Executive Summary

How to Deepen Gender, Social and Political Inclusion in Nigeria
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How to Deepen Gender, Social and Political Inclusion in Nigeria

More than 60 years after independence, Nigeria still struggles with building an inclusive society. Cries of political marginalisation, which predated independence, have yet to abate. The socio-economic disparity in gender relations remains wide. The low level of inclusion is evident in the unequal power relations and exclusionary processes which have left limited spaces for marginalized groups to participate in the social, political and economic life of the nation. Today’s numerous challenges of terrorism, banditry, rising debt burden, hyperinflation and other social ills may have somewhat eclipsed discourse on inclusion, but the push to make it a mainstream issue, in the run-up to the 2023 general elections, is no less strident or necessary.

Low level of inclusion incapacitates not just the excluded groups but the country itself. Nigeria thus undermines itself by limiting the potentials of significant segments of its population: women, youths, people living with disabilities, ethnic and religious minorities etc. Deepening inclusion in Nigeria is therefore not a favour to the excluded groups but a sensible route to the overall national development. Continuing to leave substantial segments of the population behind amounts to Nigeria shooting itself in the foot or punching grossly below its weight. It is thus in Nigeria’s enlightened self-interest to be a more inclusive society.

As a concept, Gender Equality and Social Inclusion (GESI) addresses unequal power relations experienced by people due to gender, wealth, ability, location, caste/ethnicity, language, agency, or a combination of these dimensions. It highlights the need for action to rebalance power relations, reduce disparities, and ensure equal rights, opportunities, and respect for all individuals regardless of their social identity.

This assignment adopts two tracks. First, it is diagnostic, deploying extensive literature/desk review and strategic consultations to unearth the causes of factors that drive gender inequality and social and political exclusion of certain groups in Nigeria (ethno-religious groups, women, youth, and persons with disabilities (PWDs), among others). The second track used stakeholder and power analyses to identify persons with a mandate to act, and proffers policy actions for current and future governments to foster inclusion in all ramifications.

The causes of exclusion, as gleaned from the diagnostic phase of this assignment, are shown in Box 1.

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**BOX 1 - CAUSES OF EXCLUSION IN NIGERIA**

**Ethnic and Religious Minorities**
- Political and Economic Structures
- Real/perceived inequality in access to power and resources
- Weak Implementation of the Federal Character Act

**Women**
- Patriarchy
- Socio-cultural and religious norms promote gender inequality
- Political Corruption, Money Politics
- Gendered clientelism
- Political violence
- Women’s inadequate political experience.
- Electoral Law does not provide for Affirmative Action

**Youths**
- Ageism
- Weak Youth development, unequal and inappropriate education; unemployment
- Poor representation in politics
- Political Exclusion

**Persons with Disabilities**
- Ableism
- Stigma and Discrimination
- Weak implementation of the Disability Act -Inaccessible infrastructure
- Lack of access to education and employment
Arising from that, specific recommendations for fostering inclusion of the various groups have been made.

In carrying out this research/study, we arrived at one inescapable fact: there is no magic bullet in nation-building. A lot will depend on the disposition of the political/administrative actors and the mindset of the larger populace. The recommended options presented here are products of a painstaking process, further lent credence by the triangulation of data from multiple sources and a convergence of opinions.

**Recommendations for Greater inclusion of Ethno-Religious Groups**

✚ There is consensus that the best structure of government for Nigeria, like every other plural state, is federalism.

✚ Recognising that there is too much concentration of powers at the centre, the paper recommends the following:

i. Constitutional amendment to devolve more powers to the sub-national units – Specifically, devolution of powers in this instance means reducing the powers at the centre and giving more powers and responsibilities to the states and local governments.

ii. To ensure that states and local governments are able to fulfil their mandates, a sustained programme of capacity-building to reinvigorate states and local governments is recommended. The Local Government and State service commissions should be encouraged to deploy their allocations to develop and enhance the knowledge and skills of staff, at both levels, through in-school and in-service trainings and to build a system of accountability and probity.

iii. Equally recommended is an oversight system that holds public office holders to account and actively engages civil society organisations including NGOs, town unions, religious organisations and other groups at the state and local levels.

✚ Inclusion would be fostered if there is sufficient fidelity to the letters and spirit of the federal character principle as contained in Section 14 of the 1999 Constitution, and designed to ensure fair representation of all Nigerians in appointive positions. This entails reflecting the nation’s geopolitical diversities in appointments and other instances. This recommendation is anchored on the firm belief that every geo-political region has qualified persons to fill available positions. Such fair and equitable representation should, however, be primarily merit-based.

✚ Rotational Presidency - The idea of rotational presidency as an antidote to feelings of exclusion has always generated divergent views. Proponents often tend to cite as a good practice the Swiss model of "collective presidency" where leadership rotates periodically. However, given the multiplicity of ethnic groups in the country, a system that rotates the position of president among the geopolitical zones would be more manageable. This rotational presidency should be written into the constitution and not left to the prerogative of political parties or actors.
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Similar to rotational presidency is a proposal by some stakeholders on the need to have six Vice presidents drawn from each of the geo-political zones of the country at any given time. Proposals in this section are options for further consultations. The democratic experiment requires the testing of models as Nigeria’s democracy evolves.

Deepening National Integration through social re-orientation - Sixty two years after independence, the “diversity is strength” should no longer simply be a feel-good notion invoked by politicians, but which hardly reflects the country’s reality. There needs to be a true process of social re-orientation to eliminate prejudices, and promote national integration and unity that is led by the National Orientation Agency (NOA), and driven by the media, civil society and educational institutions. Such programme should be integrated into formal and informal curricula at all levels.

There should be a collective push from the Civil Society, the media, pressure groups and the electorate towards dismantling cronyism and enthroning a society with equal opportunities for citizens to actualise their potentials at the local, state and national levels. It is recommended that the government demonstrates greater respect for the rule of law, especially hinged on these three core principles: supremacy of the law, equality before the law (no sacred cows) and fundamental human rights. Although there are wide-ranging interpretations of the rule of law, the concept generally has the following features: existence of clear and easily accessible laws, an independent and impartial judiciary, respect for human rights, and prohibition of the exercise of arbitrary discretionary powers.

National integration will be better served by an emphasis on citizenship as opposed to indigene-ship, a concept that is often exploited to exclude persons considered non-indigenes. Women tend to bear the brunt, especially with regards to standing for elections. Indigeneity is usually dubiously invoked to question women’s legitimacy to represent their constituencies or their husbands’ (with a few exceptions). The paper recommends that:

- The National Assembly amends the Constitution to clearly define the concept of indigeneity and to pass into law a Residency Bill of Rights that prohibits and criminalises discrimination against residents that have fulfilled minimum conditions (e.g. a specified number of years of residency; payment of taxes in the place of residence, etc).
- The National Assembly amends sections 31 and 318(1) to allow women claim their husbands’ state of origin after marriage.¹

Civil society has a responsibility to monitor implementation of constitutional provisions and engage in public interest litigation to redress arbitrariness and flagrant disregard for the rule of law.

¹This was one of the bills submitted to the National Assembly by the women’s movement in Nigeria during the last constitution amendment exercise.
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On Fostering Gender Equality and Socio-Political Inclusion, we recommend that:

- A transformation of the legislative arm to a gender-responsive/transformative institution – one which creates laws that address the root causes of inequality (e.g. patriarchy and discriminatory traditions) and seeks to change existing social and cultural constructs of inequality. This requires dedicated infrastructure to ensure that bills and laws are read and analysed through a gender-sensitive lens. Some of these infrastructures are: Parliamentary committees, Women’s parliamentary caucuses, a dedicated Gender Equality Committee, and a Gender Technical Unit (GTU). Some of these infrastructures already exist but they need to be further strengthened and

- For example, section 26 of the Constitution should be amended to allow Nigerian women’s citizenship extend to their foreign husbands.

- On political inclusion, the paper presents two options for narrowing the gender gap:

  **Option 1 – A change of electoral system from Majoritarian to Proportional Representation**

  **Option 2 – Introduction of Gender Quotas into the Current Majoritarian Electoral System**

Many countries across the world use some sort of electoral quota as a vehicle to correct the historical marginalisation of women and to fast-track inclusion. The paper supports the three bills submitted by the women’s movement to the National Assembly to promote women’s political inclusion:

1. **The Reserved Seats Bill**, which seeks to, among others, amend sections 48, 49 and 91 of the constitution to create additional seats for women at the national and state legislatures;

2. **The Affirmative Action Bill** to specifically amend Section 223 of the constitution to ensure women occupy at least 35% in political party administration and appointive positions;

3. **The Bill on Ministerial or Commissioner Nomination** to, among others, amend sections 147 and 192 so that at least 35% of the nominees are women.

In addition,
- It is recommended that the National Assembly amends Nigeria’s electoral laws to insert gender equality and inclusion clauses. This would compel political parties to nominate and support qualified female candidates.
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Many laws that provide for equality have been in existence for many years (19 years for the Child Rights Act (CRA), 10 years of the National Policy on Internally Displaced Persons, 7th year of the VAPP, 3rd year of the Disability Act and 16 years of the previous National Gender Policy). Yet, women and men, stratified by various categories, still suffer exclusion from economic and political participation.

Government Ministries, Departments and agencies should take concrete steps to implement existing provisions, such as the National Gender Policy (2021-2026) with its 50:50 affirmative action provision, the new National Development Plan (2021-2025) which devotes a chapter to women, and other vulnerable groups, and the Constitution – particularly Chapter 4, Section 42 sub-sections (1) (2) and (3) which prohibits discrimination. This requires a system-wide approach, coordinated by the lead ministries.

As a good practice, the Legislative Advocacy Coalition on Violence Against Women (LACVAV) has developed a costed workplan/estimated budget for the implementation of the Violence Against Persons Prohibition Act in the FCT. LACVAV is currently embarking on advocacy and lobbying both at the National Assembly and to Chairpersons of Area Councils to include elements of the costed workplan in their budgets.

Also, Women’s Rights Advancement and Protection Alternative (WRAPA) is currently partnering with the Federal Ministry of Women Affairs, line ministries and their sub-national representatives to drive the implementation of the National Gender Policy (2021-2026).

Civil society and development partners should support gender-responsive and inclusive budgeting within all government departments, as a step towards further promotion of gender equality and social inclusion. Budget and expenditure analyses through gender and diversity lenses are highly recommended as core government functions or in collaboration with CSOs with expertise in budget and expenditure tracking, such as BudgIT.

Activate the architecture for gender equality and social inclusion. The National Gender Policy provides for the establishment of a Gender Management System (GMS) with four reinforcing components: the enabling environment, GMS structures, GMS mechanisms, and GMS processes. For this model to achieve desired results, we recommend a lead agency domiciled in the Presidency, endowed with authority to influence resource allocation.
Recommendations to Deepen Youth Inclusion

Nigeria’s population consists largely of young people; the country has one of the largest percentages of young people in the world (74.22%: 28.76% below age 15 and 45.46% in the age range 15 -35).2 Ironically, youth representation in political office is less than 6%. Although efforts have been made to promote political inclusion for the youth, notably through the Not-Too-Young-to-Run Act 2018 which reduced the minimum age qualification to run for certain offices, ageist attitudes continue to exclude youth.

To deepen youth inclusion, we recommend the following:

**Federal, State and local governments**

- Ensure adequate youth representation in appointive positions beyond media or youth-focused roles.
- Establish a fund to promote youth leadership development, civic engagement and political participation through fellowships, internships and mentorship initiatives
- Promote civic education in schools
- Integrate youth-responsive budgeting in the design and implementation of annual appropriation bills to improve budget outcomes for youth.
- Create a policy framework to ensure coordination, harmonisation and monitoring of youth interventions aimed at addressing youth unemployment, and youth skills gaps.

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National and state legislatures

- Undertake legislative reforms to create a conducive legal environment for youth inclusion in decision making. For instance, the constitution should be amended to make provisions for youth quotas, and reduction of the age criteria for all executive bodies,

- Further amend the Not Too Young To Run Act, to reduce the minimum age qualification for contesting for Governor and Senate from 35 to 30 in line with the original demands of the proponents of the bill

- Enact legislations to impose strict limits on campaign expenses and reform the candidate nomination process in political parties

- Improve the quality and frequency of legislative oversight on youth development at the national and state levels.

Political parties

- Political parties should allocate voluntary quotas to youths (female and male) to contest elections and hold non-youth related positions in the party’s leadership and organs.

- Review internal policy documents and constitution to define youth in line with the National Youth Policy or African Youth Charter

- Co-design and co-implement youth development programmes to improve leadership, political organising and mobilisation skills

- Establish youth wings to facilitate youth membership of parties, articulation and advancement of youth interest in parties.

Youth organizations and civil society

- Promote youth inclusion though strategic advocacy with key institutions, capacity building and research to harness and analyse trends and data on youth inclusion.

Media

- Review media coverage on youth to improve public perception on youth leadership in decision making. Positive attributes of the youth demography and their contributions to nation building should be showcased.

- Adopt the Positive Youth Development Framework (PYD)\(^3\) as an organising frame for mutually reinforcing efforts to harness youth power.

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\(^3\) Positive Youth Development (PYD) is an approach that engages young people along with their families, communities, and government. This approach focuses on building skills, assets, and competencies in young people to foster healthy relationships, strengthen the environment and transform systems. It illustrates that to achieve the vision of healthy, productive, and engaged youth, programmes, interventions, and policies should improve young people’s assets, agency, contribution, and environment. Source: https://leapafrica.org/positive-youth-development-towards-securing-africas-future/
Recognising that youth development spans various thematic areas, a government/system-wide approach that deploys joint activities performed by various ministries, departments and agencies (MDAs) targeting various thematic areas simultaneously and at all tiers of government is recommended. The Federal Ministry of Youth and Sports as custodian could play a coordinating role that establishes linkages among relevant MDAs.

- Promotive and Protective Environment for Youth Development: The government of Nigeria, through the Federal Ministry of Youth and Sports Development and other stakeholders to ensure an enabling environment (laws, policies, processes and mechanisms) that is supportive of optimal development of youth and protective of their fundamental human rights, thereby ensuring inclusion, equal opportunities for development and freedom from abuse, violence, intimidation and discrimination.4

- The government of Nigeria, through the Federal Ministry of Youth and Sports Development to invest in youth’s human capital development - This includes access to quality formal and informal education, capacity-building and skills development, with emphasis on technical education resulting in the acquisition of marketable skills that provide access to a global market.

  - Encourage enrolment in Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics (STEM) courses by offering annual bursaries to eligible STEM undergraduates.

  - Government at all levels to allocate resources to implement the National Development Plan’s policy objective and target to reduce the number of Nigerian youth ages 15-24 that are not in education, employment or training from a baseline of 20% to 10% by 2025.

- Governments at all levels Implement stringent measures to address youth unemployment – The National Youth Policy proposes job creation at an average of 3.7 million jobs per year with priority on youth employment. Also, the National Development Plan commits to driving massive job creation across sectors including the sports sector.

- Government’s commitment to youth development should not be mere lip service. Initiatives such as the National Youth Investment Fund (NYIF) need to be strengthened and better implemented. An estimated N60 billion is allocated to youth development in the current National Development Plan.

- A more deliberate implementation of the Not-Too-Young-to Run Act by all stakeholders is recommended.

The proponents of the Not Too Young To Run Act initially demanded a reduction of the age limits for President from 40 to 35, Senate and Governor from 35 to 30, and House of Representatives and State Houses of Assembly from 30 to 25. However, the proposals for Governor and Senate were rejected, the result being that a person must still be at least 35 to contest in senatorial or governorship elections.

- Capacity Building, Political Orientation and Mentorship of Youtths –

  - The inclusion of civic education in schools’ curricula at all levels by the Federal Ministry of Education is recommended.

  - Political parties and other stakeholders to facilitate mentoring of young, up and coming politicians. Particularly, the Nigerian Youth Parliament (NYP) as a Legislative and Developmental Training Institution has a strategic role to play in the political orientation and development of young people. Governments need to invest in the NYP, support its establishment in states and re-position it to become an electoral institute for young people.

4This is a core commitment of the National Youth Policy.
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The Media, National Orientation Agency and Civil Society organisations to promote the narrative of youth driving change – Profiling of young innovators and changemakers would encourage their peers. This is a role for the media, the National Orientation Agency and civil society organisations.

Reduce the Influence of Money in Politics - A review of the Electoral Act 2022 to reduce the ceiling on election expenses to give the youth a better chance to contest on an equal footing with the older politicians.

Ensure that the voices of youths are heard through various mechanisms including:

- Civil society organisations to strengthen the capacity of youth groups/organisations to make inputs into national discourse and decision-making processes;
- CSOs to create safe spaces for youth to build and practice the use of life skills;
- Government to implement the “5 for 5 demands” submitted during the nationwide #EndSARS protests in 2020. This is a commitment in the new National Development Policy (2021-2025)

Recommendations to Deepen PWD Inclusion

People with Disabilities (PWDs) face high levels of discrimination in Nigeria due to the widespread practice of ‘ableism.’ This is the discrimination of and social prejudice against PWDs based on the belief that typical abilities are superior. In some traditions, disability is seen as a curse or something to be ashamed of, and results in exclusion of PWDs. Also, some PWDs reportedly self-stigmatise for fear of embarrassment. Box 1 lists some other causes of PWDs’ exclusion.

To foster greater inclusion of PWDs, the following recommendations are proposed:

- The National Bureau of Statistics and other critical stakeholders should address the data gap by ensuring robust disaggregation on the basis of number of PWDs per location, demographic distribution, type of disabilities and specific needs. This is necessary for adequate planning and budgetary allocations.
- Civil society organisations including organisations of persons with disabilities, the media and the National Orientation Agency to embark on widespread sensitisation and knowledge building to deconstruct myths surrounding disability as a curse or something to be ashamed of.
- Civil society organisations should massively mobilise states to adopt the Disability Act. Currently, the Disability Act has only been adopted - and therefore has force of law - in only 19 out of the 36 states in Nigeria.
- Promote the Implementation of the Disability Act at all Levels – The Disability Act has several provisions to protect the rights of PWDs and imposes sanctions on offenders, such as fines and imprisonment of persons who discriminate against PWDs, but cases are rarely taken up.
  - The National Disability Commission to collaborate with OPDs and CSOs to develop an

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Box 1: Causes of PWDs’ Exclusion

- Ableism
- Social prejudice against PWDs
- Disability seen as a curse or something to be ashamed of
- Self-stigmatisation for fear of embarrassment
- Other causes

Section 1, Discrimination Against Persons with Disabilities (Prohibition) Act 2018
implementation plan and budget for implementing the Act.

- CSOs including OPDs and media to embark on monitoring implementation, budget release and expenditure and provide periodic reports.
- The Senate and House of Representatives Committees on PWDs to pragmatically facilitate budget allocation, oversight and public hearings on implementation of the Disability Act.

A National Revolution to Ensure a Barrier-Free Society – Elimination of physical barriers in the environment (barriers related to roads, stations, buildings, etc.) is key to PWDs inclusion. In Nigeria, this would mean a complete overhaul of the current order and is achievable in the long term (e.g. by 2032) with annual milestones:

- Infrastructural Accessibility for PWDs- The Act provides for integration of PWDs into society by stipulating that public buildings, roadside walks, pedestrian crossings, and other special facilities be made accessible. A transitory period of five years was given within which ‘these structures shall be modified to become accessible to PWDs’. The Act was passed in 2018, the five-year transitory period will end in 2023. As noted by the National Development Plan, 98.5% of public buildings are still not accessible to PWDs. A national policy that mandates all public buildings to be made accessible to PWDs with a specified period is recommended. This will entail a series of actions (among others.)

- Town Planning/Development Control to take the lead in incorporating time-bound guidelines for the modification of all public buildings to construct ramps, use of embossed tiles for public corridors, ensure that high-rise buildings have elevators fitted and appropriate and separate conveniences for PWDs.

- Town Planning/Development Control to ensure that new building plans meet specifications for PWDs’ access as part of approval processes.

- Government to provide incentives (e.g. tax incentives) for private sector businesses that comply with guidelines for PWD inclusion.

Ensure Barrier-free Mobility and Transportation – It is recommended that the Federal Ministry of Works and Housing and the Federal Ministry of Transportation collaborate on design of guidelines for barrier-free mobility and public transportation, including: barrier-free walkways; incorporation of car/bus models suitable for PWDs, including rail transport all equipped with lifting devices and tailored parking spaces for PWDs.

Invest in PWDs Human Capital Development to Ensure PWDs Social and Political Inclusion – This would entail:

- The Joint National Association of Persons with Disabilities (JONAPWD) and other competent OPDs and CSOs, with government and donor support to provide PWD-sensitivity training and orientation for service providers in all sectors, including schools, health facilities, recreational facilities, licensing authorities, banks, etc.

6Sections 3-5, Discrimination Against Persons with Disabilities (Prohibition) Act 2018
7Section 6, Discrimination Against Persons with Disabilities (Prohibition) Act 2018
• JONAPWD and other competent OPDs and CSOs, with government and donor support to provide training for sign language interpreters in service sectors. An expert interviewed mentioned that the Badagry Hospital in Lagos, Nigeria, has some trained doctors who understand sign language. This is a good practice that should be widely adopted.

• The Federal Ministry of Education should equip schools to deliver integrated/inclusive education, which includes training of teachers, modification of infrastructure, facilitating access to knowledge by making school books available in accessible formats – audio books, braille versions of textbooks; set up braille press in schools. An expert interviewed mentioned that Queen’s College in Lagos has a braille press set up by the Old Students Association, making it possible for visually-impaired students to access brailled question papers.

• The Federal Ministry of Education to ensure PWDs have access to ICT training and equipment.

• Government at all levels to invest in local production of assistive devices. This will also contribute to job creation for PWDs and non-PWDs.

• Government at all levels to invest in the rehabilitation of PWDs by renovating existing centres and building new ones.

• Government at all levels should implement the 5% employment quota for PWDs enshrined in the Disability Act, and provide tax incentives for private sector organisations that make reasonable arrangements/adjustments to support inclusion of PWDs in the workplace.

• JONAPWD and the National Disability Commission to strengthen the hiring pipeline by tapping the talent pool of PWDs. Many PWDs self-stigmatise and would not apply for jobs for which they are qualified. Also, the recruitment system in many companies tends to undermine or exclude PWDs. Some companies are working to build a database of qualified PWDs by interacting more with the community. Some have adjusted recruitment procedures to make them accessible to qualified PWDs, e.g. Microsoft.

• The Federal Ministry of Youth and Sports Development in collaboration with other stakeholders should create programmes that enhance PWDs’ self-esteem and give them some mainstream presence through talent hunts and sporting events, etc.

• JONAPWD in collaboration with appropriate government bodies to promote PWDs’ access to credit and markets by engaging financial institutions to understand the business case for supporting PWD’s inclusion. Recent economic modelling found a strong correlation between financial performance and well-developed disability-inclusion practices.

• Government at all levels to create a special funds for PWD development.
To Promote PWDs Inclusion in Politics

Political parties have a role to play in ensuring inclusion of PWDs, as do the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC), its representatives at the state level and the National Assembly. We recommend that:

- JONAPWD and other relevant CSOs, embark on the training of party executives and members, INEC staff and management on disability sensitivity.

- Political parties should endeavour to include voluntary quotas in their constitutions to ensure substantive inclusion in activities and nomination as candidates. That would be a major step from the current tokenistic posturing.

- The National Assembly should make laws to enshrine quotas and other legislative measures for inclusion of PWDs.

- Implementation and monitoring (by CSOs including OPDs) of the PWD inclusion provisions of the Electoral Act and guidelines by INEC.

In sum, we recommend a system-wide approach that involves collaboration between all organs of government, the private sector and civil society to tackle the myriad of issues that result in PWDs’ exclusion.
About Agora Policy
Agora Policy is a Nigerian think tank and non-profit committed to finding practical solutions to urgent national challenges. We conduct policy research, facilitate frank and purposeful dialogues, and build capacity for governance, policy and advocacy.

About the IIAPP Project
The Informed, Inclusive and Accountable Public Policies (IIAPP) project is designed to achieve three things: one, to maximise the opportunity provided by the electioneering and transition periods and beyond to sustain attention on and further mainstream transparency, accountability, gender equity and social inclusion into policy and governance discourse in Nigeria; two, to generate original and credible evidence before, during and after the 2023 elections to focus the attention of the country on key policy areas and, ultimately, the adoption of sensible, inclusive and effective policies on key national challenges; and three, to deepen the capacity of state and non-state actors to undertake evidence-driven policy analysis, design, implementation and advocacy. The IIAPP is supported by the MacArthur Foundation.