	8.5
IMO		X		0	X			1.5			X	1		X		0	YES	YES	NO	3	5.5
JIGAWA	X			5	X			1.5	X			2		X		0	YES	YES	NO	3	11.5

KADUNA		X		0	X			1.5	X			2		X		0	YES	YES	YES	5	8.5
KANO		X		0		X		0	X			2		X		0	YES	YES	NO	3	5
KATSINA	X			5	X			1.5		X		0		X		0	YES	YES	NO	3	8.5
KEBBI		X		0	X			1.5	X			2		X		0	YES	YES	NO	3	6.5
KOGI		X		0	X			1.5	X			2		X		0	YES	YES	YES	5	8.5
KWARA		X		0	X			1.5	X			2		X		0	YES	YES	NO	3	6.5
LAGOS		X		0	X			1.5	X			2		X		0	YES	YES	YES	5	8.5
NASARAWA		X		0	X			1.5	X			2		X		0	YES	YES	YES	5	8.5
NIGER			X	1	X			1.5	X			2		X		0	YES	YES	NO	3	7.5
OGUN		X		0	X			1.5	X			2		X		0	YES	YES	NO	3	6.5
ONDO		X		0	X			1.5	X			2		X		0	YES	YES	YES	5	8.5
OSUN		X		0	X			1.5	X			2		X		0	YES	YES	YES	5	8.5
OYO		X		0	X			1.5	X			2		X		0	YES	YES	YES	5	8.5
PLATEAU	X			5	X			1.5	X			2		X		0	YES	YES	YES	5	13.5
RIVERS			X	1	X			1.5	X			2		X		0	YES	YES	NO	3	7.5
SOKOTO		X		0	X			1.5	X			2		X		0	YES	YES	YES	5	8.5
TARABA	X			5	X			1.5			X	1		X		0	YES	YES	NO	3	10.5
YOBE		X		0	X			1.5	X			2		X		0	YES	YES	YES	5	8.5
ZAMFARA			X	1	X			1.5	X			2		X		0	YES	YES	YES	5	9.5

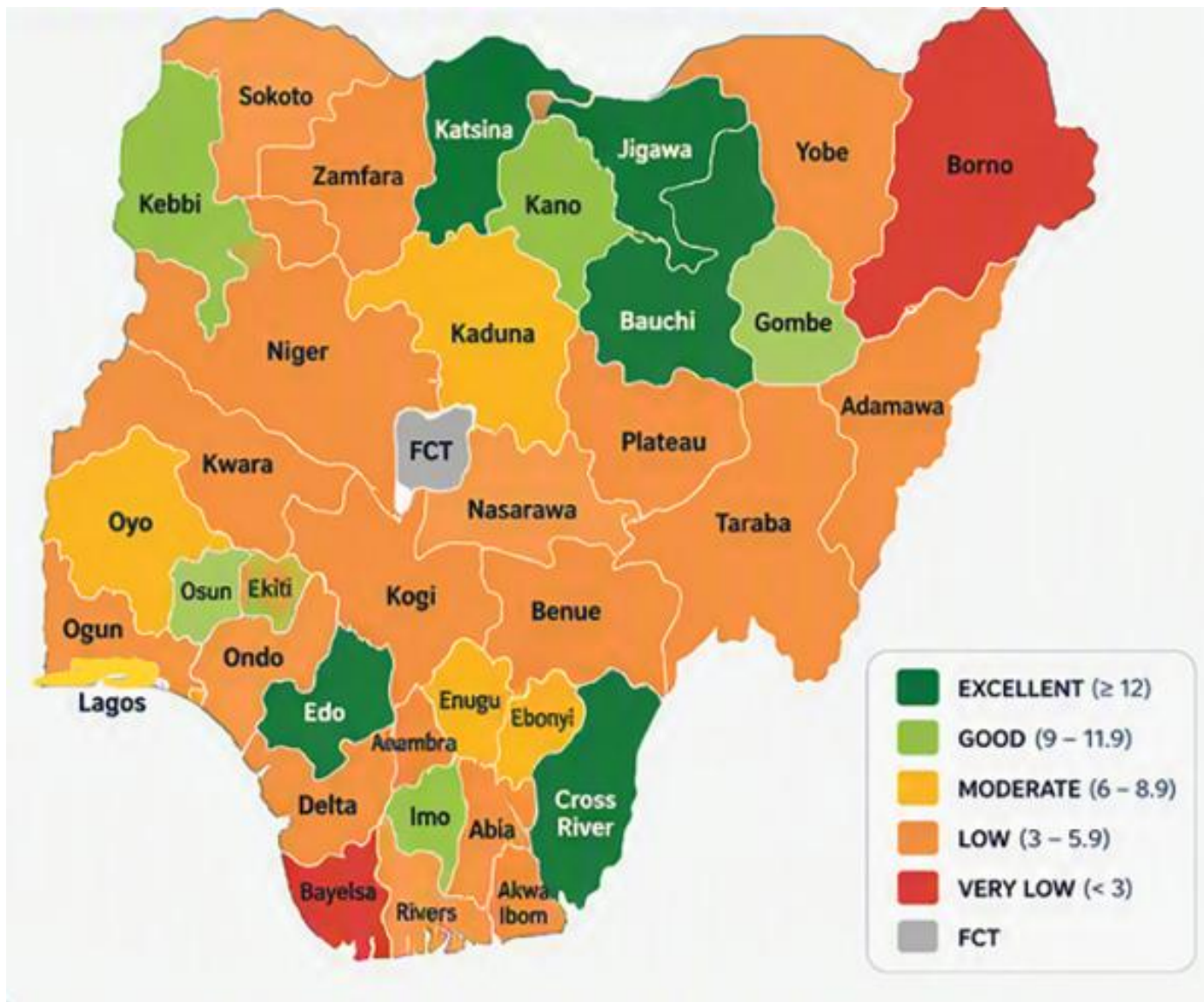


Figure 5: Performance of states on policy and legal frameworks

4.3 Infrastructure

Table 14: Scores for states on the accessibility of state secretariats

STATE	INFRASTRUCTURE												
	The State Secretariat has ramps/functional elevators for easy access for persons with disabilities				The State Secretariat has toilets suitable for persons with disabilities				The State Secretariat has creche for breastfeeding/nursing mothers				Total Score
	Yes	No	Being developed	Score	Yes	No	Being developed	Sore	Yes	No	Being developed	Score	
ABIA		X		0		X		0		X		0	0
ADAMAWA		X		0		X		0		X		0	0
AKWA IBOM		X		0		X		0	X			1	1
ANAMBRA		X		0		X		0		X		0	0
BAUCHI		X		0		X		0		X		0	0
BAYELSA		X		0	X			2		X		0	2
BENUE		X		0		X		0		X		0	0
BORNO	X			2		X		0		X		0	2
CROSS RIVER		X		0		X		0		X		0	0
DELTA	X			2	X			2	X			1	5
EBONYI		X		0		X		0		X		0	0
EDO	X			2	X			2	X			1	5
EKITI	X			2		X		0	X			1	3
ENUGU		X		0		X		0		X		0	0
GOMBE		X		0		X		0		X		0	0
IMO		X		0		X		0		X		0	0
JIGAWA		X		0		X		0		X		0	0
KADUNA	X			2	X			2		X		0	4
KANO		X		0		X		0		X		0	0
KATSINA		X		0		X		0		X		0	0
KEBBI		X		0	X			2	X			1	3
KOGI		X		0		X		0		X		0	0
KWARA		X		0		X		0	X			1	1
LAGOS	X			2	X			2		X		0	4
NASARAWA		X		0		X		0		X		0	0
NIGER		X		0		X		0			X	0.5	0.5

OGUN		X		0		X		0	X			1	1
ONDO		X		0		X		0	X			1	1
OSUN		X		0		X		0		X		0	0
OYO			X elevators not functional	0.5		X		0	X			1	1.5
PLATEAU		X		0		X		0	X			1	1
RIVERS	X			2		X		0	X			1	3
SOKOTO		X		0		X		0		X		0	0
TARABA		X		0		X		0		X		0	0
YOBE		X		0		X		0		X		0	0
ZAMFARA	X			2		X		0		X		0	2

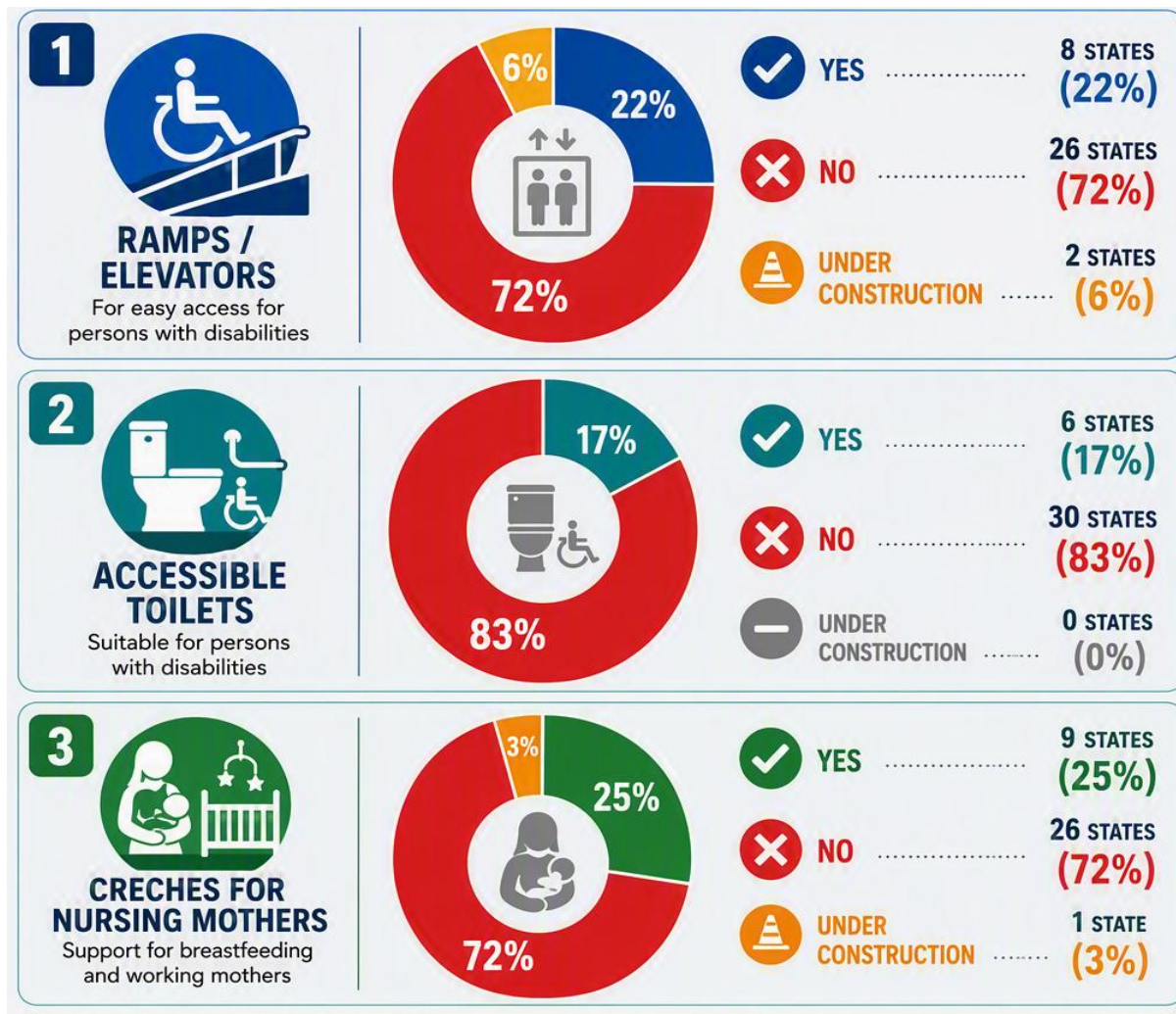


Figure 6: Accessibility of state secretariats

4.4 Budget Allocation

Table 15: Scores for states on capital budgetary allocation for programmes/projects for women, youth and PWDs

STATE	BUDGET ALLOCATION						
	Budget for women's development projects and programmes	Score	Budget for youth development projects and programmes	Score	Budget for projects and programmes for persons with disabilities	Score	Total Score
ABIA	0.9%	0.5	2.7%	2	0.036%	0.5	3
ADAMAWA	0.01%	0.5	1.49%	1	0%	0.5	2
AKWA IBOM	0.09%	0.5	0.35%	0.5	0%	0.5	1.5
ANAMBRA	0.55%	0.5	1.33%	1	0.04%	0.5	2
BAUCHI	0.48%	0.5	0.77%	0.5	0.10%	0.5	1.5
BAYELSA	0.04%	0.5	2.04%	2	0%	0	2.5
BENUE	0.52%	0.5	1.90%	1	0%	0	1.5
BORNO	1.18%	1	1.09%	1	0%	0	2
CROSS RIVER	0.46%	0.5	0.19%	0.5	0.02%	0.5	1.5

DELTA	0.30%	0.5	0.23%	0.5	0.01%	0.5	1.5
EBONYI	0.40%	0.5	2.43%	2	0.01%	0.5	3
EDO	0.20%	0.5	0.60%	0.5	0%	0	1
EKITI	0.33%	0.5	0.19%	0.5	0.11%	0.5	1.5
ENUGU	0.04%	0.5	0.27%	0.5	0%	0	1
GOMBE	0.58%	0.5	1.18%	1	0.01%	0.5	2
IMO	0.42%	0.5	0.45%	0.5	0.02%	0.5	1.5
JIGAWA	1.27%	1	0.30%	0.5	0.47%	0.5	2
KADUNA	1.20%	1	1.20%	1	0.03%	0.5	2.5
KANO	0.69%	0.5	0.86%	0.5	0.05%	0.5	1.5
KATSINA	0.34%	0.5	0.46%	0.5	0.11%	0.5	1.5
KEBBI	1.60%	1	0.58%	0.5	0.21%	0.5	2
KOGI	0.20%	0.5	0.19%	0.5	0.05%	0.5	1.5
KWARA	0.07%	0.5	0.21%	0.5	0%	0	1
LAGOS	0.052%	0.5	0.13%	0.5	0.01%	0.5	1.5

NASARAWA	0.01%	0.5	1.21%	1	0.04%	0.5	2
NIGER	0.23%	0.5	1.24%	1	0.01%	0.5	2
OGUN	0.25%	0.5	0.01%	0.5	0%	0	1
ONDO	1.58%	1	0.21%	0.5	0.04%	0.5	2
OSUN	0.15%	0.5	0.08%	0.5	0.01%	0.5	1.5
OYO	0.08%	0.5	0.34%	0.5	0.11%	0.5	1.5
PLATEAU	0.01%	0.5	0.28%	0.5	0.15%	0.5	1.5
RIVERS	0.31%	0.5	0.20%	0.5	0%	0	1
SOKOTO	2.28%	0.5	0.76%	0.5	0.07%	0.5	1.5
TARABA	1.03%	1	0.73%	0.5	0.13%	0.5	2
YOBE	0.52%	0.5	0.26%	0.5	0%	0	1
ZAMFARA	0.81%	0.5	1.03%	1	0%	0	1.5

4.5 Access to Justice

Table 16: Scores for states on access to justice for the vulnerable

STATE	ACCESS TO JUSTICE								
	State has anonymous online platform to report human rights violations				State has own independent structure to provide legal aid to the vulnerable				Total Score
	Yes	No	Being developed	Sore	Yes	No	Being established	Score	
ABIA		X		0		X		0	0
ADAMAWA		X		0		X		0	0
AKWA IBOM		X		0		X		0	0
ANAMBRA		X		0	X			5	5
BAUCHI		X		0		X		0	0
BAYELSA		X		0		X		0	0
BENUE		X		0		X		0	0
BORNO		X		0		X		0	0
CROSS RIVER		X		0	X			5	5
DELTA		X		0		X		0	0
EBONYI		X		0		X		0	0
EDO		X		0		X		0	0
EKITI		X		0	X			5	5
ENUGU		X		0		X		0	0
GOMBE		X		0		X		0	0
IMO		X		0		X		0	0
JIGAWA		X		0		X		0	0
KADUNA		X		0		X		0	0
KANO		X		0	X			5	5
KATSINA		X		0		X		0	0
KEBBI		X		0		X		0	0
KOGI		X		0	X			5	5
KWARA		X		0	X			5	5
LAGOS	X			5	X			5	10
NASARAWA		X		0		X		0	0
NIGER		X		0		X		0	0
OGUN		X		0		X		0	0

ONDO		X		0	X			5	5
OSUN		X		0		X		0	0
OYO		X		0		X		5	5
PLATEAU		X		0			X	1	1
RIVERS		X		0	X			5	5
SOKOTO		X		0		X		0	0
TARABA		X		0		X		0	0
YOBE		X		0		X		0	0
ZAMFARA		X		0		X		0	0

4.6 Accountability Mechanisms

Table 17: Scores for states on open governance commitment

STATE	COMMITMENT TO OPEN GOVERNANCE			
	State has committed to Open Government Partnership			
	Yes	No	Process ongoing	Total Score
ABIA	X			5
ADAMAWA	X			5
AKWA IBOM		X		0
ANAMBRA	X			5
BAUCHI	X			5
BAYELSA		X		0
BENUE		X		0
BORNO		X		0
CROSS RIVER	X			5
DELTA	X			5
EBONYI	X			5
EDO	X			5
EKITI	X			5
ENUGU	X			5
GOMBE	X			5
IMO	X			5
JIGAWA	X			5
KADUNA	X			5
KANO	X			5
KATSINA	X			5
KEBBI	X			5
KOGI	X			5
KWARA		X		0
LAGOS		X		0
NASARAWA	X			5
NIGER	X			0
OGUN		X		0
ONDO	X			5
OSUN	X			5

OYO	X			5
PLATEAU	X			5
RIVERS		X		0
SOKOTO	X			5
TARABA	X			5
YOBE	X			5
ZAMFARA	X			5

5.0 Cumulative Scores of States on All Assessed GESI Areas

Table 18: Cumulative scores of states on assessed GESI areas

STATE	LEADERSHIP OF WOMEN, YOUTH AND PWDS	POLICY AND LEGAL FRAMEWORKS	INFRASTRUCTURE	BUDGET ALLOCATION	ACCESS TO JUSTICE	ACCOUNTABILITY MECHANISMS	CUMMULATIVE SCORES
ABIA	10	8.5	0	3	0	5	26.5
ADAMAWA	16	5.5	0	2	0	5	28.5
AKWA IBOM	16	5.5	1	1.5	0	0	24
ANAMBRA	20	13.5	0	2	5	5	45.5
BAUCHI	10	13.5	0	1.5	0	5	30
BAYELSA	14	4.5	2	2.5	0	0	23
BENUE	16	5.5	0	1.5	0	0	23
BORNO	5	4.5	2	2	0	0	13.5
CROSS RIVER	20	11.5	0	1.5	5	5	43
DELTA	14	6.5	5	1.5	0	5	32
EBONYI	14	5.5	0	3	0	5	27.5
EDO	5	11.5	5	1	0	5	27.5
EKITI	18	8.5	3	1.5	5	5	41
ENUGU	14	6.5	0	1	0	5	26.5
GOMBE	14	8.5	0	2	0	5	29.5
IMO	9	5.5	0	1.5	0	5	21
JIGAWA	12	11.5	0	2	0	5	30.5
KADUNA	12	8.5	4	2.5	0	5	32
KANO	14	5	0	1.5	5	5	30.5
KATSINA	8	8.5	0	1.5	0	5	23
KEBBI	3	6.5	3	2	0	5	19.5
KOGI	15	8.5	0	1.5	5	5	35
KWARA	24	6.5	1	1	5	0	37.5
LAGOS	10	8.5	4	1.5	10	0	34
NASARAWA	14	8.5	0	2	0	5	29.5
NIGER	17	7.5	0.5	2	0	0	27
OGUN	16	6.5	1	1	0	0	24.5
ONDO	16	8.5	1	2	5	5	37.5
OSUN	12	8.5	0	1.5	0	5	27
OYO	17	8.5	1.5	1.5	5	5	38.5
PLATEAU	12	13.5	1	1.5	1	5	34
RIVERS	10	7.5	3	1	5	0	26.5
SOKOTO	6	8.5	0	1.5	0	5	21
TARABA	9	10.5	0	2	0	5	26.5
YOBE	6	8.5	0	1	0	5	20.5
ZAMFARA	12	9.5	2	1.5	0	5	30

Top 3 States by Assessed Area

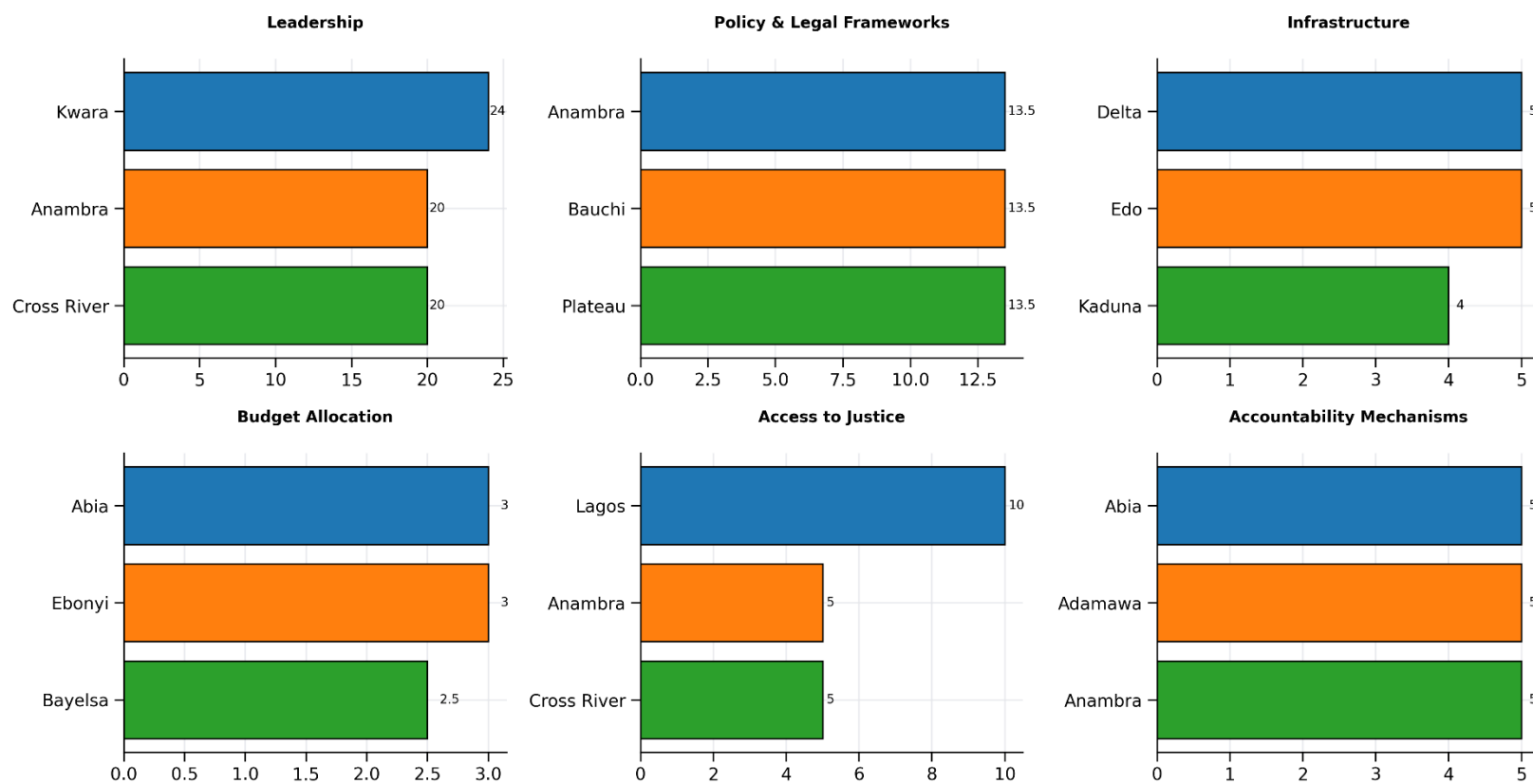


Figure 7: Top performing states by assessed GESI areas

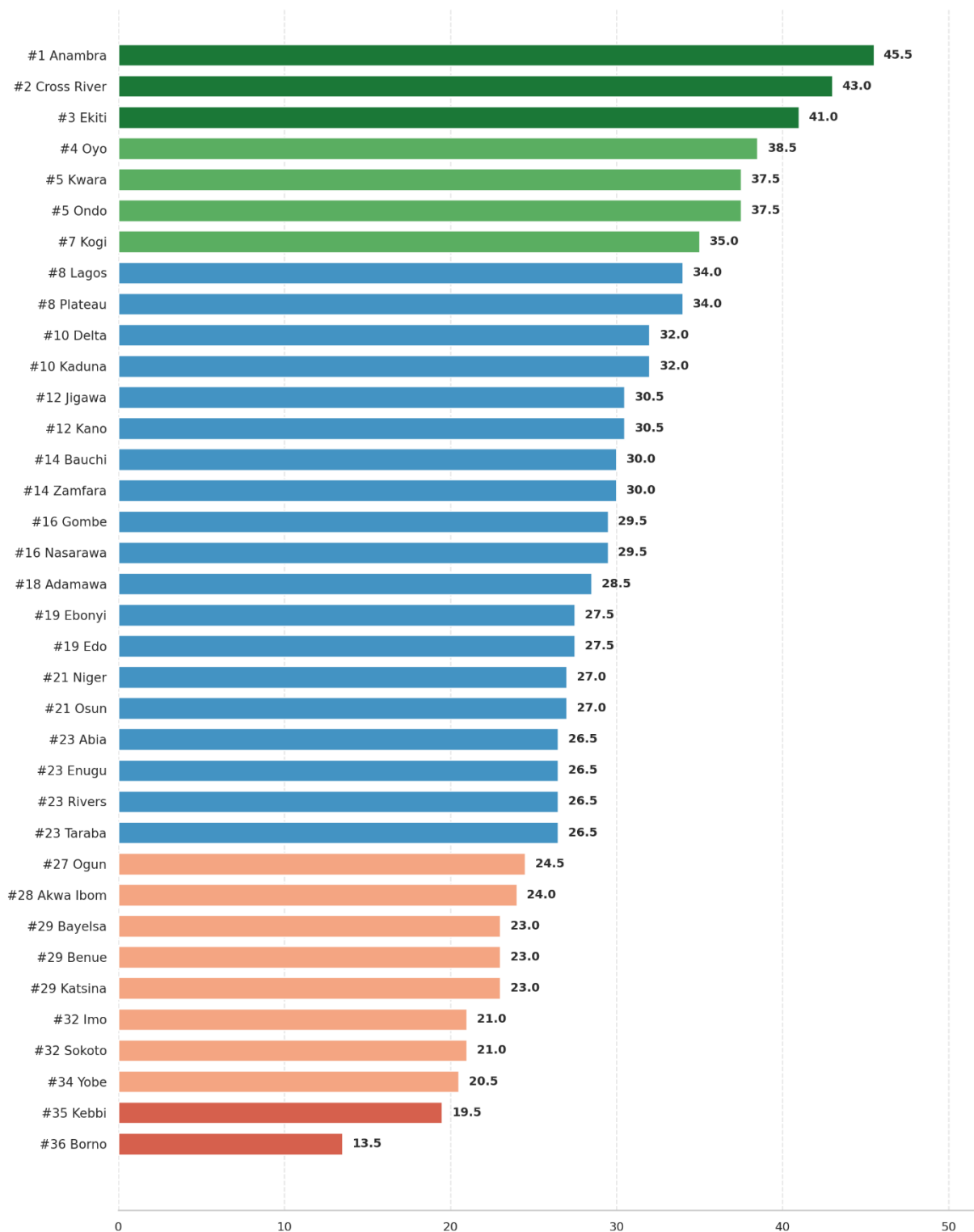


Figure 8: Ranking of the states based on overall performance

6.0 Challenges

Accessing data from government agencies proved to be one of the most significant challenges encountered during this assessment. Many agencies treated information that should ordinarily be publicly accessible with a high degree of secrecy. In several instances, obtaining data involved lengthy bureaucratic procedures that were both cumbersome and time-consuming. Even where data was successfully obtained, it was often not disaggregated by sex, age, or disability status, limiting its usefulness for an inclusion-focused assessment.

Another major challenge was verifying the age and disability status of individuals serving in State Houses of Assembly, State Executive Councils, and the Judiciary. Most of the official data obtained did not contain information on age or disability. To address this gap for members of State Houses of Assembly, the assessment team cross-checked available records against the list of candidates for the 2023 General Elections published by the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC). For members of State Executive Councils and the Judiciary, the team relied on online searches using names, positions, and other identifying information to locate relevant age and disability data from publicly available sources.

The absence of complete and up-to-date official records also necessitated extensive reliance on secondary online sources. In many cases, these sources provided conflicting information, making the processes of triangulation, verification, and reconciliation both difficult and time-consuming. This challenge affected the ease with which accurate and consistent data could be established across the assessed institutions.

Overall, the assessment highlighted significant weaknesses in data management practices across government institutions. The absence, inadequacy, or poor maintenance of basic demographic information on public office holders, both in physical records and online databases, presents a major obstacle to evidence-based planning, monitoring, and inclusion assessments. Strengthening data collection, management, and public accessibility systems will be essential to improving future assessments and promoting transparency and accountability.



7.0 Conclusion

The 2024 GESI Performance Leaderboard Assessment reveals that although several Nigerian states have made notable progress in promoting Gender Equality and Social Inclusion (GESI), significant gaps remain across all six areas assessed. The findings demonstrate that women, youth, and persons with disabilities continue to be underrepresented in political and public leadership, particularly within State Houses of Assembly, Executive Councils, and senior decision-making positions.

While substantial progress has been recorded in the adoption of laws addressing violence against persons and disability rights, the domestication of the National Gender Policy remains limited, and no state has enacted legislation specifically designed to increase the political participation of marginalized groups. Institutional mechanisms for promoting the rights and welfare of women and youth are relatively widespread, but dedicated structures for persons with disabilities remain insufficient in many states.

The assessment further highlights that most state secretariats are not designed to meet the accessibility needs of persons with disabilities and nursing mothers. Deficiencies in ramps, elevators, accessible toilets, and crèches continue to create barriers to inclusive participation in public service delivery.

Budgetary commitments to women, youth, and persons with disabilities remain generally low across the country, indicating a gap between policy intentions and financial investment. Similarly, access-to-justice mechanisms for vulnerable groups are inadequate, with only limited availability of anonymous reporting platforms and independent legal aid institutions. Although a number of states have embraced Open Government Partnership (OGP) principles, commitment to transparency, accountability, and citizen participation remains uneven.

Overall, the assessment underscores the need for stronger political will, increased investment, and deliberate actions by state governments to institutionalize inclusive governance. Without targeted reforms, Nigeria's commitment to the Sustainable Development Goals and the principle of "Leave No One Behind" will remain difficult to achieve.

8.0 Recommendations

8.1 Leadership and Representation

1. State governments and political parties should adopt affirmative action measures to increase the representation of women, youth, and persons with disabilities in elective and appointive positions.
2. States should establish measurable targets for inclusive appointments into Executive Councils, boards, commissions, and other public institutions.
3. Legislative reforms should be pursued to remove barriers and incentivize the political participation of marginalized groups.

8.2 Policy and Legal Frameworks

1. States that have not domesticated the National Gender Policy should prioritize its adoption and implementation.
2. State legislatures should enact laws promoting the political participation and inclusion of women, youth, and persons with disabilities.
3. All states should enact and effectively implement disability rights legislation and strengthen enforcement mechanisms.
4. States without dedicated agencies or commissions for persons with disabilities should establish such institutions and adequately fund them.

8.3 Accessibility of Public Infrastructure

1. State governments should undertake accessibility audits of all public buildings and develop phased plans for compliance with universal accessibility standards.
2. State secretariats should be equipped with ramps, functional elevators, accessible toilets, designated parking spaces, and other disability-friendly facilities.
3. Crèches and nursing facilities should be established in public institutions to support working mothers and citizens accessing government services.

8.4 GESI-Responsive Budgeting

1. State governments should increase budgetary allocations for programmes and projects targeting women, youth, and persons with disabilities.
2. Ministries of Finance, Budget, and Planning should institutionalize gender-responsive and disability-inclusive budgeting processes.

3. Annual budget performance reports should specifically track expenditure and outcomes relating to GESI commitments.

8.5 Access to Justice

1. All states should establish secure and anonymous online platforms for reporting human rights violations and gender-based abuses.
2. States should establish independent public defender or legal aid institutions with mandates to support vulnerable and marginalized populations.
3. Government agencies responsible for justice delivery should strengthen referral systems and provide accessible complaint-handling mechanisms for persons with disabilities.

8.6 Accountability and Open Governance

1. States that are not members of the Open Government Partnership should take steps to join and implement OGP principles.
2. Existing OGP states should strengthen citizen participation, transparency, public access to information, and accountability mechanisms.
3. Civil society organizations, development partners, and the media should continue monitoring and advocating for GESI commitments at the subnational level.

8.7 Monitoring and Sustainability

1. State governments should develop action plans based on assessment findings and publish periodic progress reports.
2. Development partners should support capacity building, data systems, and technical assistance to accelerate GESI mainstreaming across all states.
3. State governments, legislatures, judiciaries, and relevant public institutions should establish and maintain comprehensive databases containing sex-, age-, and disability-disaggregated data on public office holders, public sector employees, and beneficiaries of government programmes. Such data should be regularly updated, publicly accessible where appropriate, and integrated into planning, budgeting, monitoring, and reporting processes to support evidence-based decision-making and inclusive governance.

By implementing these recommendations, states can significantly improve inclusion, strengthen democratic governance, and ensure that women, youth, and persons with disabilities participate meaningfully in Nigeria's development process.

9.0 Appendices

1. Scoring Guide

Table 19: Scoring guide

S/N	Areas of Assessment	Sub-areas	Description	Allotted Score	Scoring guide
1	Leadership of women, youth and persons with disabilities	Leadership in the State Executive Council	Percent of commissioners that are women	5	0% - 0 0.5 – 0.9% - 1 1-5% - 2 6-10.99% - 3 11-15.99% -4 16% and above - 5
			Percent of commissioners that are youth	5	0% - 0 0.5 – 0.9% - 1 1-5.99% - 2 6-10.99% - 3 11-15.99% -4 16% and above – 5
			Percent of commissioners that are persons with disabilities	5	0% - 0 0.5 – 0.9% - 1 1-5.99% - 2 6-10.99% - 3 11-15.99% -4 16% and above – 5
		Leadership in the State House of Assembly	Percent of State House of Assembly Members that are women	5	0% - 0 0.5 – 0.9% - 1 1-5.99% - 2

					6-10.99% - 3 11-15.99% -4 16% and above – 5
			Percent of State House of Assembly Members that are youth (18-35 years)	5	0% - 0 0.5 – 0.9% - 1 1-5.99% - 2 6-10.99% - 3 11-15.99% -4 16% and above – 5
			Percent of State House of Assembly Members that are persons with disabilities	5	0% - 0 0.5 – 0.9% - 1 1-5.99% - 2 6-10.99% - 3 11-15.99% -4 16% and above – 5
		Leadership in the State Judiciary	Percent of the selected leadership positions in the State judiciary that are occupied by women (Chief Judge, Chief Registrar of High Court, President of Customary Court of Appeal, Chief Registrar of Customary Court of Appeal, Grand Kadi of Sharia Court of Appeal, Chief Registrar of Sharia Court of Appeal).	5	0% - 0 0.5 – 0.9% - 1 1-5.99% - 2 6-10.99% - 3 11-15.99% -4 16% and above – 5
			Percent of the selected leadership positions of the State judiciary that are occupied by the youth (Chief Judge, Chief Registrar of High Court, President of Customary Court of Appeal, Chief Registrar of Customary Court of Appeal, Grand Kadi of Sharia Court of Appeal, Chief Registrar of Sharia Court of Appeal).	5	0% - 0 0.5 – 0.9% - 1 1-5.99% - 2 6-10.99% - 3 11-15.99% -4 16% and above – 5
			Percent of the selected leadership positions of the State judiciary	5	0% - 0 0.5 – 0.9% - 1

			that are occupied by persons with disabilities (Chief Judge, Chief Registrar of High Court, President of Customary Court of Appeal, Chief Registrar of Customary Court of Appeal, Grand Kadi of Sharia Court of Appeal, Chief Registrar of Sharia Court of Appeal).		1-5.99% - 2 6-10.99% - 3 11-15.99% -4 16% and above – 5
2	Policy and Legal Framework	GESI Policies	State has a gender policy	5	Gender policy – 5 Absence of policy – 0 Policy under development - 1
		GESI Laws	- State has a violence against persons prohibition law - State has a law that promotes participation of marginalized groups in political leadership - State has a law that protects the rights of persons with disabilities	5	Violence prohibition law – 1.5 Political participation law – 1.5 Disability rights law – 2 Law is absent – 0 Law under development – 1
		Relevant institutional structures to ensure GESI	State has relevant institutional structures to ensure gender equality and social inclusion: State has a dedicated agency or department to enhance gender mainstreaming	5	Agency on women issues – 1.5 Agency on youth issues – 1.5 Agency on rights of persons with disabilities – 2 No agency – 0

			• State has a dedicated agency or department for youth development • State has a dedicated agency or department to protect rights of persons with disabilities		Agency pronounced but not fully functional - 1
3	Infrastructure	Building designs of the State Secretariat	The State Secretariat has: • Ramps/functional elevators for easy access for persons with disabilities especially those in wheelchairs • Toilets suitable for persons with disabilities • Creche for breastfeeding/nursing mothers	5	Secretariat has ramps and or functional elevators – 2 Secretariat has toilet suitable for PWDs – 2 Secretariat has a creche – 1 Ramps/elevators/creche/toilets are being constructed – 0.5 Ramps/elevators/creche/toilets are absent - 0
4		Budget for women's development projects and programmes	Percentage of State budget allocation to the agency responsible for women affairs	5	5% allocation and above – 5 4% -4.9 allocation – 4 3%-3.9 allocation – 3 2%-2.9 allocation – 2 1% -1.9 allocation – 1 0.01-0.9% allocation – 0.5

	Budget	Budget for youth development projects and programmes	Percentage of State budget allocation to the agency responsible for youth affairs	5	5% allocation and above – 5 4% -4.9allocation – 4 3%-3.9 allocation – 3 2%-2.9 allocation – 2 1% -1.9 allocation – 1 0.01-0.9% allocation – 0.5
		Budget for projects and programmes for persons with disabilities	Percentage of State budget allocation to the agency responsible for persons with disabilities	5	5% allocation and above – 5 4% -4.9allocation – 4 3%-3.9 allocation – 3 2%-2.9 allocation – 2 1% -1.9 allocation – 1 0.01-0.9% allocation – 0.5
5	Access to justice	Simplified processes for reporting human rights violations	State has anonymous online reporting platform for human rights violations	5	State has anonymous online reporting platform – 5 State does not have anonymous online reporting platform – 0 Anonymous online reporting platform is being developed - 1
		Legal aid for the vulnerable	State has an independent organized structure to provide legal aid to the vulnerable	5	State has an independent organized structure to provide legal aid to the vulnerable – 5 State does not have an independent organized structure to provide legal aid to the vulnerable – 0

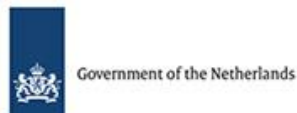
					An independent organized structure to provide legal aid to the vulnerable is being developed - 1
6	Accountability Mechanisms	Commitment to Open Governance	State has committed to Open Government Partnership to implement initiatives that improve public service and governance	5	State has signed up to OGP – 5 State has not signed up to OGP and has not started the process of signing up – 0 State is in the process to sign up to OGP - 1



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