



*Legislative Bills on Improved  
Women's Representation and Issues:  
A Review*



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# 1. Introduction

## 1.1 Background

Little has changed since Nigerian women secured the right to vote because Nigeria's political space has remained male dominated.<sup>1</sup> While many more women are exercising their right to vote, participating in election campaigns and mobilising support for political candidates (who are mostly men), they have been unable to secure the representation of other women in decision making or elective platforms. This is not attributed to the women voters, but to a political system that has made it difficult for women to emerge as candidates for political parties, to safely contest for elections, and ultimately win those elections. Conversations around the underrepresentation of women in the Nigerian political space are not novel; it is a topic that continues to draw the interest and observations of stakeholders.

While the underrepresentation of women in politics is a significant problem in Nigeria, it is also a global issue. This reality has indeed been underscored by the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU, 2019) which points out that virtually all legislative bodies across the globe are male-dominated in nature. To address this, about 118 countries, as at 2013, had devised different means to transform the composition of their legislatures, mostly by increasing electoral positions for women through quota arrangements, a significant increase from 90 countries as at 2006.<sup>2</sup> It is evident that this has yielded benefits as the global average of women parliamentarians has increased from 11.6 per cent in 1995<sup>3</sup> to 24.5% as at 2019<sup>4</sup>. And yet, this is still below the 35 per cent benchmark identified worldwide as the necessary level of representation to achieve a "critical mass" of women that are able to make significant impact. The drive to promote women's participation within the political space was spurred particularly during the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing, China in 1995, which recommended that at least 30 per cent of positions in national governments should be reserved for women.

With the global move towards increasing women's representation in politics, Nigeria has struggled to move with the trend. Although the National Gender Policy (2006) was enthusiastic in its effort by indicating 35 per cent for women, going 5 per cent above the Beijing call, one notes with dismay that theory has not translated into practice. This is in spite of concerted efforts by various activist

1 The right to vote was extended to all Nigerian women in 1979, whereas men started voting in Nigeria in 1922- a difference of fifty seven years. Women in Nigeria's Southern region were enfranchised (allowed to vote and contest office) in stages beginning in the 1950's, whereas women in the Northern region could only do so in the late 1970's.

2 Krook, ML. 2006. 'Gender Quotas, Norms and Politics'. *Politics and Gender*, 2(1): 110-118.

3 See: UN Women, Women's Political Leadership & Participation. Available at: <https://www.unwomen.org/-/media/headquarters/attachments/sections/library/publications/2013/12/un%20womenlgthembriefuswebrev2%20pdf.ashx>

4 See International Parliamentary Union Women in National Parliaments. Available at: <http://archive.ipu.org/wmn-e/world.htm>

groups and stakeholders to advocate for the adoption and passage of proactive legislative measures aimed at increasing gender representation and participation in politics. The abysmal figures of women in the National Assembly recorded following the 2019 elections (only 7 women in the Senate and 12 in the House of Representatives<sup>5</sup>) show the effect of failure to adopt such policies.

Comparatively, it is noteworthy that other African countries like Senegal, Rwanda, Uganda, South Africa, Sudan, Mozambique, Burkina Faso, and Kenya (ongoing) have resorted to legislative mechanisms and instruments through constitutional amendments, electoral codes, and even party quotas to address this problem. Indeed, Rwanda tops countries in the world with 61.25% women representation in parliament which was achieved through consistent campaigns. Senegal also witnessed an increase following the passage of a gender parity law in 2010, where women representatives increased from 22.7% to 41.8% in the National Assembly and from 16% to 47% in local legislature in the 2014 local election. Also, after the 2019 general elections in South Africa, the President ensured that his cabinet reflected a 50-50 gender representation, similar actions were taken in Ethiopia and Rwanda.

It is imperative, then, that for Nigeria to witness any significant change in women's presence in the political space, the National Assembly would have to devise aggressive and concrete measures to achieve this. This does not only involve political will on the part of legislators, but also consistent and deliberate collaboration with civil society groups and other relevant stakeholders to ensure women's visibility in the Nigerian political space.

Adequate women's representation in decision making spaces helps advance a range of key policy issues affecting women and disadvantaged populations. Expert studies have shown that the type of issues prioritised or considered, and solutions that are proposed by men and women legislators often differ. For instance, it has been found that female legislators are more likely than their male counterparts to sponsor women's issue bills such as education, child-care, and family health legislation, and as well, prioritise key development indicators. In Rwanda for instance, one of the things that women did when their numbers increased in parliament was to use legislative powers to propose a bill on violence against women. This has also been seen with the type of bills that have come before the Nigerian National Assembly (NASS). This type of response or disposition is part of what this study seeks to review.

## *1.2 Objectives of the Study*

In light of the glaring disparity between men and women in terms of political representation and participation, and resulting inadequate focus on issues affecting women in the policy and law making space, this study is expected to contribute to debates on concrete measures that are necessary to

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<sup>5</sup> Figures at inception of the 9<sup>th</sup> Assembly. An 8<sup>th</sup> woman is about to be sworn into the 9<sup>th</sup> Senate. Court decisions often alter the constitution of NASS. For instance, the 8<sup>th</sup> House of Representatives commenced with about 15 women having confirmed seats and ended with 22 women following resolution of election petitions.



increase the visibility of women and women issues in the political and policymaking space in the country. The study provides readers with an overview of National Assembly's (NASS) efforts thus far to support women's political participation and representation in Nigeria, the trends in legislative dispositions and sponsorship of women's issue bills, and some factors that have facilitated or obstructed the passage of such bills. Further still, the research serves to motivate strategic legislative responses directed at enhancing gender parity in the political space in Nigeria, especially through using effective measures such as gender quotas, or other applicable measures, to spur women's representation in government and decision-making in Nigeria. In coming to a conclusion, the study recommends strategies for engaging the National Assembly on women's issue bills.

### *1.3 Study Methodology*

The study was qualitative in nature and data was collected through semi-structured in-depth interviews with Clerks and Staff of the following Committees in the House of Representatives: Rules and Business; Women Affairs and Social Development; Women in Parliament; Political Parties Matters; and Justice. For the Senate, interviews were conducted with Clerk and Staff of the following Committees: Women Affairs; Rules and Business; Judiciary, Human Rights and Legal Matters; and Federal Character and Intergovernmental Affairs. In each instance, interviews were conducted with a Staff of the Committee where a Clerk was absent. A total of ten interviews were conducted. The second phase of the research was mostly a desk review and consisted of gathering relevant documents such as Bill Progression Charts of National Assembly and Journals of Bills from the NASS. Content analysis was employed to analyse the data collected. The major limitation to this study was the challenge of obtaining records and copies of bills from certain periods, such as private members constitution amendment bills proposals, which made it difficult to review the contents of those bills to properly ascertain if women issues were addressed and to what extent they were. This is typically caused by inadequate record keeping and archiving by the custodians of these documents.

Figure 1: Gender Representation in the Senate, 1999-2019<sup>6</sup>

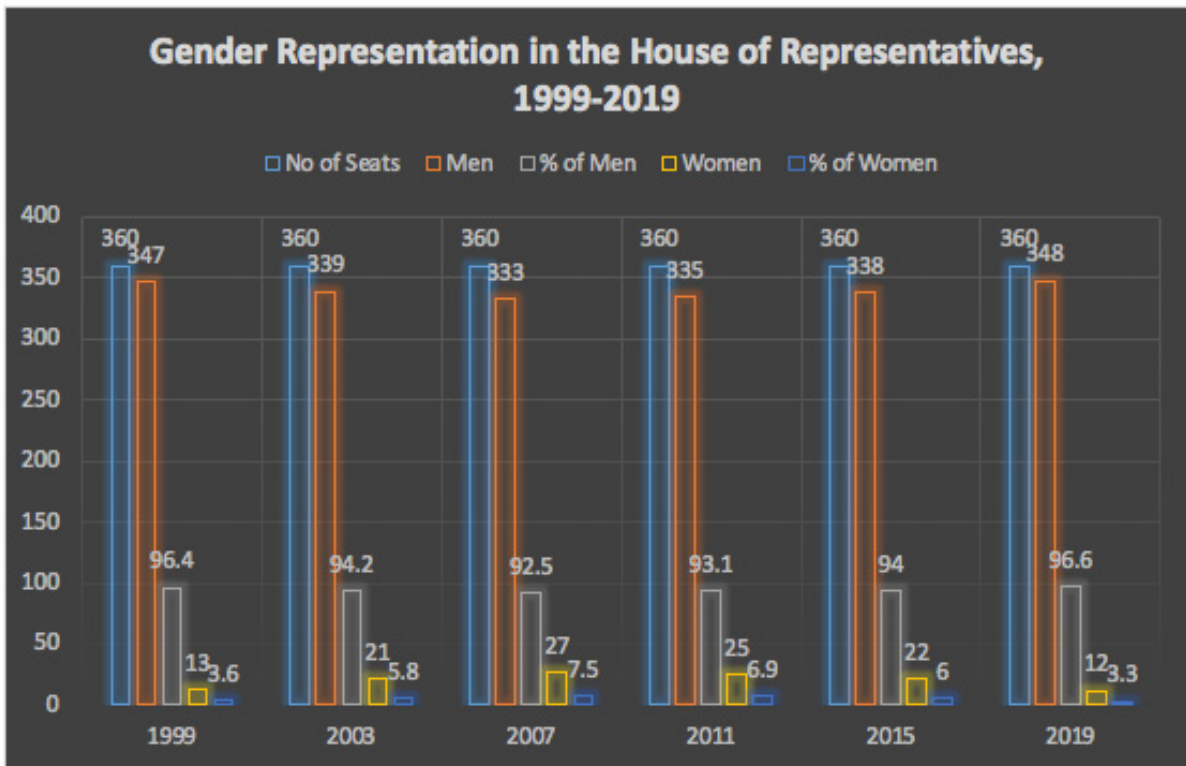
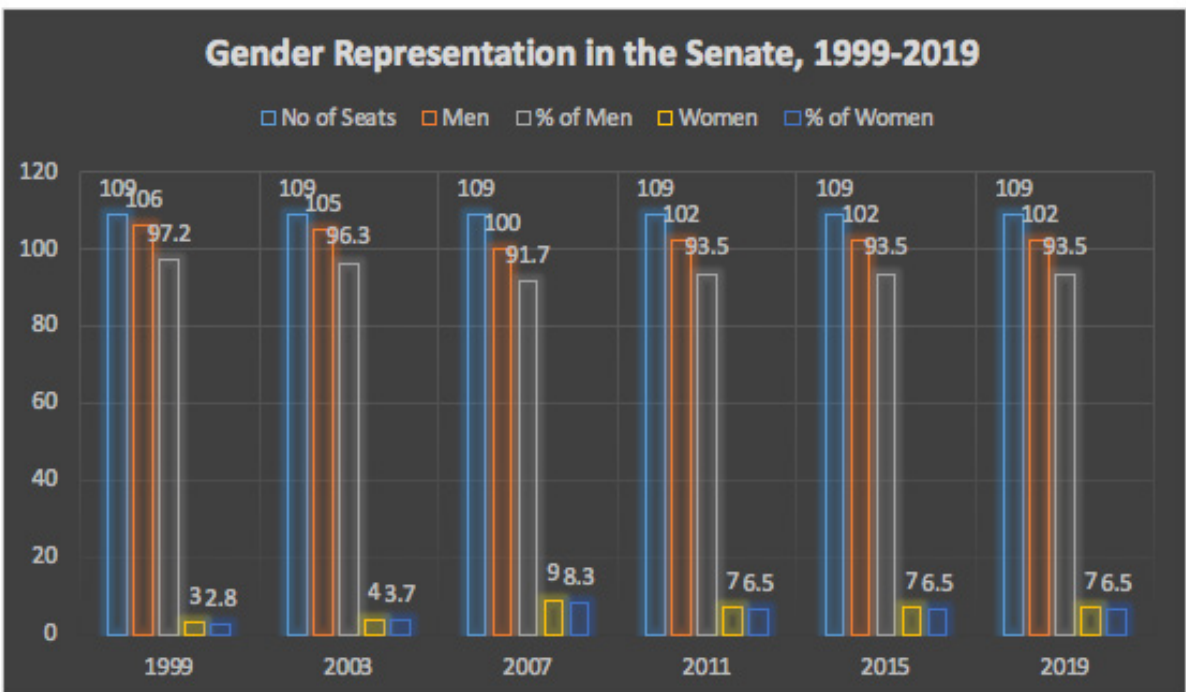


Figure 2: Gender Representation in the House of Representatives, 1999-2019



<sup>6</sup> Note that The 2019 figures are as at inception or inauguration of the 9th Assembly. The 8th Senate in 2015 started with 8 women, but ended with 7 after one woman lost her seat. The 9th Senate started with 7 women but will soon go up to 8 following a recent court decision reinstalling Sen. Biodun Olujimi.

## 2. Efforts by NASS to Promote Women in Politics and other Women Issues from 1999 till date

### 2.1 Trends and Disposition to Women's Issue Bills

Members of the Nigerian legislature have made attempts to allow for more gender equitable realities within the political space in the country and to ensure women's representation into elective positions. There is no evidence to show that significant input was made towards achieving this in the 4th and 5th Assemblies (between 1999 and 2007), even though bills to domesticate the Convention on Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) came before the National Assembly (NASS) in 2002 and 2007.

The 6th and 7th Assemblies (between 2007 and 2015) saw the introduction of bills such as the Gender Equal Opportunities, Abuse and Administration Bill sponsored by Senator Helen Esuene (Akwa Ibom:PDP). Particular attention is drawn to Clause 6 of the Bill that proposed the Adoption of Temporary Special Measures to Eliminate Discrimination wherein a minimum of 35% would be recommended to be reserved for women in the political and public sphere in terms of offices, appointments and positions. This is reinforced in Clause 8 of the Bill, which provided for the right of women to vote and be voted for in elections, participate in the formulation of government policies, among other things. Other Bills that trailed this included that of Honourable Uzoma Nkem-Abonta (Abia:PDP) on Affirmative Action (Equal Opportunities for Women) 2012 (HB 350), Gender and Equal Opportunities Bill 2014 (HB 756) also by the Member, and that of Senator Biodun Olujimi (Ekiti:PDP) on Women Empowerment and Gender Equality Bill, 2015 (SB 37).

The drive towards legislating for increased women's political participation and representation would become more explicit in the 7th (2011-2015) and 8th Assemblies (2015-2019). The 7th Assembly had embarked on a Comprehensive Constitution Amendment process, which women groups leveraged on to push for affirmative action policies. Unfortunately, none of the proposed amendments on this issue was adopted by NASS. As part of the process, the House of Representatives had in 2012, embarked on a grassroots/public consultation campaign called the "People's Public Sessions". These sessions took place across the 360 federal constituencies and one of the questions in a 43-item voting template developed for the exercise was whether "the Constitution should be further amended to address gender issues, including but not limited to reserving certain percentage of elective offices for women." More than half of the 360 constituencies returned a "No" vote. Amendment proposals that were taken forward by the Constitution Review Committee was based

on the result of this exercise, thus, it can be argued that the negative vote on the issue forestalled attempts to adopt constitutional revisions on affirmative action for women in the 7th Assembly.

This however did not stop legislators from reviving the issue in the 8th Assembly. An example is the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria (Alteration) Bill, 2016 (HB 538) that was sponsored by Hon. Asabe Vilita Bashir (Borno:APC) that scaled through first and second readings on 25 May 2016 and 21 July 2016 respectively, but was “negatived” during voting. The Bill sought to amend section 147 (3) of the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria 1999 (as amended) to ensure not less than 35% women representation in the federal cabinet thereby giving constitutional impetus to the already existing National Gender Policy. However, other than the provision for appointive positions, the Bill makes no further provision for elective positions. Another Bill in this category is the Electoral (Amendment) Act 2010, that sought to ensure that all political parties are gender sensitive and to eliminate all forms of discrimination in all Political Parties (HB 174), sponsored by Hon. Pwajok Edward Gyang (Plateau:PDP), the Bill particularly sought to provide for the amendment of sections 85, 106 and 164 of the Electoral Act 2010 to allow for gender sensitivity and to eradicate discrimination in the political space. In effect, it set out to increase the representation of women and youths in political parties and mandates all political parties to ensure that leaders of women wings of political parties are women and that youth leaders are persons between the ages of 18 - 45 (eighteen to forty five) by the date of elections into such offices. Beyond these, the Bill did not further address women's political participation and representation.

A more recent bill that sought to address this issue is the Women Participation in Election Support Bill, 2018 (HB 1594) sponsored by Hon. Sadiq Ibrahim (Adamawa:APC). The bill's main objective was to push for electoral quotas for women into the two chambers of the National Assembly, and in the Area Councils of the FCT. It went through First Reading on 18 December 2018 and debate was adjourned on 24 January 2019. The Bill sought to mandate political parties wishing to present candidates for legislative positions and in addition to the Area Councils of FCT to comply with the provisions of the Bill before submitting their party lists of candidates to the Independent National Electoral Commission. Specifically, for senatorial elections, the Bill provided that at least one candidate from the three senatorial zones of the State is a woman. Second, for House of Representatives, State Houses of Assembly, and councillorship elections into the Area Councils of the FCT, the Bill specifies that at least one-third of the total number of candidates from the Federal, State, and councillorship constituencies are women.

More so, the Bill provided that the nomination of women candidates shall be rotated amongst the various constituencies in a manner as may be designated by the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC). The Bill mandates the Independent National Electoral Commission and the National Human Rights Commission (NHRC) to monitor and evaluate and report to the President and the National Assembly the implementation of the status of the Bill at least one year after every General election. In spite of its direct move towards women's representation and

participation in politics, the Bill was eventually stepped down and members asked to consult with their constituencies as a way forward. The main opposing argument to the bill was that gender quotas discriminate against women because they do not ultimately translate to advancing women's interests in the longer term. Other bills that sought to address gender inequality in the 8th National Assembly included the Women Empowerment and Gender Equality Bill 2015 sponsored by Sen. Biodun Olujimi (Ekiti:PDP) and several Gender and Equal Opportunities Bills sponsored by Sen. Biodun Olujimi and Hon. Uzoma Nkem-Abonta(Abia:PDP).

The fact that the legislative space is male-dominated provides an immediate sense of the reception or disposition to Bills aimed at providing for a more gender-balanced political space. Taking for instance, the Gender and Equal Opportunities Bill, 2016 (SB 116) proposed by Senator Biodun Olujimi, which sought to domesticate certain aspects of CEDAW, arguments were made against the bill including that some of its provisions were contrary to Nigeria's traditional and religious practices, such as customary law and the Sharia law, which the Nigerian Constitution recognises. More so, the Bill's provisions were seen as being inconsistent with some provisions of the Constitution and in fact unnecessary because the Nigerian Constitution already guarantees freedom against discrimination.

Before then, in early 2007, the National Assembly rejected the Bill for the domestication of CEDAW, due to misinterpretations of some provisions. For instance, a provision on reproductive health rights was interpreted as seeking to legalise abortion under the guise of reproductive health and family planning. A bill to establish a National Institute of Reproductive Health, presented to the Senate by Sen. Daisy Danjuma in 2005 was met with similar backlash. Sharing appropriate information and statistics with policymakers on women's issues could be key to shifting perceptions.

## ***2.2 Trends on Sponsorship of Women's Issues Bills***

In general, Bills targeted at improving women's political participation and representation have been mostly sponsored by female legislators. This is not surprising as they are seen as actions that directly challenge gender imbalance. In a few cases however, such Bills have been proposed by men as seen in the Women Participation in Election Support Bill 2018 (HB 1594) sponsored by Hon. Sadiq Ibrahim, Gender and Equal Opportunities Bill 2015 (HB 86) and Gender and Equal Opportunities Bill 2014 (HB 756) sponsored by Hon. Uzoma Nkem-Abonta, and Electoral Act Amendment Bill, 2015 (HB 174) sponsored by Hon. Pwajok Edward Gyang. The table below provides a cursory look at the sponsorship pattern of Bills having implications for improved women's political participation and representation.

**Table 1 : Sponsors of Some Bills on Women's Political Representation**

S/N	Bill Title	Sponsor (s)	Gender
1	Gender Equal Opportunities, Abuse and Administration Bill, 2010	Sen. Helen Esuene	Female
2	Gender Equal Opportunities Abuse and Administration Bill 2012 (SB. 150)	Sen. Helen Esuene	Female
3	Affirmative Action (Equal Opportunity for Women) Bill, 2012 (HB 350)	Hon. Uzoma Nkem-Abonta	Male
4	Gender and Equal Opportunity Bill, 2014 (HB 756)	Hon. Uzoma Nkem-Abonta	Male
5	Women Empowerment and Gender Equality Act, 2015 (SB 37)	Sen. Biodun Olujimi	Female
6	Gender and Equal Opportunities Bill, 2016 (SB 116)	Sen Biodun Olujimi	Female
7	Gender and Equal Opportunities Bill, 2016 (SB 301)	Sen. Biodun Olujimi	Female
8	Gender and Equal Opportunities Bill, 2015 (HB 86)	Hon. Uzoma Nkem-Abonta	Male
9	Electoral Act (Amendment) Bill, 2015 to Ensure that all Political Parties are Gender Sensitive and to Eliminate all forms of Discrimination in all Political Parties(HB 174)	Hon. Pwajok Edward Gyang	Male
10	Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria (Alteration) Bill, 2016 (HB 538)	Hon. Asabe Vilita Bashir	Female
11	Women Participation in Election Support Bill, 2018 (HB 1594)	Hon Sadiq Ibrahim	Male

Interestingly, however, some Bills not directly linked with women's political representation have been sponsored by male legislators, as Appendix 2 shows; for instance, the Sexual Harassment in Tertiary Educational Institutions Prohibition Bill 2016 (SB 262) sponsored by Senator Ovie Omo-Agege; Marriage Act (Amendment) Bill 2015 (SB 171) sponsored by Sen. David Umaru; Repugnant Widowhood (Prohibition) Practices, 2014 (HB 724) sponsored by Hon. Charles C. Odedo; and, Anti-Violence against Women and Children Bill, 2012 (HB. 249) sponsored by Hon. Nasiru Baballe Ila.



### 3. Factors that Facilitate or Obstruct the Passage of Women's Issues Bills

A critical question that trails the Bill process is what factors allow for the successful passage of a Bill, and/or what may lead to its failure. Trends suggest that the dynamics around successful bill passage border on some of the following: the nature of the Bill; calibre or influence of its sponsor(s) (e.g. whether it is an executive or non-executive Bill); whether it enjoys adequate legislative interest, including among the NASS leadership; whether it affects a large population and enjoys robust stakeholder engagement among others. In terms of the failure of proposed Bills, this has sometimes been attributed to misconceptions about the Bill or its objectives; lack of strong political sponsors or popularity of the sponsor; inadequate research in drafting the Bill; inability of the Bill to resonate with Members; poor citizens and civil society engagement and so on. While these factors are significant when assessing how gender targeted Bills have fared in NASS since 1999, such Bills also appear to have distinct factors that impact their success or failure including:

- i. How they affect the different genders
- ii. Whether they impact established gendered norms and values
- iii. Impact on the political power of men
- iv. Lobbying capacity of the Sponsor
- v. Evidence of support from local and international community, development partners, etc.
- vi. Timing – bills introduced around the general elections period or close to the end of an Assembly usually do not get sufficient attention. However, the prospect of electoral support and victory could lead legislators to support the passage of a bill if it is believed to have strong public interest and support. This worked for Senegal's Parity Law and even the Age Reduction (Not Too Young to Run) constitution amendment law, where the prospect of increased social and political capital led lawmakers to throw their weight behind a bill seen to be "popular" among a huge youth voting population.
- vii. Other factors affecting bills generally:
  - Capacity within committees
  - Poor understanding of bills – sometimes, legislators do not study or inform themselves of the contents and implications of a bill even when it comes to the floor for voting. Inability of the Sponsor to provide explanations or convincing arguments for the bill can be fatal.
  - Prevailing politics
  - Competing legislative issues or bills

Below, are case studies of four women's issue bills that captures some of these factors.

### ***3.1 Case Study 1 – Passage of the Sexual Harassment in Tertiary Educational Institutions Prohibition Bill, 2016 (SB 262) in the 8th Senate***

SB 262 was proposed mainly to address the menace of sexual harassment of female students by lecturers and staff in higher institutions of learning and was passed by the 8th Senate in 2016. The Bill sought to address situations where an educator, who is in a position of authority solicits sexual favours or makes sexual advances towards a student, thereby breaking the relationship of trust. The Bill proposed criminal penalties for offenders. In addition to the fact that the main sponsor was a prominent legislator, it has been suggested that the remarkable co-sponsorship of the Bill by almost half of the Senate body, all 7 female and 39 male Members, fast-tracked its passage in the Senate.

Another argument made was that with cases of rampant harassment in the university sector, the issue was a widespread one and had been on the front burner for years. Added to this, the Bill had the significant support of citizens, civil society and development partners. It could also be said that supporting such bill was good for legislators' public image; and that because the Bill did not directly impact the political power of male Senators, there was little reason not to support it. The timing of the bill cannot be ignored, as it came at a time of upsurge of global and media attention on sexual harassment and gender based violence (GBV). The urgency of change being facilitated by worldwide campaigns against GBV has no doubt extended to Nigeria, and thus created a critical moment for addressing such issues.

Whatever the combination of factors that led to the Bill's passage eventually, it suffices to say that in spite of the entrenched patriarchal reality in the Nigerian context, it is not completely a futile effort to attempt to get male legislators to support policy instruments that create more equitable gender spaces. Ultimately, this is a struggle that must continue through working to lobby men as long as they remain gatekeepers to gender equality.

### ***3.2 Case Study 2 – Passage of the Sexual Offences Bill, 2013 (SB 279) in the 7th Senate***

The Sexual Offences Bill was one of the landmark bills in the 7th Senate; it enjoyed the support of many legislators but was derailed by negative publicity and late passage. The bill, which was sponsored by a female legislator, Senator Chris Anyanwu (Imo: then APGA), aimed to prohibit sexual offences and give more teeth to the prosecution of sexual offenders. It sought to protect minors, children, vulnerable persons, the aged and people with disabilities from sexual abuse.

Some of the sexual offences captured in the bill included sexual harassment; gang rape, child sex tourism, sexual harassment and prostitution of persons with mental disabilities, child pornography, incest; indecent exposure; sexual offences related to positions of authority; administering substances with intent to stupefy and overwhelm, e.g. lacing drinks with drugs; deliberate transmission of HIV, and any other life threatening STDs. It prescribed stringent penalties ranging from specific prison terms to life imprisonment. Other provisions dealt with enforcement mechanisms such as supervision of dangerous offenders, disclosure of conviction of sexual offenders, vulnerable witnesses protection, admission of forensic evidence, and medical treatment orders for offenders. Further, the bill had mandated the storing of names of sexual offenders in a database.



The bill unfortunately generated controversy after its passage by the Senate in June 2015. The controversy concerned the definition of a “child” and an alleged insertion of a provision pegging the age of a child at below 11 years. For many, it contravened existing legal definitions of a “child”, implying that the age of consent was 11 years and thus, creating a loophole to encourage the abuse of minors. Observers, including notable personalities like Prof. Wole Soyinka and Femi Falana, flayed the bill calling for the President to reject it. In actuality, the legislation prescribed a life imprisonment term for anyone who defiles or has sex with a person under 18 years of age.

The confusion may have come from the drafting of the bill, which provided for life imprisonment for a person who defiles a child (1) below 11 years of age (2) between 12 and 15 years of age (3) between 16 and 18 years of age. This classification was probably unnecessary and perhaps, more elegant drafting with a general clause that prohibits defilement of a person under 18 years, would have prevented the misinterpretation.

Overall, the bill was well intentioned and its adoption would have been historic and had far reaching consequences. Unfortunately, the negative publicity and the late timing i.e. passage at the cusp of the 7th Assembly and start of a new 8th Assembly in 2015, made Presidential Assent highly improbable. It is interesting to note that the bill was not reintroduced or discussed thereafter. It is wondered if the public reaction had a chilling effect on the issue. In addition, the Sponsor, Senator Anyanwu, did not return to the Assembly and thus, could not continue her campaign for the bill. It is important to note that this would not be her first time introducing this bill. She had introduced a Sexual Offences Bill, 2007 (SB.12) supported by 15 other Senators in the 6th Assembly<sup>7</sup>, but it did not go beyond the committee stage.

In the case of SB 279, stronger public awareness ahead of the adoption of the bill and engagement with key stakeholders could have stemmed or immediately corrected wrong perceptions. In fact, a number of bills in NASS have suffered a similar fate i.e. misunderstanding of its contents and implications by the public and legislators, and then subsequent failure as a result.

### ***3.3 Case Study 3 – Failure of the Gender and Equal Opportunities Bill, 2018 (SB 301) in the 8th Senate***

The Gender and Equal Opportunities Bill (GEO Bill), sponsored by Sen. Biodun Olujimi (PDP:Ekiti) was a bill with laudable objectives. It sought to give effect to certain provisions of the 1999 Constitution such as Chapters II and IV which deal with Fundamental Objectives and Directive Principles of State Policy and the Fundamental Human Rights. It also sought to give effect to certain provisions of the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) and the protocol to the African Charter on the Rights of Women in Africa. It addressed forms of discrimination in political and public life, education, access to health,

<sup>7</sup> See: Adetutu Folasade-Koyi, Obasanjo-Bello Canvasses Agency to Prosecute Sexual Harassment. Available at <https://www.nigerianmuse.com/20080129210500zg/nigeria-watch/obasanjo-bello-canvasses-agency-to-prosecute-sexual-harassment/>

employment and discrimination on the basis on societal and cultural norms. The Bill was popular among women and women groups, but not with the majority of legislators, and the traditional and religious institutions, thereby leading to its failure.

Arguments against the bill included that some of its provisions were contrary to Nigeria's traditional and religious practices, such as customary law and the Sharia law, which the Nigerian Constitution recognises. More so, the Bill's provisions were considered to be inconsistent with some provisions of the Constitution and superfluous because the Nigerian Constitution already guarantees freedom against discrimination. This Bill faced a lot of hurdles starting with it being "negatived" at second reading in the Senate on 15 March 2016, thus leading to its revision by the Sponsor.

Although the Bill initially garnered some support from Senators like the then Deputy Senate President, Ike Ekweremadu (Enugu:PDP) who acknowledged the contributions of Nigerian women in society and Sen. Ali Ndume (Borno:APC) who canvassed that the Bill was long overdue and would help clarify women's right regarding widowhood and inheritance, some other Senators were skeptical of the religious and traditional implications that its passage would bring. Sen. Ibn Na'allah (Kebbi:APC) for instance noted that the practice of women taking custody of children in the event of their spouses' death was relative and differed from community to community<sup>8</sup>. Sen. Emmanuel Bwacha (Taraba:PDP) was also of the view that the Bill was against the biblical and historical perspective of a woman's place in society while Sen. Adamu Aliero (Kebbi:APC) argued that the interpretation of some provisions in the Bill conflicted with provisions in the Constitution which recognizes the Sharia Court of Appeal. The Sharia Court of Appeal exercises jurisdiction in civil proceedings involving questions of Islamic personal law, such as Family, Inheritance and Divorce.

Consequently, Sen. Olujimi re-introduced a new Bill that reflected some of these concerns on 15th June 2016. In spite of this, the second version of the Bill met similar resistance. It was argued that apart from duplicating section 42 (1) of the 1999 Constitution (as amended), which provides for the right to freedom against discrimination, the Bill's provisions raised questions on the need for constitution amendments to give effect to some of its provisions. These provisions included the right to free health care for new mothers and children; and reserving up to 35% of positions in the public sector for women. The Bill however scaled second reading this time and was committed to the Senate Committee on Judiciary, Human Rights, and Legal Matters with a suggestion for further scrutiny of Clause 4 of the Bill, which deals with adoption of temporary special measures by public institutions.<sup>9</sup> A public hearing on the bill scheduled for 9 December 2016 was postponed indefinitely by the committee after failure to meet the required quorum of 4 Senators to sit at the hearing. Only the Committee Chairman, Sen. David Umaru (Niger:APC) and another member, Senator Joshua Lidani (Gombe: then PDP) were present for the hearing. The bill was never discussed in NASS

8 A provision on a Widows' Right to a "Fair share": - Clause 5(iv) of the GEO Bill, which provides that a widow shall have the right to a 'fair share' of the husband's property was criticised for not being clear on the interpretation of the term 'fair share' especially as cultural and religious inheritance practices differ across the country.

9 Clause 4(b)(i) provides for a minimum of 35% of all offices or positions to be reserved for women both in the public and political sphere. This Clause seeks to encourage more women in positions and decision-making circles in the public sector, which will aid growth and development in Nigeria. Clause 4(b)(ii) also provides for a minimum of 35% of employment to go to women even in private establishments.

afterwards and remained in the committee until its effluxion with the 8th Assembly in June 2019.

It can be argued that there was a deliberate attempt to end legislative deliberation on the matter. It appeared that many male legislators did not want to have a public conversation on Gender Equality either due to their own personal conviction or fear of backlash from constituents, religious and traditional institutions whose support they need to retain their seats. In any case, a public hearing would have been a prime opportunity to thrash out the issue, especially as there was sufficient time within the life of the Assembly to do this. However, the perceived threat to established gendered norms and values played out, dealing a fatal blow to the bill.

Going forward, it would be necessary to address the specific concerns or conflicts in the bill, create better awareness of its contents and engage traditional and religious institutions who were vehemently opposed to it and instrumental to its failure. While the bill had possible conflicts, its benefits far outweighed the “offending provisions” which would have been part of the conversation had the public hearing held. In addition, some of the analyses and interpretations of the bill being peddled in public spaces were incorrect and based on misinformation and misconception, thus stronger media engagement around such bills is imperative.

### ***3.4 Case Study 4 – Stepping Down of the Women Participation in Elections Support Bill, 2018 (HB 1594) in the 8th House of Representatives***

HB 1594 was a bold proposal that directly addressed the issue of affirmative action policies for women in politics. It was however ill-timed and met resistance from Members of the House of Representatives. The Bill's main objective was to push for electoral quotas for women into the different levels of the Legislative body, and in addition into the Area Councils of the FCT. This was a strategic move to increase women's representation and participation in electoral politics. However, the main argument from opponents was that gender quotas, in fact, are discriminatory of women as they do not ultimately translate to advancing women's interests in the long term. The Bill was eventually stepped down on 24 January 2019 and legislators were asked to consult with their constituencies as a way forward.

It is not entirely surprising that the bill did not have a good ride. As pointed out previously, one possible explanation for its failure is that it touched directly on reducing the political power of men in terms of visible representation. The requirement, then, that all political parties reserve quotas for women during primaries for National and State elections naturally was met with resistance, even though the prescribed quota of 35% still leaves men with a 65% majority. On the other hand, some male legislators supported the objectives of the bill, but disagreed with quotas as a solution with some labelling it as being discriminatory of women. For them, a quota proposal was limiting and could potentially create a ceiling for women. Creating a better understanding of how quotas work, how they have been useful in other jurisdictions, how they are a “fast-track” mechanism to achieving more numbers, and the fact that there are really few alternatives to increased women's representation, would have helped counter such arguments.

The bigger challenge was that the timing of the bill was not favourable. It was introduced in December 2018, just about three months to the 2019 General Elections and after political party conventions and selection of key party executives had taken place. With the short timing, it was highly improbable that legislators, who were about to start election campaigns, would devote time to have discussions on the bill. Furthermore, the bill touched on issues involving possible amendment of another legislation, the Electoral Act. With amendments to the Act moving back and forth between the President and NASS at the time, and certain provisions being the subject of disagreement, the passage of this bill was an improbability. Notwithstanding, the bill was a commendable effort at sparking further discussions and efforts on the subject.

Although it can be debated that gender quotas do not necessarily advance broad-based women empowerment, and that getting women into parliaments or government through such mechanisms may not automatically mean they will be interested in promoting gender equality, it is erroneous to suggest that such measures are discriminatory to women. As such, it is important to build awareness on these issues and reaffirm that gender electoral quotas are a temporary tool devised to achieve gender parity in terms of visible representation of women. It is also important to reiterate to lawmakers that this aligns with the principles of fairness and justice for women who make up half of the global population and correlates with international documents and treaties such as the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights (Maputo Protocol), Convention on the elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), the National Gender Policy, among others. Furthermore, as indicated in the background to this study, at least 188 countries around the globe have adopted gender quotas to improve women's political representation and participation. Surely, this should count as a global best practice that Nigeria should adopt.

## 4. Recommendations for Engaging the National Assembly

### *4.1 Lobbying and Including Male Legislators in Gender Discussions*

Excluding men from the discussion table on the importance of ensuring the place of women in the political space will only serve to further entrench masculine sensibilities, especially as men hold majority of the decision making positions and remain the gate keepers to elections. As such, any attempts to see increased representation and participation of women in the political arena has to be forged through lobbying of male legislators in a sustained manner.

Women in the legislature and other arms of government, civil society groups, and other stakeholders are encouraged to continue to employ this lobbying mechanism to continuously bring men to the debate, including through roundtable discussion, seminars, and workshops. They should also strive to enlist men to either sponsor or co-sponsor women's issue Bills as there is a higher probability that they will have an easier time rallying other men to support the bill. For instance, the Deputy Senate President, Sen. Omo-Agege was able to get 106 Senators to co-sponsor the 2019 Sexual Harassment in Tertiary Institutions Bill, an increase from the already impressive almost 50 Senators that sponsored the bill in 2016.

While this may be a tall order for bills on women's political representation, co-sponsorship by all the serving female legislators or with key male allies in NASS, across party lines, will go a long way in building support for such bills. As with other bills, awareness building is key as affirmative action laws are often designed differently and the effectiveness of advocacy is at least partially based on the ability of advocates to clearly articulate how such laws would work and point to examples where they have done so in the past.

### *4.2 Identifying and Engaging Gender Champions in Government and the Legislature*

Following from the above, it is important that civil society and women groups identify influential individuals within the arms of government, ministries, agencies, and elsewhere that can assist to support the successful passage of women's issues bills. Identifying and engaging important champions can build support for campaign on the passage of a gender-related legislation. While resistance to such bills often come from the menfolk, a number of high ranking male legislators have exhibited leadership in supporting gender policy instruments. While building relationships with such men can be temporary due to the high turnover rate in NASS after each election, it remains a useful strategy to spur critical gender related legislation.

### ***4.3 Increased Awareness around Women's Issues Bills to Engender Better Reception***

The general disposition towards several women's issues and related bills have been poor, to say the least. This is often due to inadequate awareness and misinformation among citizens or critical stakeholders outside of NASS who could have added their voice to such bills. Sponsors and proponents of women's issues bills need to expand campaigns around such Bills not only to convince their colleagues, but also to bring the general public into the discourse on the issues surrounding such Bills. For example, the Gender and Equal Opportunities Bill witnessed opposition both within and outside of the NASS because of misconceptions on the purpose and ambit of the law. Public awareness campaigns will have the corollary effect of informing both legislators and the public to appreciate the significance of such Bills, and the necessity of their passage.

Another bill that suffered this fate was the Sexual Offences Bill 2013, which was passed by the Senate in 2015, but criticised by public commentators over an alleged attempt to redefine a child and thereby lower the age of consent for the purposes of sexual offences. The misinterpretation of certain provisions in the bill cast it in bad light. Stronger awareness creation and utilisation of media platforms could have gone a long way towards mitigating the backlash.

Discussion forums could be used to have public conversations on cultural and religious stereotypes, especially as both male and female decision-makers in government emerge from a deeply entrenched patriarchal society. An aggressive but strategic drive towards tackling these stereotypes across public and private societal spaces, is crucial. This could include a promotion of the contents of the National Gender Policy, which appears to suffer from lack of ownership and political will.

### ***4.4 Working around the Realities of a Legislative Review Process***

There is a tendency for advocacy, public interest and attention to legislative bills to start with so much fervor and then trail off either due to the long and often tedious legislative process, the prevailing politics, or other intervening factors. Advocates of legislative reform must understand that there is usually a long gestation period for contentious or sensitive bills and therefore have to devise strategies of keeping key stakeholders vigilant and the public interested. Planning around advocacy should also take into consideration, the four year lifespan of an Assembly, the electoral cycle and political sensitivities. Some critical laws such as the Discrimination Against Persons with Disabilities (Prohibition) Act, Violence Against Persons (Prohibition) Act and the Freedom of Information (FOI) Act spanned the lives of several Assemblies before they were passed. In summary, advocacy and awareness on bills needs to be done in a strategic and sustainable manner. Anything less amounts to the creation of a wish list of actions.

### ***4.5. Capacity Development and Support to Female Legislators***

Female legislators interested in pushing bills on improved women's representation in the political space, and other women's issue bills, should be adequately supported to effectively push such Bills through the lifetime of an Assembly and be prepared to defend its contents. This is relevant as it has



been observed that often times, legislators – male and female – will guide a targeted bill to its First Reading and do not follow up to schedule them for Second Readings, etc. Also, it has been noted that sometimes proposed bills tend to be overly complex and conflicting with existing laws, which hinders their route to easy passage. Suggestions to improve them through engaging the services of legal experts and drafters have been known to be ignored by lawmakers to the detriment of the bill. Consequently, sustained capacity building for female legislators on law making and around strategic approaches to lobbying is very useful. Other useful mechanisms include working with civil society groups, think tanks and specialists and engaging in experience sharing with female legislators from other African parliaments where best practices on legislating women issues have been successful introduced.

#### ***4.6 Moments Matter, Movements Matter Even More***

It is important that key moments are used to achieve lasting transformative reform on women issues. Moments are important in creating momentum, building traction and bringing about socio-political change. The sharp drop in the numbers of women in NASS and the State Assemblies following the 2019 General Election, as well as the levels of violence experienced by women in their campaigns, should be a Call to Action and an agenda setting moment. It appears however that the women's movement is disempowered, uncoordinated, and overstretched making it difficult to effectively organize for increased women's representation.

Women in countries like Senegal, Bolivia, Rwanda took advantage of key moments in their history to build strong movements in support of greater women's political participation. Post conflict situations provide moments and opportunities to drive reforms, however not all nations must experience conflicts to promote reforms on women issues. Society is dynamic and keeps evolving and the process of evolution has unique moments and opportunities to capitalise on to drive reforms. It therefore falls on stakeholders; women groups and civil society, to identify these moments and leverage on them. Organising effectively is imperative towards preparing for these moments because change comes only when opportunity meets preparation. Other contexts that can facilitate change have been identified to include:

- when there is disruption that forces people to accept change,
- when incumbent structures are being questioned,
- when there are viable alternatives that people are willing to try, and
- when the weight of agency shifts from the old and discredited ways to a search for new ways (that may be untested but promise better solutions to pressing problems).<sup>10</sup>

Converting moments into opportunities for change requires building a strong movement of people committed to driving change, developing a narrative, building relationships, and strategising. As of now, pushing gender related bills in Nigeria's male dominated society, particularly affirmative action bills to improve women's political participation, could be an arduous journey in the absence of a strong social movement in place. For opponents of greater inclusion of women in politics, it

<sup>10</sup> Matt Andrews. *The 5 M's of Development: Moments Matter*. Available at <https://buildingstatecapability.com/2014/03/04/the-5-ms-of-development-moments-matter-part-1-of-5/>

is hoped that they realise that social and political dynamics are not static; that change is inevitable and those who prepare for it stand to benefit from it, while those who resist it may be overwhelmed when it arrives.



## 5. Conclusion

The full and equitable participation of women in public life is essential to building and sustaining strong, vibrant democracies.<sup>11</sup> Women's participation in politics helps advance inclusion and affects the range of policy issues and bills that are considered in legislative assemblies, as well as the types of solutions that are proposed. Men also stand to gain from having more women in legislative positions, because they are efficient mobilisers and a ready support base for high impact social bills that are of interest to both men and women. While many parliaments worldwide are not known to be very representative or gender-sensitive, deliberate actions have been taken to reverse this trend and this includes adopting policies to increase numbers of women in parliaments to influence issues.

In previous studies, it has been noted that lack of progress with women's political representation in Nigeria is surprising considering that women's role in the country's socio-economic and cultural landscape appears to be increasing.<sup>12</sup> An example is the rising profile of women in various spheres of professional/corporate life and increasing tendency of women to take up economic roles in the family previously reserved for men. It would be expected that these increasingly changing roles of women in the society would translate to greater inclusion of women in the political process, but this is not yet the case.

It is suggested that to fast-track progress towards more inclusive representation and increased prioritisation of women's issues, stakeholders should see women's political underrepresentation as a question of discrimination against women, rather than that of women's lack of resources. From this perspective, the strategy for addressing women's political underrepresentation should focus on changing how the political institutions themselves work, rather than on adjusting the resources and capacities that women do or do not possess. This approach, therefore, locates the responsibility for dealing with the issue of political underrepresentation of women and women's issues squarely with these institutions.<sup>13</sup> With an increase in political will by government and efforts by political parties, legislators and civil society organisations, Nigeria can attain the requisite capacity to facilitate the required revolution for women, just like its counterparts in other jurisdictions.

11 Women Deliver. *Why Women in Politics?* Available at: <https://womendeliver.org/2018/why-women-in-politics/>

12 Ibeanu, Okechukwu. 2009. "Historicizing the Marginalization of Nigeria Women in Politics," in J. Mangyvat, O. Ibeanu, and S. Mahdi eds. *Election HERstories: Political Experiences of Women in Nigeria*. Abuja: Gender Affirmative Action.

13 See PLAC's study on "Women's Political Representation in Nigeria: Why Progress is Slow and what can be done to Fast-track it." Policy and Legal Advocacy Centre (PLAC) and Ford Foundation. Available at: <http://placng.org/wp/wp-content/uploads/2018/06/Women-Political-Representation-.pdf>

### Appendix 1: Percentage of Women in National Parliaments in Sub-Saharan Africa as at 1st October 2019

Ranks (out of 190)	Country Rwanda	Lower or single House			Upper or Senate		
		No of Seats	Women	% of Women	No of Seats	Women	% of Women
1	Rwanda	80	49	61.25	26	10	38.46
10	Namibia	104	48	46.15	42	10	23.81
11	South Africa	393	168	45.98	54	19	38.89
15	Senegal	165	69	41.82	-	-	-
19	Mozambique	250	99	39.6	-	-	-
24	Ethiopia	547	212	38.76	153	49	32.03
29	Tanzania	393	145	36.9	-	-	-
30	Burundi	121	44	36.36	39	18	46.15
31	Tunisia	217	78	35.94	-	-	-
34	Uganda	459	160	34.86	-	-	-
41	Zimbabwe	270	86	31.85	80	35	43.75
43	Cameroon	180	56	31.11	100	26	26
48	Angola	220	66	30	-	-	-
55	South Sudan	383	109	28.46	50	6	12
76	Cabo Verde	72	17	23.61			
79	Lesotho	120	28	23.33	32	7	21.88
82	Malawi	192	44	22.92	-	-	-
83	Guinea	114	26	22.81	-	-	-
90	Eritrea	150	33	22	-	-	-
91	Kenya	349	76	21.78	68	21	30.88
97	Equatorial Guinea	100	21	21	72	12	16.67
115	Zambia	167	30	17.96	-	-	-
116	Gabon	134	24	17.91	100	18	18

123	Niger	171	29	16.96	-	-	-
127	Togo	91	15	16.48	-	-	-
131	Madagascar	151	24	15.89	62	12	19.35
140	Chad	168	25	14.88	-	-	-
142	Sao Tome and Principe	55	8	14.55	-	-	-
145	Guinea-Bissau	102	14	13.73	-	-	-
146	Burkina Faso	127	17	13.39	-	-	-
149	Ghana	275	36	13.09	-	-	-
154	Liberia	73	9	12.33	30	3	10
154	Sierra Leone	146	18	12.33	-	-	-
157	Mauritius	69	8	11.59	-	-	-
159	Congo	151	17	11.26	69	13	18.84
161	Cote d'Ivoire	255	28	10.98	99	19	19.19
163	The Gambia	58	6	10.34	-	-	-
165	Democratic Republic of Congo	500	50	10	109	23	21.1
168	Botswana	63	6	9.52	-	-	-
168	Mali	147	14	9.52	-	-	-
173	Central African Republic	140	12	8.57	-	-	-
176	Benin	83	6	7.23	-	-	-
179	Comoros	33	12	6.06	-	-	-
186	Nigeria	360	12	3.33	109	7	6.42

Source: Inter-Parliamentary Union (2019) <sup>14</sup>

<sup>14</sup> Interparliamentary Union (IPU), Percentage of Women in National Parliaments. Available at: <https://data.ipu.org/women-ranking/?month=10&year=2019>

## Appendix 2: Bills on Women Related Issues Introduced and Processed by the National Assembly

4th National Assembly, June 1999-2003

	Bill Title	Bill Sponsor(s)	Gender	First Reading	Second Reading	Third Reading	Remarks
1.	Medicaid Agency for Accident victims, critically ill persons, and Women under Labour Bill, 1999	Sen. Ibrahim Mantu	Male	3/11/1999	23/11/1999 Referred to the Committee on Women Affairs		8/2/200 Committee Report presented to the Senate
2.	Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women in the Federal Republic of Nigeria, Bill - <b>SB. 145</b>  <i>The Bill aimed to provide for the Enforcement of the United Nations Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women in the Federal Republic of Nigeria.</i>	Executive	-	21/03/2002			Records on bill unavailable

	Bill Title	Bill Sponsor(s)	Gender	First Reading	Second Reading	Third Reading	Remarks
3.	A Bill for an Act to Establish the National Agency for Economic Empowerment and Social Security Income Assistance and for Other Matters Connected Therewith - <b>SB. 51</b>	Sen. O.S. Meroyi	Male	15/03/2001	06/06/2001/ Referred to Committee on Labour and Productivity, poverty Alleviation and Women and Youth Development		
4.	National Agency for Widows, Dependent Children and Orphans (Establishment, Special Provisions, etc.) Bill, 2001 - <b>SB. 106</b>	Sen. Khairat Abdul-Razaq Gwadabe	Female	28/08/2001			
5.	Agency for Poverty Alleviation and Social Security Bill - <b>SB. 74</b>	Sen. Lekan Balogun	Male	14/04/2001	7/06/2001 Referred to Committee on Employment, Labour and Productivity, Poverty Alleviation and Women and Youth Development		
6.	National Youth Development Endowment Fund (Establishment, etc.) Bill - <b>SB. 76</b>	Sen. Stella Omu	Female	13/02/2001	25/04/2001 Referred to Committee on Women and Youth Development		

	Bill Title	Bill Sponsor(s)	Gender	First Reading	Second Reading	Third Reading	Remarks
7.	Circumcision of Girl or Woman (Prohibition) Bill 2001- <b>HB. 22</b>  <i>Bill originated from the House of Representatives and Transmitted to the Senate for concurrence</i>	Sen. Dalhatu Tafida	Male	28/11/2001	17/04/2002 Referred to the Committee on Health, Judiciary and Legal Matters Women Affairs and Youth Development		The Bill was passed by the House of Representatives on 31/5/2001
8.	Uniform Legislation on the Succession and Inheritance of Intestate Property in Nigeria - <b>SB. 187</b>	Sen. O.S. Meroyi	Male	21/05/2002			
9.	Maternal and Child Welfare Health Services Procedure etc. Act 2001 - <b>SB 113</b>	Sen. Stella Omu	Female	25/09/2001	12/02/2002		
10.	National Agency for the Prohibition of Trafficking in Persons (est.) Bill, 2002) - <b>SB. 83</b>  <i>The Bill aimed to establish the National Agency for Prohibition of Trafficking in Persons and Other Related Matters (NAPTIP).</i>	Sen. Ibrahim Mantu	Male	14/3/2002	30/01/2003	6/2/2003 Bill Passed	

	Bill Title	Bill Sponsor(s)	Gender	First Reading	Second Reading	Third Reading	Remarks
11.	<p>Trafficking in Persons (Prohibition) Enforcement and Administration Bill, 2003 - <b>HB 102</b> (Consolidated with HB 35)</p> <p><i>The Bill sought to prohibit child labour, forced labour, trafficking in slaves, pornography, drug trafficking, and forced or compulsory recruitment into armed conflict.</i></p> <p><i>The bill also seeks to establish a National Agency for Prohibition of Trafficking in Persons and Other Related Matters (NAPTIP).</i></p>	Sen. M.T. Limar	Male	30/01/2003		6/03/2003 Bill passed	<p>Bill originated from the House of Representatives and Transmitted to the Senate for concurrence</p> <p>Bill passed by the House of Representatives on 25/6/2002</p>
12.	<p>Trafficking in Persons (Ratification and Enforcement) Bill, 2003- <b>HB 146</b></p> <p><i>The Bill sought to ratify and enforce the Treaty on the Protocol to prevent, suppress and punish trafficking in persons, especially women and children.</i></p> <p><i>The Bill also sought to supplement the United Nations Convention Against Transitional Organized Crimes (UN-TOC)</i></p>	Sen. M.T. Limar	Male	14/1/2003		6/3/2003 Bill Passed	<p>Bill originated from the House of Representatives and Transmitted to the Senate for concurrence</p> <p>Bill passed by the House of Representatives on 25/6/2002</p>

	Bill Title	Bill Sponsor(s)	Gender	First Reading	Second Reading	Third Reading	Remarks
13.	Trafficking in Persons (Prohibition) Enforcement and Administration Bill, 2003 - <b>HB 35</b> (Consolidated with HB 102)  <i>The Bill sought to prohibit and punish Child/Teenage Labour and Teenage/Child Traffickers</i>	Sen. M.T. Limar	Male	30/01/2003		6/03/2003 Bill passed	Bill originated from the House of Representatives and Transmitted to the Senate for concurrence  Bill passed by the House of Representatives on 25/6/2002
14.	Children's Rights Bill, 2002- <b>HB 300</b>	n/a	n/a	4/2/2003		20/5/2003 Bill Passed	Detailed records not available



## 5th National Assembly, June 2003-2007

	Bill Title	Bill Sponsor(s)	Gender	First Reading	Second Reading	Third Reading	Remarks
1.	United Nations Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women in the Federal Republic of Nigeria Bill, 2006- <b>SB 262</b>	Sen. Dalhatu Tafida (Senate Majority Leader)	Male	22/08/2006	22/8/2006 Referred to the Committee on Foreign Affairs		
2.	Widows Protection Bill, 2005- <b>SB 189</b>	Sen. Iyabode Anisulowo	Female		11/10/2005 Referred to the Committee on Human Rights and Legal Matters		
3.	Domestic Violence (Prevention, etc.) Bill, 2005- <b>SB 263</b>	Sen. Daisy Ehanire Danjuma	Female	22/11/2005	15/12/2005 Referred to the Committee on Judiciary, Human Rights and Legal Matters		
4.	National Institute of Reproductive Health Bill, 2005	Sen. Daisy Ehanire Danjuma	Female	/10/2005			

	Bill Title	Bill Sponsor(s)	Gender	First Reading	Second Reading	Third Reading	Remarks
5.	<p>Trafficking in Persons (Prohibition) Law and Administration Act (Amendment) Bill, 2005 - <b>SB 109</b></p> <p><i>This Bill sought to provide sundry amendments to the Trafficking in Persons (Prohibition) Law Enforcement and Administration Act to expand its scope from investigation to prosecution of human traffickers, seizure of properties and forfeiture.</i></p> <p><i>The Bill also sought to increase penalties for trafficking offenders.</i></p>	Executive		11/8/2004		<p>19/10/2004 Bill Passed by Senate;</p> <p>31/8/2005 Bill passed by the House of Representatives</p>	10/11/2005 Conference Committee Report Adopted by the Senate
6.	Indecent Bodily Exposure (Prohibition) Bill, 2004- <b>SB 130</b>	Sen. Titus Olupitan	Male		19/4/2005		
7.	Trafficking in Persons (Ratification and Enforcement) Bill, 2003- <b>HB 10</b>	n/a		6/8/2003		1/6/2004 Bill Passed	

	Bill Title	Bill Sponsor(s)	Gender	First Reading	Second Reading	Third Reading	Remarks
8.	Convention against torture and other cruel treatment of a woman or degrading treatment or punishment (Ratification and Enforcement) Bill, 2003- <b>HB 11</b>	n/a		6/8/2003		1/6/2004 Bill Passed	

## 6th National Assembly, June 2007-2011

	Bill Title	Bill Sponsor(s)	Gender	First Reading	Second Reading	Third Reading	Remarks
1.	Sexual Offences (Prohibition) Bill, 2008- <b>SB 12</b>  <i>The Bill sought to prevent and protect all persons from harm, unlawful sexual acts; make provisions for sexual offences, their definition and for purposes connected therewith.</i>	Sen. Chris Anyanwu	Female	17/10/2007	29/1/2008 Referred to the Committee on Judiciary, Human Rights and Legal Matters		26/3/2009 Committee report presented to the Senate
2.	Public Nudity, Sexual Intimidation and Other Related Offences in Nigeria (Prohibition and Punishment) Bill, 2007- <b>SB 13</b>	Sen. Eme Ufot Ekaette	Female	17/10/2007	6/2/2008 Referred to the Committees on Judiciary, Human Rights and Legal Matters; Women Affairs, Social Welfare and Youths Development		30/7/2009 Committee Report presented to the Senate
3.	Social Welfare, Youth Empowerment and Development Trust Fund Bill, 2008- <b>SB33</b>	Sen. S. Anyanwu	Male	29/1/2008			
4.	National Hospital for Women and Children Act (Amendment) Bill, 2008- <b>SB 37</b>	Sen. Anthony Manzo	Male	30/1/2008	20/5/2008 Referred to the Committee on Health	19/3/2009 Bill Passed	19/6/2008 Committee Report presented to the Senate
5.	Discrimination Against Persons with Disability (Prohibition) Bill, 2008- <b>SB 40</b>	Sen. Bode Olujumoke	Male	7/2/2008	24/4/2008 Referred to the Committee on Sports and Social Development	10/3/2009 Bill Passed	11/9/2008 Committee Report presented to the Senate

	Bill Title	Bill Sponsor(s)	Gender	First Reading	Second Reading	Third Reading	Remarks
6.	Abolition of Discrimination Against Women Bill, 2008- <b>SB 66</b>	Sen. Victor Ndoma-Egba	Male	19/02/2008			
7.	Elimination of Violence Bill, 2008- <b>SB 75</b>	Sen. Victor Ndoma-Egba	Male	11/3/2008	19/5/10		
8.	Discrimination and Related Offences (Prohibition and Punishment) Bill, 2008- <b>SB 89</b>  <i>Bill sought to criminalise and Punish the Act of Discrimination and Segregation against Nigerians on the Grounds of Race, Nationality, Tribe, Ethnic Group, Gender, Skin Colour or Religion, in Employment, Accommodation, Air Travel, Business and Sundry Issues by Government, Individuals, Corporate Bodies, etc. and for Matters connected therewith</i>	Sen. Chris Anyanwu	Female	15/4/2008	26/6/2008 Referred to the Committee on Judiciary, Human Rights and Legal Matters		
9.	National Commission for Eradication of Child Destitution (Establishment) Bill, 2008- <b>SB 84</b>	Sen. Tafida Argungu	Male	9/4/2008	06\05\08 Referred to the Committee on Women Affairs and Youth Development		
10.	Discrimination and Related Offences (Prohibition and Punishment) Bill, 2008- <b>SB 89</b>	Sen. Chris Anyanwu	Female	15\04\08	26\06\08		

	Bill Title	Bill Sponsor(s)	Gender	First Reading	Second Reading	Third Reading	Remarks
11.	National Social Welfare Commission (Establishment) Bill, 2008- <b>SB 110</b>	Sen. Hosea Ehinianwo	Male	10/9/2008			
12.	Disability Rights Commission Bill, 2008- <b>SB 127</b>	Sen. Uche Chukwumerije	Male				No record of scheduled Reading
13.	Discrimination Against Disabled Persons (Prohibition) Bill, 2008- <b>SB 139</b>	Executive					No record of scheduled Reading
14.	Compulsory HIV Testing of Alleged Sexual Offenders Bill, 2008- <b>SB 220</b>	Sen. S. Gogwim	Male				No record of scheduled Reading
15.	Equal Opportunities Commission (Establishment) Bill, 2010- <b>SB 376</b>	Senator Dahiru Kuta		4/03/2010			
16.	National Council for Widows, Dependent Children and Orphans (Establishment, Special Provision, etc.) Bill, 2007- <b>HB 04</b>	Hon. Arole Fancy and Others	Female	15/1/2008	12/3/2008 Referred to the Committee on Women affairs and Youth Development	16/12/2010 Bill Passed	26/5/2009 Committee Report presented to the House of Representatives
17.	Maternal Newborn Child Welfare Health Services Bill, 2007- <b>HB 15</b>	Hon. Patricia Olubunmi Etteh	Female	11/12/2007	7/5/2009 Referred to the Committee on Health and Women Affairs		25/3/2010 Committee Report presented to the House of Representatives

	Bill Title	Bill Sponsor(s)	Gender	First Reading	Second Reading	Third Reading	Remarks
18.	Nigerian Children Trust Fund (Amendment) Bill, 2007- <b>HB 18</b>	Hon. Arole Fancy		11/12/2007	15/5/2008 Referred to the Committee on Women Affairs and Social Development		24/2/2011 Committee reported was presented to the House of Representatives
19.	Physically Challenged Persons Trust Fund (Establishment) Bill, 2008- <b>HB 37(Consolidated with HB 46)</b>	Hon. Iorwase Hembe and 44 Others	Male	6/3/2008			Consolidated with HB 46 Bill passed by the House in 2010 and concurred to by the Senate with differences.
20.	Nigerians with Disability Bill, 2008- <b>HB 46 (Consolidated with HB 37)</b>	Hon. Ita Enang	Male	15/4/2008	17/4/2008 Referred to the Committee on Women Affairs and Human Rights	3/6/2009 Bill Passed	25/3/2009 Committee report presented to the House of Representatives;  2/12/2010 Committee Report Adopted by the House of Representatives;  28/7/2009 Bill Transmitted to the Senate for concurrence
21.	Social Development Act (Amendment)Bill, 2008- <b>HB 53</b>	Hon. Maisargo Audu and 24 Others	Male	4/6/2008	8/7/2008 Bill Negatived		Bill voted against by the House of the Representatives

	Bill Title	Bill Sponsor(s)	Gender	First Reading	Second Reading	Third Reading	Remarks
22.	Widows and Orphans Protection Commission Bill, 2008- <b>HB 62</b>	Hon. Makanjuola Gbenga Peter	Male	27/5/2008	23/7/2008 Bill Withdrawn by Sponsor		
23.	Nigerians with Disabilities Bill, 2011- <b>HB 70</b>	Hon. Abike Dabiri-Erewa	Female	13/10/2011	25/10/2011 Referred to the Committee of the Whole	24/5/2012 Bill Passed	4/7/2012 Bill Transmitted to the Senate for Concurrence
24.	Family Economic Advancement Programme Act (Amendment) Bill, 2008- <b>HB 105</b>	Hon. Tunde Akogun	Male	23/7/2008	16/10/2008 Referred to the Committee on Women Affairs and Justice		10/2/2010 Committee Report presented to the House of Representatives
25.	Same Gender Marriage (Prohibition) Bill, 2008- <b>HB 150</b>	Hon. Chukwudi Mayor Eze	Male	12/11/2008	15/1/2009 Referred to the Committee on Human Rights, Women Affairs and Justice		
26.	Establishment of the Office of the First Lady Bill, 2009 - <b>HB 199</b>	Hon. Alex I. Ukam	Male	26/3/2009			
27.	Pornographic Materials (Control) Bill, 2009- <b>HB 226</b>	Hon. Darlington Okereke	Male	13/5/2009	13/10/2009 Referred to the Committee on Information and National Orientation and Women Affairs		



	Bill Title	Bill Sponsor(s)	Gender	First Reading	Second Reading	Third Reading	Remarks
28.	Corporate Prostitution (Prohibition) Bill, 2009- <b>HB 258</b>	Hon. Femi Gbajabiamila	Male	15/7/2009	4/11/2009 Bill Negatived		Bill Voted against by the House of Representatives
29.	Kidnapping and Hostage Taking (Prohibition) Bill, 2009- <b>HB 262</b>	Hon. Friday Itulah & 2 Others	Male	21/7/2009	29/11/2009 Referred to the Committee on Judiciary, Justice and Police Affairs		10/11/2010 Committee report presented to the House of Representatives
30.	Child Rights (Repeal) Bill, 2010- <b>HB 337</b>	Hon. Sama'ila Abdullahi Mohammed and Hon. Idris Ahmed	Male	21/1/2010	16/2/2010 Bill Negatived		Bill Voted against by the House of Representatives
31.	National Hospital for Women and Children, Abuja (Establishment, etc.) Act (Amendment) Bill, 2010- <b>HB 345</b>	Hon. Tunde Akogun	Male	13/1/2010	26/1/2010 Referred to the Committee on Governmental Affairs and Commerce		17/3/2011 Committee report presented to the House of Representatives
32.	Child's Right Act (Amendment) Bill, 2010 - <b>HB 371</b>	Hon. Ubale Jakada Kiru	Male	10/3/2010			
33.	National Centre for Women Development (Establishment) Act (Amendment) Bill, 2010- <b>HB 376</b>	Hon. Fatima Raji-Rasaki	Female	18/5/2010	8/7/2010 Referred to the Committee on Women Affairs	24/5/2011 Bill Passed	24/2/2011 Committee report presented to the House of Representatives

	Bill Title	Bill Sponsor(s)	Gender	First Reading	Second Reading	Third Reading	Remarks
34.	National Child Protection and Enforcement Agency Bill, 2010- <b>HB 378</b>	Hon. Beni Lar	Female	11/2/2010			
35.	Violence Against Persons (Prohibition) Bill, 2010- <b>HB 439</b>	Hon. Binta Garba Masi	Female	30/6/2010	30/11/2010 Referred to the Committee on Women Affairs, Human Rights and Justice		

## 7th National Assembly, June 2011-2015

	Bill Title	Bill Sponsor(s)	Gender	First Reading	Second Reading	Third Reading	Remarks
1.	Same Sex Marriage (Prohibition) Bill, 2011- <b>SB 05</b>	Sen. Domingo Obende and Others	Male	13/7/2011	27/09/2011 Referred to the Committee on Judiciary, Human Rights and Legal Matters; and Interior. Committee reported presented to the Senate on 22/11/2011	29/11/2011 Bill Passed	Conference Report adopted by the Senate on 17/12/13
2.	Abolition of Discrimination Against Women Bill, 2008- <b>SB 39</b>	Sen. Victor Ndoma-Egba	Male	15/9/2011			
3.	Elimination of Violence in Private or Public Life Bill, 2011- <b>SB 43</b>	Sen. Victor Ndoma-Egba	Male	21/9/2011	16/10/14 Referred to the Committee on Judiciary, Human Rights and Legal Matters	12/3/2015 Bill Passed	Bill Merged with House of Representatives Bill HB 191
4.	Discrimination Against Persons with Disabilities (Prohibition) Bill, 2012- <b>SB 102</b>	Sen. Nurudeen Abatemi Usman	Male	19/1/2012	5/2/2013 Referred to the Committee on Sports and Women Affairs	27/3/2014 Bill Passed	15/10/2014 Conference Committee Report Adopted
5.	National Social Security Agency Bill, 2012- <b>SB 114</b>	Sen. Oluremi Tinubu	Female	15/02/2012	08/03/2012 Referred to Committee on Sports and National Planning		Reported out of Committee on 25/09/13

	Bill Title	Bill Sponsor(s)	Gender	First Reading	Second Reading	Third Reading	Remarks
6.	National Social Welfare Commission (Establishment) Bill, 2012- <b>SB 115</b>  <i>to provide for the administration of benefit and assistance to enhance the welfare of citizens especially disadvantaged persons, particularly, children, women, the handicapped, the sick, the aged and the unemployed.</i>	Sen. Domingo Obende	Male	15/2/2012	8/3/2011 Referred to Committee on Sports and Social Development; and National Planning, Economic Affairs and Poverty Alleviation		
7.	National Poverty Eradication Commission (Establishment) Bill, 2012- <b>SB 140</b>	Sen. Zainab Kure	Female	28/3/2012			
8.	Gender and Equal Opportunities Bill, 2012- <b>SB 150</b>	Sen. Helen Esuene	Female	10/5/2012	28/2/2012 Referred to the Committee on Judiciary, Human Rights and Legal Matters		
9.	Trafficking in Persons (Prohibition) Act, 2003 (Repeal and Re-enactment) Bill, 2013- <b>SB 264</b>	Executive Bill	N/A	12/3/2013	22/5/2013 Referred to the Committee on Judiciary, Human Rights and Legal Matters; and Youth Development	19/3/2014 Bill Passed	17/12/13 Committee report presented to the Senate;  24/2/2015 Conference Committee report adopted
10.	Nigerians with Disabilities Bill, 2012- <b>HB 70</b>	House Bill		19/6/2012	5/2/2013 Referred to the Committee on Sports and Women Affairs		

	Bill Title	Bill Sponsor(s)	Gender	First Reading	Second Reading	Third Reading	Remarks
11.	Sexual Offences Bill, 2013- <b>SB 279</b>  <i>The Bill seeks to prevent and protect all persons from Harm, Unlawful Sexual Acts; make provisions for Sexual Offences, their definition and for purposes connected therewith</i>	Sen. Chris Anyanwu	Female	26/3/2013	20/11/13 Referred to Committee on Judiciary	03/06/15	Concurred by House of Reps on 4/06/15
12.	Property Rights of Spouses Bill, 2013- <b>SB 307</b>	Sen. Domingo Obende	Male	5/6/2013			
13.	Nigerian Children's Trust Fund Act (Amendment) Bill, 2013- <b>SB 349</b>	Sen. Margaret Okadigbo	Female	27/7/2013			
14.	Child Rights Act, 2011(Amendment)Bill, 2013- <b>SB 350</b>	Sen. Margaret Okadigbo	Female	27/7/2013			
15.	Marriage Act (Repeal and Re-enactment) Bill, 2013- <b>SB 381</b>	Sen. Domingo Obende	Male	23/10/2013			
16.	Social Welfare Bill, 2013- <b>SB 383</b>	Sen. Paulinus Igwe	Male	30/10/2013			
17.	Child Rights Act, 2003(Amendment)Bill, 2013- <b>SB 386</b>	Sen. Alkali Jajare	Male	30/10/13			
18.	Women Empowerment and Gender Equality Bill, 2013- <b>SB 395</b>	Sen. Paulinus Igwe	Male	21/11/2013			
19.	Child Rights Act 2003 (Amendment)Bill, 2013- <b>SB405</b>	Sen. Helen Esuene	Female	11/12/2013			

	Bill Title	Bill Sponsor(s)	Gender	First Reading	Second Reading	Third Reading	Remarks
20.	Women Empowerment and Gender Equality Bill, 2014- <b>SB 486</b>	Sen. Ben Ayade	Male	4/6/2014			
21.	Family Economic Advancement Programme (Establishment) Act (Repeal and Re-enactment) Bill, 2014- <b>SB 497</b>	Sen. Ali Attai Aidoko	Male	1/7/2014			
22.	Family Support Trust Fund Act (Repeal and Re-enactment) Bill, 2014- <b>SB 498</b>	Sen. Ali Attai Aidoko	Male	1/7/2014			
23.	National Hospital for Women and Children, Abuja Act (Amendment) Bill, 2014- <b>SB 501</b>	Sen. Ali Attai Aidoko	Male	1/7/2014			
24.	Violence Against Persons (Prohibition) Bill, 2014- <b>HB 191</b>	Sen. Ndoma Egba	Male	18/3/2014	16/10/2014 Referred to the Committee on Judiciary, Human Rights Abuses	5/5/2015 Bill Passed	Merged with SB 43 Committee Report Adopted on 12/3/2015;  Conference Committee Report adopted on 14/5/2015
25.	Skills Acquisition and Development Trust Fund (Establishment) Bill, 2011 - <b>HB 43</b>	Hon. Peace Nnaji	Female	13/9/2011	11/1/2012 Referred to the Committee on Industry		

	Bill Title	Bill Sponsor(s)	Gender	First Reading	Second Reading	Third Reading	Remarks
26.	Same Sex Marriage (Prohibition) Bill, 2011- <b>HB 197</b>	Senate		7/12/2011	13/11/2012 Referred to the Committee of the Whole	2/7/2013 Bill Passed	30/5/2013 Committee Report Considered by the House of Representatives;  17/12/2013 Conference Committee Report adopted
27.	Free Maternal and Child Health Care Bill, 2012- <b>HB 199</b>	Hon. Kigbu Joseph Haruna	Male	19/3/2012	11/12/2012 Referred to the Committee on Health		20/5/2015 Committee report presented to the House of Representatives
28.	Nigerian Assisted Reproduction Authority (Establishment) Bill, 2012- <b>HB 202</b>	Hon. Kigbu Joseph Haruna	Male	17/3/2012	2/5/2012 Referred to the Committee on Health and Justice		27/2/2013 Committee Report presented to the House of Representatives
29.	Anti-Violence against Women and Children Bill, 2012- <b>HB 249</b>	Hon. Nasiru Baballe Ila	Male	19/3/2012			
30.	National Child Protection and Enforcement Agency Bill, 2012- <b>HB 300</b>	Hon. Beni Lar	Female	11/7/2012	13/5/2014 Referred to the Committee on Women Affairs; 19/2/2015 Discharged and Referred to the Committee of the Whole		

	Bill Title	Bill Sponsor(s)	Gender	First Reading	Second Reading	Third Reading	Remarks
31.	Exclusive Breast-feeding (Compulsory) Bill, 2012- <b>HB 313</b>	Hon. Olajumoke Okoya-Thomas	Female	19/9/2012	29/1/2013 Bill Negatived		Bill voted against by the House of Representatives
32.	Parental Right and Child Control Bill, 2012- <b>HB 347</b>	Hon. Uzoma Nkem-Abonta	Male	25/9/2012			
33.	Affirmative Action (Equal Opportunity for Women) Bill, 2012- <b>HB 350</b>	Hon. Uzoma Nkem-Abonta	Male	9/10/2012			
34.	Women and Girls Advancement Bill, 2012- <b>HB 388</b>	Hon. Abike Dabiri-Erewa	Female	6/11/2012			
35.	Trafficking in Persons (Prohibition) Enforcement and Administration Bill, 2013- <b>HB 474</b>	Executive		20/3/2013	7/5/2013 Referred to the Committee on Human Rights and Justice	28/10/2014 Bill Passed	23/9/2014 Committee Report presented to the House of Representatives;  19/2/2015 Conference Committee Report Adopted by the House of Representatives



	Bill Title	Bill Sponsor(s)	Gender	First Reading	Second Reading	Third Reading	Remarks
36.	Widows Protection Bill, 2013 - <b>HB.633</b>	Hon. Victor Afam Ogene	Male	6/5/2014			
37.	Child's Rights Act (Amendment) Bill, 2013- <b>HB 649</b>	Hon. Olarotimi Mikail	Male	29/4/2014			
38.	Trafficking in Persons (Prohibition) Law Enforcement and Administration Act (Amendment) Bill, 2013 - <b>HB 663</b>	Hon. Eddie Ifeanyichukwu Mbadiwe	Male	29/4/2014	23/10/2014 Referred to the Committee on Human Rights and Justice		
39.	Child's Right Act (Amendment) Bill, 2014- <b>HB 678</b>	Hon. Charles C. Odedo	Male	19/3/2014			
40.	Maryam Babangida National Centre for Women Development (Establishment) Bill, 2014- <b>HB 692</b>	Hon. Abike Dabiri-Erewa	Female	9/4/2014	3/3/2015 Referred to the Committee of the Whole		
41.	Family Economic Advancement Programme (Establishment, etc.) Act (Repeal) Bill. 2014- <b>HB 708</b>	Hon. Ali Ahmad	Male	3/6/2014	Order XII, Rules 81(1), 82 (1) &83 (1) suspended to enable the House to read the Bill for third time and passed	8/7/2014 Bill Passed	4/8/2014 Bill Transmitted to the Senate for Concurrence
42.	Family Support Trust Fund Act (Repeal) Bill, 2014 - <b>HB 709</b>	Hon. Ali Ahmad	Male	3/6/2014	Order XII, Rules 81(1), 82 (1) &83 (1) suspended to enable the House to read the Bill for third time and passed	8/7/2014 Bill Passed	4/8/2014 Bill Transmitted to the Senate for Concurrence

	Bill Title	Bill Sponsor(s)	Gender	First Reading	Second Reading	Third Reading	Remarks
43.	National Hospital for Women and Children, Abuja (Establishment, etc.) Act (Amendment) Bill, 2014- <b>HB 717</b>	Hon. Ali Ahmad	Male	4/6/2014	9/7/2014 Referred to the Committee on Health	23/4/2015 Bill Passed	4/3/2015 Committee Report Presented to the House of Representatives; 23/4/2015 Committee Reported Adopted by the House of Representatives
44.	Repugnant Widowhood Practices (Prohibition) Bill, 2014 – <b>HB 724</b>	Hon. Charles C. Odedo	Male	26/6/2014			
45.	Gender and Equal Opportunity Bill, 2014- <b>HB 756</b>	Hon. Uzoma Nkem-Abonta	Male	23/9/2014	22/10/2014 Referred to the Committees on Human Rights, Women Affairs and Justice		20/5/2015 Committee Report presented to the House of Representatives

## 8th National Assembly, June 2015-2019

	Bill Title	Bill Sponsor(s)	Gender	First Reading	Second Reading	Third Reading	Remarks
1.	Discrimination Against Persons with Disabilities Bill, 2015- <b>SB 22</b>	Sen. Francis Alimikhena	Male	8/10/2015	2/12/2015 Referred to Committee on Sports Development and Poverty Alleviation	13/7/2016 Bill Passed	7/6/2016 Report presented to the Senate; Harmonized 28/3/2018
2.	Women Empowerment Bill, 2015- <b>SB 37</b>	Sen. Biodun Olujimi	Female	30/9/2015			
3.	Equal Opportunity Commission (Establishment) Bill, 2015- <b>SB 45</b>	Sen. Biodun Olujimi	Female	13/10/2015			
4.	Protection Against Domestic Violence Bill, 2015- <b>SB 97</b>	Sen. Dino Melaye	Male	20/10/15			
5.	Gender and Equal Opportunities Bill, 2015- <b>SB 116</b>	Sen. Biodun Olujimi	Female	20/10/2015	15/3/2016 Bill Negatived at Second Reading		Bill voted against by the Senate
6.	In-Vitro Fertilization Bill, 2016- <b>SB 127</b>	Sen. Jibrin Barau	Male	12/4/2016	24/10/2017 Referred to the Committee on Health		Merged with SB 325
7.	Marriage Act (Amendment) Bill, 2015- <b>SB 171</b>	Sen. David Umaru	Male	29/11/2016			
8.	Marriage Act (Repeal and Re-enactment) Bill, 2015- <b>SB 189</b>	Sen. Stella Oduah	Female	11/4/2017			

	Bill Title	Bill Sponsor(s)	Gender	First Reading	Second Reading	Third Reading	Remarks
9.	Property Rights of Spouses Bill, 2015- <b>SB 190</b>	Sen. Stella Oduah	Female	6/2/2018			
10.	Sexual Harassment in Tertiary Educational Institution Bill, 2016- <b>SB 262</b>	Sen. Ovie Omo-Agege	Male	4/5/2016	24/5/2016 Referred to the Committee on Human Rights, Judiciary and Legal Matters	27/10/2016 Bill Passed	13/10/2016 Report presented to the Senate
11.	Free Integrated Maternal and Child Health Care Bill, 2016- <b>SB 277</b>	Sen. Umaru Kurfi	Male	26/7/2017			
12.	National Hospital for Women and Children, Abuja (Establishment) Act (Amendment) Bill, 2016- <b>SB 282</b>	Sen. Lanre Tejuoso	Male	17/5/2016	20/12/2017 Referred to Committee on Health (Basic and Secondary)		
13.	Gender and Equal Opportunities Bill, 2016- <b>SB 301</b>	Sen. Biodun Olujimi	Female	15/6/2016	29/9/2016 Referred to the Committee on Judiciary, Human Rights and Legal Matters		Public Hearing on the Bill scheduled to hold on 9/12/2016 was postponed indefinitely
14.	Sexual Offences Bill, 2019- <b>SB 316</b>	Sen. Stella Oduah	Female				No record of Bill being scheduled for reading
15.	Assisted Reproductive Technology (Regulation) Bill, 2016- <b>SB 325</b>	Sen. Lanre Tejuoso	Male	3/11/2016	24/10/2017 Referred to the Committee on Health		Merged with SB 127

	Bill Title	Bill Sponsor(s)	Gender	First Reading	Second Reading	Third Reading	Remarks
16.	Child Rights Act 2003 (Amendment) Bill, 2016- <b>SB 370</b>	Sen. Rilwan Akanbi	Male	10/11/2016			
17.	Child Rights Act (Amendments) Bill, 2016- <b>SB 407</b>	Sen. Benjamin Uwajumogu	Male	14/12/2016			
18.	Nursing and Midwifery (Registration) Act (Amendment) Bill, 2017- <b>SB 451</b>	Sen. Rabiu Kwankwaso	Male	22/3/2017	20/12/2017 Referred to the Committee on Primary Health and Communicable Diseases		
19.	Matrimonial Causes Act (Amendment) Bill, 2017- <b>HB 110</b>	Sen. Ahmed Lawan	Male	25/7/2017			Bill transmitted from the House of Representatives to the Senate for concurrence
20.	National Child Protection and Enforcement Agency Bill, 2016- <b>HB 127</b>	Sen. Ahmed Lawan	Male	27/9/2016	13/7/17 Referred to the Committee of the Whole		Bill transmitted from the House of Representatives to the Senate for concurrence
21.	Parental Rights and Child Control Bill, 2015 - <b>HB 73</b>	Hon. Uzoma Nkem-Abonta	Male	17/11/2015			
22.	Gender and Equal Opportunities Bill, 2015 - <b>HB 86</b>	Hon. Uzoma Nkem-Abonta	Male	21/10/2015	5/11/2015 Referred to the Committee of the Whole		

	Bill Title	Bill Sponsor(s)	Gender	First Reading	Second Reading	Third Reading	Remarks
23.	Matrimonial Causes Act (Amendment) Bill, 2015- <b>HB 110</b>	Hon. Chukwuemeka Ujam	Male	19/11/2015	10/12/2015 Referred to the Committee on Justice	6/4/2017 Bill Passed	26/1/2017 Committee Report presented to the House of Representatives;  28/3/2017 Committee report adopted by the House of Representatives
24.	National Council for Widows, Dependent Children and Orphans (Establishment, Special Provisions, etc.) Bill, 2015- <b>HB 124</b>	Hon. Ayuba Muhammed Bello	Male	24/11/2015			
25.	National Child Protection and Enforcement Agency Bill, 2015- <b>HB 127</b>	Hon. Beni Lar	Female	19/11/2015	20/1/2016 Referred to the Committee of the Whole	2/6/2016 Bill Re-passed 29/3/2018	26/5/2016 Committee Report Adopted by the House of Representatives;  27/6/2016 Bill Transmitted to the Senate for concurrence

	Bill Title	Bill Sponsor(s)	Gender	First Reading	Second Reading	Third Reading	Remarks
26.	Electoral Act (Amendment) Bill, 2015- <b>HB 174(Consolidated with HBs 165,220,429,492 and 468</b>  <i>The Bill aimed to amend sections 85, 106 and 164 of the Electoral Act 2010 to ensure that all Political Parties are Gender Sensitive and to Eliminate all forms of Discrimination in all Political Parties by mandating that women leaders were female and all youth leaders are</i>	Hon. Pwajok Edward Gyang	Male	02/12/2015	04/05/2016 Referred to the Committee on Electoral and Political Party Matters		
27.	Marriage Act (Amendment) Bill, 2015- <b>HB 279</b>	Hon. Jagaba Adams Jagaba	Male	10/12/12015			
28.	Child's Rights Act (Amendment) Bill, 2016 - <b>HB 456</b>	Hon. Joan Onyemaechi Mrakpor	Female	23/3/2016			
29.	Nigerians with Disability Bill, 2016 - <b>HB 476</b>	Hon. Ochiglegor Idagbo	Male	13/4/2016	2/6/2016 Referred to the Committee of the Whole	9/6/2016 Bill Passed	8/6/2016 Committee Report Adopted by the House of Representatives;  23/5/2018 Conference Committee Reported Adopted by the House of Representatives

	Bill Title	Bill Sponsor(s)	Gender	First Reading	Second Reading	Third Reading	Remarks
30.	Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria (Alteration) Bill, 2016 ( <b>HB 538</b> )  <i>This Bill sought to amend section 147 (3) of Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria (amended) 1999 to ensure not less than 35% women representation in the federal cabinet.</i>	Hon. Asabe Vilita Bashir	Female	25/05/2016	21/07/2016 Bill Negatived		During electronic voting of all Constitution Alteration Bills, the Bill was voted for in the Senate but failed in the House of Representatives.
31.	Trafficking in Persons (Prohibition) Law Enforcement and Administration Act (Amendment) Bill, 2016- <b>HB 614</b>	Hon. Enitan Dolapo Badru	Male	8/6/2016	28/9/2016 Referred to the Committee on Human Rights		
32.	Free Advice and Treatment of Breast Cancer Centre Bill, 2016- <b>HB 616</b>	Hon. Sergius Ogun	Male	8/6/2016	13/10/2016 Referred to the Committee on Healthcare Services;  27/11/2018 Discharged and referred to the Committee of the Whole		
33.	Free, Integrated Maternal and Child Healthcare Bill, 2016 - <b>HB 697</b>	Hon. Garba I. Mohammed	Male	15/6/2016			



	Bill Title	Bill Sponsor(s)	Gender	First Reading	Second Reading	Third Reading	Remarks
34.	Pre-Natal and Post Natal Health Services Bill, 2016 - <b>HB 717</b>	Hon. Tony Nwoye	Male	23/6/2016	27/4/2017 Referred to the Committee on Healthcare Services;  7/6/2018 Discharged and referred to the Committee of the whole	12/7/2018 Bill Passed	5/7/2018 Committee Report adopted by the House of Representatives;  19/7/2018 Bill Transmitted to the House of Representatives
35.	Sexual Harassment in Educational Institutions Bill, 2016- <b>HB 843</b>	Senate bill for concurrence		16/11/2016	19/7/2017 Referred to the Committee of the Whole		Bill was not passed in the House
36.	Child Rights Act (Amendment) Bill, 2017- <b>HB 930</b>	Hon. Vilita Asabe Bashir	Female	8/3/2017			
37.	Births, Deaths, etc. (Compulsory Registration) Act (Amendment) Bill, 2017- <b>HB 986</b>	Hon. Lovette Idisi	Male	29/3/2017	7/6/2017 Referred to the Committee on Justice		
38.	Family Support Trust Fund Act (Amendment) Bill, 2017- <b>HB 1159</b>	Hon. Abubakar Husaini Moriki	Male	28/9/2017			
39.	Child's Right Act (Amendment) Bill 2017- <b>HB 1173</b>	Hon. Benjamin Ikani Okolo	Male	12/10/2017			

	Bill Title	Bill Sponsor(s)	Gender	First Reading	Second Reading	Third Reading	Remarks
40.	Optional Paternity Leave Bill, 2017 - <b>HB 1192</b>	Hon. Edward Gyang Pwajok	Male	31/10/2017	3/5/2018 Bill Negatived		Bill voted against by the House of Representatives
41.	Sexual Offenders (Registration) Bill, 2017 - <b>HB 1199</b>	Hon. Idagbo Ochiglegor	Male	31/10/2017			
42.	National Center for Child Development (Establishment) Bill, 2018 - <b>HB 1297</b>	Hon. Henry Daniel Ofongo	Male	25/1/2018	12/7/2018 Referred to the Committee on Women Affairs and Social Development		
43.	Births, Deaths, Etc. (Compulsory Registration) Act (Amendment) Bill, 2018 - <b>HB 1454</b>	Hon. Omoregie Ogbeide-Ihama	Male	15/5/2018			
44.	National Centre for Women Development Act (Repeal and Re-Enactment) Bill, 2018- <b>HB 1500</b>	Hon. Gideon Gwani	Female	3/7/2018			
45.	Trafficking in Persons (Prohibition) Enforcement and Administration Act (Amendment) Bill, 2018 - <b>HB 1559</b>	Hon. Samuel Ikon	Male	6/11/2018			
46.	Parental Responsibility Bill, 2018 - <b>HB 1583</b>	Hon. Bode Ayorinde	Male	12/12/2018			
47.	Women Participation in Elections Support Bill, 2018- <b>HB 1594</b>	Hon. Sadiq Abubakar	Male	18/12/2018	24/1/2019 Debate on the Bill deferred to allow for further legislative consultations		Bill terminated with 8 <sup>th</sup> Assembly



**PLAC**

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## About PLAC

Policy and Legal Advocacy Centre (PLAC) is a non-governmental organization committed to strengthening democratic governance and citizens' participation in Nigeria. PLAC works to enhance citizens' engagement with state institutions, and to promote transparency and accountability in policy and decision-making processes.

The main focus of PLAC's intervention in the democratic governance process is on building the capacity of the legislature and reforming the electoral process. Since its establishment, PLAC has grown into a leading institution with capacity to deliver cutting-edge research, policy analysis and advocacy. PLAC receives funding support from donors and other philanthropic sources.

