



About Climate and Energy Policy Initiative

Climate & Energy Policy Initiative is an independent think tank which advocates for a global clean energy transition through research and policy advisory. Research areas include clean energy transition, climate finance, corporate climate governance and the development of carbon markets.

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Unlocking Climate Finance for Clean Cooking Projects in Nigeria

Executive Summary

Clean cooking remains one of Nigeria's most urgent and under-prioritised challenges, with over 60% of households still reliant on firewood and charcoal for cooking. The consequences are devastating with smoke from open air fires contributing to up to 70,000 deaths annually. Emissions from the burning of word also accounts for 16% of Nigeria's greenhouse gas emissions.

As part of its national commitments under the Paris Agreement, Nigeria has committed to transition close to 50% of households to liquefied petroleum gas (LPG) powered cookstoves and 13% of households to improved biomass cookstoves by 2030. The Nigerian government has also demonstrated its commitment by the adoption of the National Clean Cooking Policy in 2024. Despite these ambitions, there remains a huge implementation gap.

This paper outlines a practical roadmap to unlocking climate finance for clean cooking projects in Nigeria. It identifies critical barriers, including cultural resistance, high upfront costs, fragmented markets, lack of access to finance, weak carbon markets, infrastructure constraints, and the lack of a comprehensive national climate taxonomy which includes clean cooking as an environmentally sustainable activity.

To overcome these challenges, the paper calls for:

- stronger coordination between all tiers of government.
- the integration of clean cooking into national and state energy plans and rural development programmes.
- increased stakeholder engagement with local communities and cooperatives from project design stage to project implementation.



- the deployment of innovative finance tools like results-based financing, blended finance instruments, consumer loans, microfinance loans, carbon finance, green bonds and emissions-reduction-linked bonds.
- the use of public policy tools like tax incentives, government subsidies and public procurement to drive adoption and reduce costs.
- the development of national baselines for clean cooking projects, the establishment of a national carbon registry and the adoption of global best practices in the design of clean cookstove carbon finance projects.
- the creation of a national digital monitoring platform to improve transparency and accountability.

Introduction

Clean cooking is one of the most urgent and neglected challenges of our time. According to the International Energy Agency (IEA), more than 2 billion people around the world lack access to clean cooking solutions.² Across the globe, lack of access to clean cooking facilities contributes to the death of millions every year with women and children most at risk.³ Women and girls also face social and economic challenges as the time spent collecting firewood for cooking prevents them from pursuing educational opportunities or running profitable businesses, which limits their economic potential. The environmental impact is also significant. Sourcing wood for cooking contributes to forest degradation and the emissions from the burning of wood, particularly with inefficient cookstoves, contributes to global warming.

In recent years, there has been a shift towards solving the clean cooking problem globally. Last year, the IEA organised the world's largest clean cooking summit ever. This event was attended by over 1000 delegates from governments, private sector, development partners, and members of the civil society. It signalled a turn in the approach to addressing clean cooking globally as participants signed up to a global pledge to support clean cooking as a

² International Energy Agency, A Vision for Clean Cooking Access for All, 2023 https://www.iea.org/reports/a-vision-for-clean-cooking-access-for-all

³ IEA (1)



critical part of the energy transition. The event also saw the announcement of a US\$2.2 billion funding initiative for clean cooking projects.⁴

In Africa, the clean cooking crisis is acute. Nearly 900 million people in sub-Saharan Africa rely on polluting fuels for cooking.⁵ Yet, less than 33% of all clean cooking programs in Africa have received funding.⁶ The gap is accelerated by inadequate government policies together with infrastructural bottlenecks and affordability challenges especially within rural and low-income communities.

In Nigeria, more than 60% of households depend on firewood and charcoal as their primary source of cooking fuel while 20% use kerosene for cooking.⁷ The situation is especially critical in rural areas where only 6% of households have access to clean cooking.⁸ It is estimated that indoor pollution and smoke from open air fires are responsible for over 70,000 deaths in Nigeria each year.⁹ Cooking with wood fuels also accelerates deforestation and accounts for 16% of the Nigeria's total greenhouse gas emissions.¹⁰

Historically, national dialogues on energy transition and decarbonisation have focused mainly on electricity access, renewable energy, and industrial decarbonisation. Yet, clean cooking is key to achieving a just and inclusive energy transition especially for women and girls.¹¹ It has a direct impact on public health, gender equality, environmental sustainability, and economic opportunities.¹²

With the launch of the National Clean Cooking Policy (NCCP) in 2024, the Nigerian Government demonstrated its commitment to scaling the adoption of clean cooking solutions in the country. The NCCP aims to transition over 26.8 million households to LPG cookstoves

⁴ IEA press release, https://www.iea.org/news/landmark-summit-mobilises-2-2-billion-to-make-2024-a-turning-point-for-clean-cooking-access-in-africa

⁵ Anteneh G. Dagnachew, Andries F. Hof, Paul L. Lucas, Detlef P. van Vuuren, Scenario analysis for promoting clean cooking in Sub-Saharan Africa: Costs and benefits, Energy, Volume 192, 2020, https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0360544219323369

⁶ IEA (1)

⁷ The National Clean Cooking Policy, 2024

⁸ International Renewable Energy Agency (IRENA) Renewable Energy RoadMap Nigeria Report, 2023 https://www.irena.org/-/media/Files/IRENA/Agency/Publication/2023/Jan/IRENA_REMap_Nigeria_2023.pdf

⁹ The National Clean Cooking Policy, 2024

¹⁰ Ibid

¹¹ Clean Cooking Alliance, The Future of Africa's Sustainable Cities: Why Clean Cooking Matters, 2023, https://cleancooking.org/reports-and-tools/the-future-of-africas-sustainable-cities-why-clean-cooking-matters/

¹² IEA (1)



and 7.3 million households to improved biomass cookstoves by 2030.13 However, as this paper will demonstrate, significant implementation gaps remain.

This white paper provides a practical roadmap for addressing these challenges and scaling clean cooking solutions through financial innovation, technical assistance and multistakeholder collaboration. It begins by assessing the current policy framework and identifying the barriers that have prevented widespread adoption. It then proposes a set of actionable recommendations to drive the rapid adoption of clean cooking solutions in Nigeria.

Overview of Nigeria's Clean Cooking Framework

Presently, close to 30 million households in Nigeria rely on burning wood as their cooking fuel.¹⁴ In 2021, through its nationally determined contributions, Nigeria committed to transition over 26.8 million households to liquefied petroleum gas (LPG) and 7.3 million households to improved cookstoves by 2030.15

To achieve this, the Federal Executive Council approved the National Clean Cooking Policy (NCCP) in 2024. The NCCP represents a landmark effort by the Federal Government to address the health, environmental, and economic impacts of harmful traditional cooking practices.

The NCCP adopts the Clean Cooking Alliance's definitions of what constitutes "clean" and "efficient" cooking. It divides cookstoves into three categories: (a) tier 2 – fuel efficient stoves; (b) tier 3 - stoves that are counted as clean for their health impacts; and (c) tier 4 - stoves that are counted as clean for their environmental impacts. 16

The NCCP also sets out key policy goals and measures to be taken by the government for the achievement of its clean cooking ambition. These include the creation of tax waivers and exemptions for the importation of clean cooking fuels and improved cookstoves. The policy also includes a plan to establish a clean cooking investment fund to support cookstove developers across the country and enable access to carbon finance for these developers. It

¹³ The National Clean Cooking Policy, 2024

¹⁵ Nigeria's First Nationally Determined Contribution (Updated Submission) https://unfccc.int/documents/497790

¹⁶ The National Clean Cooking Policy, 2024



also prescribes the development of quality assurance frameworks, including the standardisation of cookstove technologies through the Standards Organisation of Nigeria and the creation of dedicated testing centres across the Federation, to ensure safety, efficiency, and durability of clean cooking solutions.

The Clean Cooking Committee, which will include representatives of key government ministries, will be situated within the National Council of Climate Change (NCCC) and will coordinate the implementation of the policy. State Clean Cooking Units will also be established and be responsible for developing local action plans and driving implementation within their respective states.

The NCCP aligns with broader national development strategies, including the Nigerian Energy Transition Plan¹⁷, the Decade of Gas initiative¹⁸ and the National Gas Policy¹⁹. It reinforces the government's ambition to use gas as a transitional fuel leading up to the transition to modern energy cooking services by 2060.²⁰

Despite its ambition, the NCCP faces some implementation challenges. Since its launch, only few states have developed clean cooking action plans or included clean cooking as part of their energy transition plans. Local governments also have not been actively involved in the implementation of the clean cooking agenda. This is a critical gap as local governments play a key role in driving clean cooking awareness within rural communities. They could also help to aggregate clean cooking demand and unlock the development of energy communities for clean cooking projects within their local government areas.

In addition, the clean cooking agenda is often treated as a standalone issue and is not integrated into other national priorities. For example, Nigeria's current integrated energy plan²¹ makes no references to clean cooking as a core part of the country's energy planning priorities. Clean cooking is also remarkably absent from Nigeria's national health related policies.²²

²⁰ Nigeria's Long-Term Low Emission Development Strategy, 206, https://unfccc.int/documents/638193

¹⁷ The Nigerian Energy Transition Plan (2022) and the Nigerian Energy Transition and Investment Plan Update (2024)

¹⁸ Nigerian Decade of Gas Iniitative, https://www.decadeofgas.com.ng/

¹⁹ The National Gas Policy, 2017

²¹ The National Integrated Resource Plan, 2024

²² The National Health Promotion Policy, 2019, https://faolex.fao.org/docs/pdf/nig229323.pdf;
The National Health Policy 2016, https://naca.gov.ng/wp-content/uploads/2019/10/National-Health-Policy-Final-copy.pdf



Also, although the NCCP calls for the establishment of a Clean Cooking Investment Fund, there is no clarity on how such fund will be structured or managed. It is also not clear whether the fund has been established.

Several key stakeholders played a critical role to the advancement of Nigeria's clean cooking agenda. For example, the Nigerian Alliance for Clean Cookstoves (NACC) was very instrumental in the drafting and adoption of the NCCP. It has also supported the development of two globally recognised stove testing laboratories: the Clean Cookstoves Development and Testing Centre in Afikpo, Ebonyi State and the National Stove Eligibility Laboratory (NSEL) at the University of Nigeria, Nsukka. These centres provide a platform for product certification, research and development, and capacity-building for local stove manufacturers.²³

The Standards Organisation of Nigeria (SON) has also approved biomass cookstove standards which were developed by the National Mirror Committee on Clean Cooking Solutions and Fuels, an initiative of the Nigerian Alliance for Clean Cookstoves.²⁴

Pilot projects in states like Lagos and Katsina have demonstrated the potential for clean cooking at scale. In Lagos, the State Government recently launched a clean cookstove initiative which aims to distribute 80 million cookstoves, create over 35 million jobs, and generate 1.2 billion tonnes of carbon credits.²⁵ In Katsina, the EU–Oxfam Fuel Wood Balance project aims to distribute at least 35,000 improved cookstoves across local governments in the state.²⁶ In Kaduna, the National Clean Cooking Scheme implemented by the Rural Women Energy Security Ltd/Gte and supported by the United Nations Development Program (UNDP), through the African Adaptation Programme (ADP), successfully introduced LPG gas stoves to four government secondary schools in the State to replace the use of wood fuel for cooking.²⁷

https://rise.esmap.org/data/files/library/nigeria/Clean%20Cooking/Nigeria_NACC_stove_testing_and_standar_ds_by_nigerian_alliance_for_clean_cookstoves_2018.pdf

²³ Nigerian Alliance for Clean Cookstoves, Stove Testing and Standards, March 2018

²⁴ SON Approves National Standards for Biomass Cookstoves in Nigeria, https://naccnigeria.org/son-approves-national-standards-for-biomass-cookstoves-in-

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²⁵ Lagos State launches 80 million clean cookstove projects, https://punchng.com/lasg-launches-80-million-clean-cookstoves-project/#google_vignette

²⁶ Irena Report (7); International Centre for Energy, Environment and Development https://iceednigeria.org/projects/improving-fuel-wood-balance.html

²⁷ The National Clean Cooking Scheme project, https://ruwes.org.ng/the-national-clean-cooking-scheme-nccs/



In 2024, the NCCC in collaboration with Atmosfair and Climate Sustainability firm also launched a Save80 Clean Cookstoves' initiative to tackle deforestation in Katsina.²⁸

In conclusion, Nigeria's clean cooking framework is ambitious and provides a foundation for national clean cooking transition. However, delivering on its targets will require closing critical implementation gaps. In the next section, we highlight the practical challenges facing the scaling and financing of clean cooking projects in Nigeria.

Barriers to scaling and financing clean cooking solutions in Nigeria

Despite the robust policy framework established by Nigeria's National Clean Cooking Policy (NCCP), several systemic and structural challenges slow down the adoption and financing of clean cooking solutions. These include:

- 1. Traditional Behavioural Patterns: In many Nigerian households, especially in rural areas, traditional cooking methods using firewood and charcoal are deeply ingrained due to cultural preferences and longstanding practices. Even where improved cookstoves available, some local communities shun these technologies in favour of harmful cooking practices due to entrenched beliefs that these traditional methods infuse certain tastes and flavours in their food. Public awareness campaigns need to directly address this the cultural perception.
- 2. High Costs of Clean Cookstoves: The high upfront cost of clean cookstoves and associated fuels like liquefied petroleum gas (LPG) presents a significant barrier to adoption. For low-income households, the initial investment in improved cookstoves is prohibitive without external funding support and structured payment plans.
- 3. Demand Aggregation Issues: The market for clean cookstoves in Nigeria remains fragmented and underdeveloped. Without a system to aggregate demand, stove manufacturers and distributors struggle to achieve economies of scale and this results in higher costs for their customers.

²⁸Nigeria's Climate Change Council Moves to Tackle Deforestation in Katsina, https://www.arise.tv/nigerias-climate-change-council-moves-to-tackle-deforestation-in-katsina/



- 4. Limited Access to Finance: Local financial institutions often perceive clean cooking businesses as high-risk ventures. The lack of historical credit information, informal business models, and uncertain income streams could pose a challenge for developers looking to obtain loans from banks and microfinance institutions. Also, the absence of a national clean cooking facility targeted at scaling clean cooking adoption in Nigeria also hinders the access to finance for these projects.
- 5. Underdeveloped Carbon Market: Although, the NCCC has held several stakeholders' sessions on the design of a carbon market framework for Nigeria, there is presently no legal framework for the development of carbon credit projects in Nigeria. There is also no guidance as to the legal nature of carbon credits in Nigeria. In addition, there is no nationally recognised baseline assessment for clean and improved cookstoves in Nigeria. There is also no official system for the monitoring, reporting and validating clean cookstove carbon credit methodologies to ensure that they meet the criteria for high quality carbon credits in alignment with emerging global standards. This gap raises the costs and complexity of raising carbon finance for cookstove projects in the country.
- 6. Distribution and Infrastructure Constraints: Infrastructure challenges including poor road networks, high transportation costs, and limited warehousing capacity could make access to cookstoves challenging especially for people in rural communities. Some project developers rely on local agents to distribute their goods within hard-to-reach communities, but these issues persist. Supply chain issues and associated delays could reduce consumer trust and negatively affect their perception of cookstoves.
- 7. Import Duties on Biomass Cookstoves: While the Nigerian government has exempted LPG from import duties and VAT to promote clean cooking, improved cookstoves and their components remain subject to these taxes. As a result, the cost of improved cookstoves is high compared to traditional stoves.²⁹

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²⁹ Clasp, Transforming the Cookstoves Market through Standards & Labels in Nigeria, October 2017, https://www.clasp.ngo/wp-content/uploads/2021/01/Transforming-the-Cookstoves-Market-through-Standards-Labels-in-Nigeria 2017.pdf



8. Absence of Climate Taxonomy incorporating Clean Cooking: Nigeria currently lacks a climate taxonomy that recognises clean cooking as an environmentally sustainable project. The absence of this recognition could affect the perception of clean cooking initiatives as a critical part tool for climate mitigation and hinder the flow of green financing to clean cooking projects. Clean cooking is also not covered under the Nigerian Sustainable Banking Principles issued by the Central Bank of Nigeria in 2012. The gap contributes to the lack of awareness by Nigerian financial institutions on the urgent need to deploy domestic capital towards clean cooking projects.

The Way Forward

The first step to achieving Nigeria's clean cooking target is to address clean cooking as a key priority across all levels of government. Each State should set up a Clean Cooking Unit within the State's Ministry of Energy which should be responsible for driving the implementation of the National Clean Cooking Policy at the state level. Each State should also develop an actionable Clean Cooking Plan which should be a road map for the roll-out of clean cooking initiatives across all local governments within the state. In addition, clean cooking programs must be accommodated under state and local government budgetary allocations. Local governments must also be empowered, through dedicated clean cooking focal persons or units, to carry out grassroots engagement and support the implementation and monitoring of clean cooking projects.

In addition, clean cooking must be included as a part of Nigeria's national and state level energy programs. Clean cooking solutions should be incorporated into electrification and other rural development interventions. Mini-grid operators supported under the Nigeria Electrification Project (NEP) and the World Bank Nigeria Distributed Access through Renewable Energy Scale-up (DARES) project should be incentivised to bundle cooking services into their business models. Research has shown that integrating electric cooking into mini-grid business models can improve business profitability for mini-grid developers.³⁰

³⁰ United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), No Time to Waste: Pathways to Deliver Clean Cooking for All, 2025, https://www.undp.org/publications/no-time-waste-pathways-deliver-clean-cooking-all-undp-approach-and-policy-

 $[\]frac{guide\#:\text{``:text=No\%20time\%20to\%20waste\%3A\%20Pathways\%20to\%20deliver\%20clean,livelihoods\%2C\%20among\%20women\%20and\%20girls\%20most\%20of\%20all.}$



Private developers of clean cookstoves should be encouraged to engage with local communities in the design and implementation of clean cookstove projects to ensure that the solutions address the specific needs of the communities.³¹ This will increase acceptance rates and reduce the risk of low uptake of these solutions within communities. Private developers could also work with local cooperative societies to design financing solutions that could, in combination with government funding support, reduce the upfront costs of these technologies.

Public awareness is a critical aspect for the successful implementation of the national clean cooking agenda. A national multi-media campaign should be launched in partnership with state governments, civil society, and media platforms to shift public perception and raise awareness of the dangers of cooking with harmful fuels. The IEA recommends that public awareness programs should include training users on stove maintenance needs and incorporating cooking classes with recipe adjustments to help users adapt.³² Governments must also engage trusted stakeholders such as women's associations, community leaders, and religious figures to promote the adoption of clean cooking solutions.

Governments should lead by example. All public facilities, including public schools, hospitals, correctional centres and government offices, should transition to clean and improved cookstoves. Government should also provide tax incentives to scale the use of improved cookstoves and promote local innovation and manufacturing of these products.

To mobilise capital for clean cooking projects, Nigeria should deploy innovative financial solutions. Innovative financing tools like blended finance, results-based financing, consumer finance instruments including pay-as-you-go (Pay-Go) financing models, micro-finance loans, credit guarantees, grants and well-designed subsidy programs could increase the adoption of clean cooking solutions in the country.³³ PayGo financing models have been deployed by clean cooking companies in Tanzania and Kenya with remarkable success.34

³¹ Clean Cooking Alliance, A Call to Action: Delivering Responsible Carbon Finance, https://cleancooking.org/wp-content/uploads/2024/05/CCA A-Call-to-Action Delivering-Responsible-Carbon-Finance.pdf

³² IEA (1)

³³ Energy4Impact in collaboration with Mordern Energy Cooking Services, Mordern Energy Cooking: Review of the Funding Landscape, 2022, https://www.energy4impact.org/resources/modern-energycooking#:~:text=The%20Modern%20Energy%20Cooking%3A%20Review%20of%20the%20Funding,galvanizing %20greater%20investment%20in%20the%20clean%20cooking%20sector.

³⁴ International Energy Agency, Scaling Private Finance for Clean Energy in Emerging and Developing Economies, 2023, https://www.iea.org/reports/scaling-up-private-finance-for-clean-energy-in-emerging-anddeveloping-economies



Donors, development financial institutions and development partners should also create dedicated clean cooking funding windows. A national climate taxonomy which includes clean cooking as a sustainable activity should be developed to encourage local financial institutions invest in clean cooking projects. The Clean Cooking Investment Fund should also be established with the local commercial institutions and the Bank of Industry as implementing partners. The Federal Government could also implement a credit guarantee scheme for clean cooking projects similar to the Agricultural Credit Guarantee Scheme Fund.³⁵

Domestic sources of capital from banks, pension funds and from the domestic capital market, could also be unlocked for these projects through the use of emerging green finance instruments, including green bonds, green loans, sustainability-linked loans and emissions-reduction linked bonds. A good example of an emissions-reduction linked bond is a 2023 World Bank project, where a project for the procurement and distribution of water purifiers in schools was financed using the proceeds of an emissions-reduction-linked bond. The bond issuance was backed by carbon credits generated from the reduced emissions associated with replacing wood-burning for water boiling with the use of water purifiers.³⁶

Clean cookstove projects should also be eligible for carbon finance. To unlock this opportunity, Nigeria should conduct national baseline assessments for clean cookstove projects that align with evolving global standards on transparency and accuracy. Clean cooking developers should also receive technical assistance support in building capacity in stove testing, structuring carbon finance and understanding best practices in the design of carbon credit projects.

Nigeria can also adopt existing international standards such as the Principles for Responsible Carbon Finance issued by the Clean Cooking Alliance³⁷ and the Core Carbon Principles issued by the Integrity Council for the Voluntary Carbon Market for high integrity carbon

³⁵ The Agricultural Credit Guarantee Scheme Fund managed by the Central Bank of Nigeria, https://www.cbn.gov.ng/DFD/agriculture/acgsf.html

³⁶ World Bank Press Release, Emission Reduction-Linked Bond Helps Provide Clean Drinking Water to Two Million Children in Vietnam, February 14 2023 https://www.worldbank.org/en/news/press-release/2023/02/14/emission-reduction-linked-bond-helps-provide-clean-drinking-water-to-two-million-children-in-

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³⁷ Clean Cooking Alliance's Principles for Responsible Carbon Finance in Clean Cooking, <u>The-Principles-for-Responsible-Carbon-Finance-in-Clean-Cooking.pdf</u>



credits³⁸. These standards prescribe best practices to ensure the environmental and social integrity of carbon credit projects. Research has shown that buyers are willing to pay higher prices for high integrity carbon credits.³⁹ Nigeria should also establish a national carbon registry to enable the transparent issuance and trading of clean cooking credits. A blockchain-based registry, similar to the one recently launched in Zimbabwe⁴⁰, could improve traceability, reduce the risk of double counting, and increase investor confidence in Nigeria's carbon market.

Robust monitoring and evaluation is essential to delivering results at scale. Nigeria should invest in a national digital platform to track the implementation of the National Clean Cooking Policy across all states and local governments. For proper monitoring and evaluation, the data should be capable of being disaggregated by age, gender and location.⁴¹ The reports should be made publicly available to improve transparency in the use of climate funds.

In conclusion, to deliver on Nigeria's clean cooking ambition, strong coordination between multiple stakeholders, well-tailored financing support and public awareness are crucial to scale adoption and improve the health outcomes of millions of women and children across the country.

Conclusion

The Clean cooking challenge is crucial. The adoption of the National Clean Cooking Policy is a laudable first step. It is now important for all stakeholders, including the public sector, the private sector, development financial institutions, local financers and members of the civil society, to ensure that the objectives of the policy are achieved. Strong multi-level stakeholder coordination will be required to unlock much-needed climate finance and address the

³⁸ The Integrity Council for the Voluntary Carbon Market's Core Carbon Principles, https://icvcm.org/core-carbon-principles/

³⁹ Clean Cooking Alliance, 2023 Clean Cooking Industry Snapshot, https://cleancooking.org/reports-and-tools/2023-clean-cooking-industry-snapshot/

⁴⁰ Zimbabwe launches World's First Blockchain Carbon Registry, https://iharare.com/zimbabwe-launches-worlds-first-blockchain-carbon-

 $[\]frac{registry/\#: \text{``:text=Zimbabwe}\%20 has \%20 made \%20 history \%20 by \%20 launching \%20 the \%20 world \%E2\%80\%99 s, and \%20 Government \%20 in \%20 Harare \%20 on \%20 May \%2023\%20 C \%202025.$

⁴¹ Sustainable Energy for All, Improving Energy Data to Enhance Gender Equality, https://www.seforall.org/publications/improving-energy-data-to-enhance-gender-equality#:~:text=This%20report%20highlights%20a%20critical%20opportunity%20in%20leveraging,for%20closing%20gender%20gaps%20in%20the%20energy%20industry; UNDP (28)



infrastructural and institutional gaps. Public policy tools including tax incentives, government subsidies and public procurement policies should also be deployed to reduce costs and increase the adoption of clean cookstoves nationwide.

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