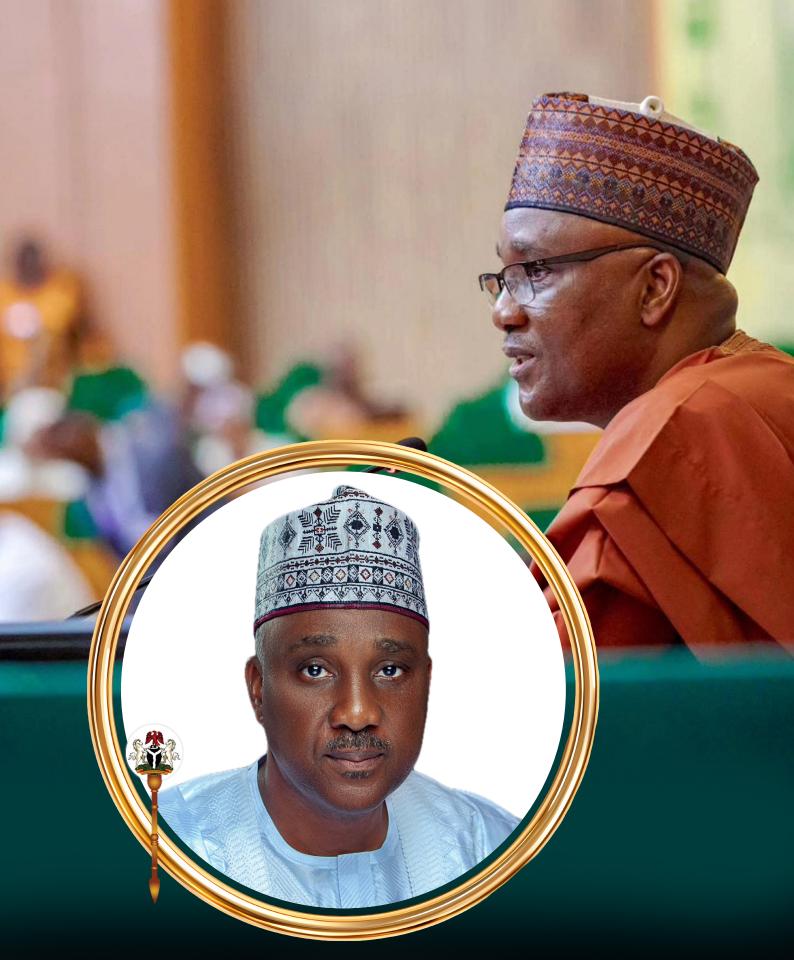


Performance Report of the First Session of the Tenth House of Representatives of the Fourth Republic, Federal Republic of Nigeria

July 2024







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Deputy Speaker, House of Representatives

Principal Officers of the House of Representatives



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ADC Africa Development Congress

APC All Progressives Congress

APGA All Progressives Grand Alliance

CSOs Civil Society Organisations

FAO Food and Agriculture Organisation

FCT Federal Capital Territory

GCFR Grand Commander of the Federal Republic

IMF International Monetary Fund

IoT Internet of Things

IPU International Parliamentary Union

ISPON Institute of Professionals of Nigeria

LP Labour Party

MDAs Ministries, Departments and Agencies

NABRO National Assembly Budget and Research Office

NAFDAC	National Agency for Food and Drug Administration and Control			
NBS	National Bureau of Statistics			
NELMCO	Nigerian Electricity Liability Management Company			
NNPP	New Nigeria Peoples' Party			
NOUN	National Open University of Nigeria			
NPHCDA	National Primary HealthCare Development Agency			
OECD	Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development			
PCU	Programmes Coordinating Unit			
PDP	Peoples Democratic Party			
PHCN	Power Holding Company of Nigeria			
PIA	Petroleum Industry Reform Act			
PPP	Public Private Partnership			
SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals			
SDP	Social Democratic Party			
TETFUND	Tertiary Education Trust Fund			
UK	United Kingdom			
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation			
WHO	World Health Organisation			
YPP	Young Progressives Party			



he compilation of the First Year Scorecard of the 10th House of Representatives has been a collaborative and comprehensive endeavour. We express our heartfelt gratitude to all individuals and organizations whose contributions were pivotal to the success of this report. Foremost, we acknowledge the lead consultants who meticulously planned and executed the study using an objective and scientific methodology. Their expertise ensured the integrity and robustness of the report. We extend our sincere appreciation to the Committees of the House and their Chairmen, particularly the Committee on Legislative Agenda, chaired by Hon. Patrick Umoh, Ph.D., and the Committee on Monitoring and Evaluation, chaired by Hon. Obi Aguocha for their contribution in the preparation of this report and their unwavering support throughout the process.

Our profound thanks go to civil society organizations, especially YIAGA Africa, for their significant contributions of resources and expertise. Their role was instrumental in generating and enriching the quality of the report. A special note of thanks is due to the Special Assistant, Policy and Strategy, and his dedicated team for their tireless efforts in gathering the necessary materials for the study and actively participating in drafting the report. Their commitment and attention to detail were exemplary. We are equally grateful to the reviewers from civil society, the language editors, and all others who played a role in ensuring the success of this exercise. Your collective efforts have been invaluable.

As we reflect on the importance of routine performance assessments in emerging democracies, we acknowledge the great expectations that come with the transformation of governance in Africa. In Nigeria, the democratization process over the past 25 years has underscored the need for regular evaluations of our democratic institutions to gauge progress and identify areas for improvement.

The House of Representatives has been at the forefront of championing democratic good governance, prioritizing the aspirations and interests of Nigerians. The words of President Bola Ahmed Tinubu, highlighting the National Assembly's role in advancing democratic

principles and representing the voices of Nigerians, resonate deeply with our mission.

Since the inauguration of the 10th House of Representatives on June 13, 2023, significant strides have been made in implementing a comprehensive legislative agenda aimed at addressing key national issues. This performance assessment serves as a testament to our collective efforts in driving economic revitalization, social justice, governance reforms, and

This performance assessment is not just a record of our achievements but also a roadmap for future improvements. We are committed to building on this foundation and striving for greater excellence in serving the people of Nigeria.

national security. We have witnessed remarkable legislative activism, with a record number of bills introduced and motions passed in the first session. The achievements highlighted in this report reflect our commitment to legislative efficiency and effectiveness.

While we celebrate these milestones, we are mindful of the challenges that lie ahead. The capacity gaps, economic constraints, and heightened expectations from citizens are areas we must address with renewed vigour. At the same time, we recognize the prospects of experienced leadership, unity of purpose, increased citizen engagement, and bipartisan collaboration that will guide us going forward.

In conclusion, this performance assessment is not just a record of our achievements but also a roadmap for future improvements. We are committed to building on this foundation and striving for greater excellence in serving the people of Nigeria.

Thank you once again to all who contributed to the success of this exercise. Your dedication and hard work are deeply appreciated.

Chief of Staff to the Speaker of the House of Representatives,

Prof. Jake D. Dan-Azumi

Federal Republic of Nigeria



he foremost beauty of representative democracy is that it accords citizens the privilege to choose their leaders and imposes on those chosen the burden to give adequate and satisfactory account of their stewardship. In between the privilege to choose and the burden to give account, is the ceaseless debates on good governance and its requirements. For twenty-five straight years, the democratization process in Nigeria has produced Ten Houses of Representatives. For twenty-five straight years, democratic good governance in Nigeria remains work-in-progress. The common refrain in the ensuing public conversations is that Nigerians should choose wisely during elections. However, the quality of leadership is not so much about the wisdom of choice of the electorates, rather, it is largely the outcome of the commitment of those chosen to deliver on the concrete dividends of democracy. Therefore, the most nuanced attribute of representative democracy is accountability. Where it is not satisfactorily rendered, the citizens are disillusioned. Here lies the burden of leadership – a burden that the Tenth House of Representatives has taken with equanimity.

It is instructive to note that the emergence of the Tenth House of Representatives coincides (more or less) with twenty-five years of the democratization process in Nigeria. In numerology (the science of numbers), 25 is a significant number because it is 1/4 of a century. 25 years in the life of a nation is a long journey that requires an honest and objective introspection about the task of nation building. The question then arises; is the tenth House of Representatives a gift by Nigerians to our democratic journey? Perhaps, the answer to this question lies in what the 10th House is doing differently. At a time that the demands for accountability in governance has rented the political space more than ever before, it is invigorating that the Tenth House of Representatives under the leadership of Rt. Hon. Abbas Tajudeen has responded to these demands by giving account of its first year in office. This innovation should be lauded as a welcomed development in parliamentary practice.

As noted in the report, the significance of the performance assessment are three-fold; "(i) to gauge the level of preparedness and institutional capacity of the 10th House of Representatives to deliver on its mandate amid challenging national circumstances, (ii) to assess the maturity of our democracy, which is largely dependent on the efficiency of the legislative arm of government, and (iii) to document the assessment report as a valuable resource in the growing literature of legislative activism".

What the foregoing statements means is that by the time the 10th House of Representatives completes it life cycle in 2027, four volumes would have been documented for posterity. This first volume conveys progress made so far against the backdrop of the overarching legislative agenda to benchmark the performance of the 10th House of Representatives. In my estimation, this report is a loud statement to mark twenty-five years of democracy in Nigeria.

Hon. Prof. Julius (honvpere, OON)

Majority Leader, House of Representatives, Federal Republic of Nigeria

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Routine performance assessments of democratic institutions are becoming increasingly common, particularly in emerging democracies across Africa. This practice responds to the high expectations that have accompanied the continent's transformation in governance. In Nigeria, the democratization process over the past quarter-century has necessitated regular evaluations of governance institutions to monitor progress and identify gaps in achieving good governance. At the core of this democratic governance is the House of Representatives, an institution embodying the essence of democracy as "government of the people, by the people, and for the people." The House of Representatives has played a pivotal role in prioritizing the aspirations and interests of Nigerians, ensuring that laws are made for the peace and progress of the country.

In his speech marking 25 years of unbroken democratization, President Bola Ahmed Tinubu remarked that the "National Assembly has not only advanced democratic principles but has also ensured that the voices and interests of Nigerians are represented in the legislative process. Its resilience and proactive stance during difficult times underscore the importance of a strong legislative body in fostering a stable and inclusive democracy." This underscores the nation's commitment to strengthening the integrity of our democratic institutions to meet global standards of good governance.

Since its inauguration on June 13, 2023, the 10th House of Representatives has spearheaded the development of a legislative agenda aimed at tackling issues such as economic stagnation, socio-economic disparities, security challenges, and the aftermath of fuel subsidy removal. The House has achieved significant milestones by implementing a comprehensive legislative agenda focused on economic revitalization, social justice, governance reforms, and national

security through robust legislative activity, inclusive public engagement, and comprehensive capacity-building initiatives.

This performance assessment was undertaken to evaluate how effectively the 10th House of Representatives has implemented its legislative agenda within its first session. The assessment serves several key purposes: (i) to gauge the level of preparedness and institutional capacity of the 10th House to deliver on its mandate amid challenging national circumstances, (ii) to assess the maturity of our democracy, which is largely dependent on the efficiency of the legislative arm of government, and (iii) to document the assessment report as a valuable resource in the growing literature of legislative activism.

The performance assessment adopts a methodology that is both descriptive and analytical, relying on official records and a substantial volume of related literature. The assessment examines Committee Reports, Records of Proceedings, Speeches, and legislative Policies of the Speaker, Rt. Hon. Abbas Tajudeen, as well as other official documents of the House of Representatives. The literature review includes a wide range of scholarly perspectives on the subject matter.

Findings from the study reveal significant developments in legislative activism. In its first session, the House introduced 1,351 bills, the highest number in any first session since 1999. Of these, 89 bills were passed, reflecting the House's commitment to legislative efficiency and effectiveness. Additionally, 679 motions were introduced, setting a record for the number of motions in the first session.

The performance assessment adopts a methodology that is both descriptive and analytical, relying on official records and a substantial volume of related literature.

The legislative agenda prioritizes economic empowerment and diversification to reduce Nigeria's reliance on oil exports. Key bills include the Electricity Act (Amendment) Bill, 2023, which aims to enhance the efficiency and sustainability of Nigeria's electricity sector by promoting investment in renewable energy sources. Furthermore, the Federal Audit Service Act (Amendment) Bill, 2023, strengthens financial oversight and transparency, ensuring better management of public funds and reducing corruption.

In the social sector, the Administration of Criminal Justice Act (Repeal and Enactment) Bill, 2023, modernizes the criminal justice system to ensure fairer trials and better protection of human rights. The Federal Fire and Rescue Service Bill, 2023, enhances the capabilities of fire and rescue services, improving public safety and emergency response. In promoting good governance, the Oath Act (Repeal and Enactment) Bill, 2023, revises procedures for oaths of office to promote accountability among public officials. The Control of Small Arms and Light Weapons Bill, 2023, addresses the proliferation of small arms, aiming to improve national security and reduce violence.

The Niger Delta Development Commission Act (Amendment) Bill, 2023, focuses on enhancing development initiatives in the Niger Delta and promoting environmental

sustainability and economic growth. Similarly, the South East Development Commission (Establishment) Bill, 2023, establishes a framework for regional development, addresses infrastructure deficits, and promotes socio-economic growth in the South East. The Nigerian Medical Research Council (Establishment) Bill, 2023, supports advancements in medical research, improving healthcare delivery, and tackling public health challenges. Several motions have also been passed to improve educational standards, ensure better access to quality education, and enhance human capital development.

On public hearings, analysis of sessional reports from 117 committees of the First Session of the 10th House reveals that only six committees conducted public hearings, totaling six hearings. This low number is understandable given that many committees were inaugurated only between November and December 2023. As of June 13, 2024, 679 motions were moved on the floor of the 10th House. Of these, 672 (99%) were being considered at various committees, while seven (1%) were negatived. Among these motions, 43 (6.0%) were referred to ad-hoc committees and 629 (93%) to standing committees. Constituency or zonal intervention projects, valued at 100 billion naira, are developmental initiatives nominated by the 469 members of the National Assembly from the 36 states of the federation and the FCT. These projects, also referred to as "constituency projects," are strategically located within each member's constituency to ensure that development and government presence are felt across all federal constituencies in Nigeria annually. During the period under review, the 10th House received 306 petitions from distressed Nigerians. Of this number, 30 were considered, 15 were laid by committees, and five were addressed by the House.

On oversight visits and inspections, the House Committees visited 107 Ministries, Departments, Agencies (MDAs), and projects nationwide. This occurred despite most standing committees only being inaugurated between November and December 2023, averaging 0.9 visits per committee. These visits aimed to ensure that government programs and administration were implemented effectively, efficiently, and in alignment with legislative intent. Of the 107 oversight visits, the House Committee on Health Institutions conducted 23, focusing on assessing the performance of the 2023 budget implementation and conducting on-the-spot assessments of capital project execution. Inspected institutions included Lagos University Teaching Hospital, Obafemi Awolowo University Teaching Hospital, the Federal Teaching Hospital in Ido-Ekiti, the Federal Medical Centre in Owo, and the National Postgraduate Medical College in Lagos. The House committees held a total of 502 meetings in the first session of the 10th House. Further analysis shows the frequency distribution of meetings conducted by 117 House committees. The data reveals that 91 committees (77.8%) conducted between 1 and 5 meetings, 21 committees (17.9%) held between 6 and 10 meetings, and 4 committees (3.4%) held more than 11 meetings each. However, one committee did not convene any meetings during this period.

The various legislative activities highlighted in the preceding paragraphs were made possible by the harmonious relationship between the 10th House of Representatives and the other arms of government in the last year of the Tinubu administration. This should be appreciated against the backdrop of the familiar friction associated with the legislative and executive arms in the earlier part of the democratization process. The causes of this

friction include disagreements over the process of consideration of appropriation bills, timely release of budgetary allocations, issues arising from oversight functions, unwarranted delays and blockades of executive bills, and delays and/or refusals to confirm presidential recommendations for the appointment of key government functionaries. These are familiar issues that previously characterized the relationship between the legislature and the executive. The radical departure from this dysfunctional relationship has enabled the National Assembly and the executive arm to work together while providing the necessary funding support to promote an independent and dependable judiciary. Thus, without prejudice to the requirement of checks and

This Performance Report is a modest effort to document achievements and identify gaps. These gaps are considered as challenges that should be seen as opportunities to establish a performanceoriented 10th House of Representatives, willing and able to do more pursuant to its mandate of making laws for the peace and good governance of Nigeria.

balances, which is the hallmark of democracy, the 10th House Representatives, the executive, and judicial arms of government have continued to enjoy mutual institutional support for democratic good governance. This is not to suggest that disagreements have not been recorded during the period under review, but to underscore the point that disagreements, where necessary, have only served to strengthen the working relationship among the three arms of government.

Although the 10th House of Representatives has achieved significant milestones during the period under review, it is important to acknowledge that these accomplishments are not exhaustive of the legislative agenda articulated at the onset of the inauguration of the 10th House. While attributing the progress made so far to the substantial sacrifices, unity of purpose, patriotic commitment to service, and purposeful leadership, there is yet room for improvement in the performance of the House in the years ahead. The achievements of the House reflect the dedication and hard work of its members and leadership. The success has been made possible through a combination of perseverance, determination, and a clear vision for progress. The House has demonstrated resilience in the face of adversity and has shown a steadfast commitment to serving the interests of the people it represents. The focused leadership within the House has been crucial in navigating complex and demanding circumstances. The ability to steer the House through turbulent times and maintain a clear sense of direction has been crucial in ensuring that the institution continues to fulfil its mandate effectively.

This Performance Report is a modest effort to document achievements and identify gaps. These gaps are considered as challenges that should be seen as opportunities to establish a performance-oriented 10th House of Representatives, willing and able to do more pursuant to its mandate of making laws for the peace and good governance of Nigeria.



GENERAL INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

has empowered citizens to actively participate in decisions that affect their lives through their elected representatives. Over the past 25 years, the democratization process has been a significant achievement for Nigeria and its citizens. At the heart of this democratic journey is the House of Representatives, an institution embodying the essence of democracy as "government of the people, by the people, and for the people." The House of Representatives has played a pivotal role in prioritizing the aspirations and interests of Nigerians, ensuring that laws are enacted for the peace and progress of the country.

In his speech marking 25 years of unbroken democratization, President Bola Ahmed Tinubu highlighted that the National Assembly has advanced democratic principles and ensured that the voices and interests of Nigerians are represented in the legislative process. Its resilience and proactive stance during challenging times underscore the importance of a strong legislative body in fostering a stable and inclusive democracy. Therefore, it is imperative for the nation to strengthen the integrity of our democratic institutions to meet the globally accepted standards of good governance.

Over the last quarter-century, the House of Representatives has played a critical role in consolidating democracy through targeted legislative actions at both the National Assembly and State Houses of Assembly. The 1999 Constitution, under Sections 4(2) and 4(7),

empowers the National Assembly to make laws for the peace, order, and good governance of the federation. The 10th House of Representatives, inaugurated on June 13, 2023, following the general elections of February 25, 2023, comprises 276 new members (77%) and 84 returning members (24%), reflecting a continuation of the usual high turnover rate in the People's House. Given the challenging governance situation inherited by the 10th House, there is a commitment to developing and implementing a legislative agenda to rebuild citizens' confidence and deliver good governance for a deepened democracy in Nigeria. The House is dedicated to legislative activism and reforms to unlock Nigeria's economic growth and the development of its vast natural resources.

In line with established legislative traditions, the Speaker of the House of Representatives constituted an ad-hoc Committee on Legislative Agenda to consult with citizens and identify priority areas for legislative action. These priority areas will guide the effective discharge of legislative functions for the good governance and national development of Nigeria from 2023 to 2027. The Committee engaged with the House leadership and consulted with critical stakeholders, including representatives of Ministries, Departments, and Agencies (MDAs) of government, Civil Society Organizations (CSOs), professional bodies, organized labor, and development partners.

Eight key priority areas were identified, representing the vision and mission of the 10th House, consistent with the Renewed Hope Agenda of the Executive Arm of the federal government. The agenda outlines legislative measures critical to supporting the Executive Arm in achieving its mandate of good governance and socio-economic growth and development.

One year into this agenda, an objective and evidence-based assessment of the performance of the 10h House of Representatives is necessary. This assessment will highlight the achievements of the People's House and identify gaps in light of the robust eight-point legislative agenda articulated at the onset.

1.2. Inauguration of the 10th House of Representatives

The 10th House of Representatives of Nigeria was inaugurated on June 13th, 2023, following a proclamation by President Bola Ahmed Tinubu (GCFR), elected in the 2023 General Elections. This inauguration marked a significant milestone in Nigeria's democratic history. The Assembly's diverse composition, reflecting Nigeria's multi-party democratic system, includes members from eight political parties: the All-Progressives Congress (APC), the People's Democratic Party (PDP), the New Nigeria Peoples Party (NNPP), the Labour Party (LP), the All-Progressives Grand Alliance (APGA), the Social Democratic Party (SDP), the Young Progressives Party (YPP), and the African Democratic Congress (ADC). This variety makes the 10th House the most politically diverse Assembly of the Fourth Republic.

The 10th House has also witnessed the highest legislative turnover since the restoration of democracy in 1999, with 276 new members (77%) and only 84 re-elected members (24%).

Additionally, this assembly is notably youthful, with many members aged between 25-45 years.

Under the leadership of Rt. Hon. Abbas Tajudeen, elected Speaker of the House, the 10th House continues to build on the legacy of the 9th Assembly, fostering a professional and collaborative relationship with the executive branch. This constructive engagement aims to effectively implement the "New Hope" agenda and contribute to rebuilding Nigeria. This approach contrasts with the tumultuous relationship experienced by the 8th House, which led to delays in budget passage, weak oversight by committees, and non-compliance with legislative summons. The improved relations in the 9th and 10th Houses have mitigated these issues, promoting more efficient governance and legislative processes.

The findings from this study provide a detailed report on the performance of the First Session of the 10th House of Representatives. This report serves as an essential advocacy resource for civil society organizations and those interested in the roles and functions of the National Assembly as an instrument of democratic governance and oversight in Nigeria. This is particularly important given the limited public understanding of the legislature and its generally poor image over the years. By encouraging this research study, the 10th House of Representatives is fulfilling its duty to be accountable to the Nigerian people it represents. The analysis and discussion of its successes and challenges will offer valuable insights to members of the 10th Assembly in identifying their legislative priorities and developing a legislative agenda.

1.3. Objectives/Methodology of the Report

This scorecard provides a comprehensive assessment of the performance of the first session of the 10th House of Representatives from June 13, 2023, to June 13, 2024. It evaluates the achievements of the session within the framework of its legislative agenda, focusing on the three primary functions of the legislature: lawmaking, oversight, and representation.

The report highlights the progress made by the 10th House of Representatives in its first session, emphasizing the number and nature of laws enacted to promote peace, order, and good governance. This section evaluates the efficiency of the House in initiating and processing bills and assesses the relevance and potential impact of these laws on the lives of Nigerians. The analysis includes a review of key legislation passed during the period and their alignment with the constitutional mandate.

A key function of the legislature is to serve as a counterbalance to the executive by ensuring value for money in government spending and promoting transparency and accountability in resource utilization. Legislative oversight enhances government efficiency, effectiveness, and the quality of public service delivery. This section of the report details key innovations introduced by the 10th House in discharging its oversight responsibilities. It assesses the effectiveness of these oversight activities in promoting transparency and accountability in governance, highlighting significant oversight initiatives and their outcomes.

As the People's House, the House of Representatives ensures that the interests of constituents are incorporated into legislative deliberations and lawmaking. This section appraises how well the 10th House has performed its representation function in the chamber, committees, and constituencies. It evaluates the quality of engagement with constituents and the public, examining the effective use of legislative tools such as petitions, motions, and resolutions to address constituent concerns. The report also assesses the maintenance of constituency offices and the influence of local projects driven by the House members.

The study discusses challenges that may have undermined the performance or limited the effectiveness of the House of Representatives in its first session. These challenges include high legislative turnover, insufficient funding, and the need for enhanced capacity building among new members.

To achieve the foregoing objectives, the performance assessment adopts a methodology that is both descriptive and analytical. This approach relies on official records and a considerable volume of related literature. The study examines: (i) Committee Reports, (ii) Records of Proceedings, (iii) Speeches and legislative policies of the Speaker, Rt. Hon. Abbas Tajudeen, and (iv) Other official documents of the House of Representatives. The literature review encompasses a wide range of scholarly perspectives, both published and unpublished, to provide a well-rounded understanding of the subject matter.

By conducting this thorough assessment, the 10th House of Representatives demonstrates its commitment to accountability, transparency, and the continuous improvement of its legislative functions. This scorecard serves as a valuable resource for civil society organizations, researchers, and the public, offering insights into the House's performance and areas for future enhancement.

1.4. Structure of the Report

The report is organized into eleven sections, each providing a comprehensive analysis of the 10th House of Representatives' performance and activities. The introduction offers background information, outlines the objectives and methodology of the report, and presents its overall structure. Section two is on the role of the in providing leadership for the 10th House. The legislative agenda of the 10th House of Representatives is discussed in the third section, followed by a restatement of citizens' expectations in section four. Sections five, six, and seven assess the House's performance in its three core mandates: lawmaking, representation, and oversight, respectively. Section eight examines the performance of House Committees, focusing on the frequency and effectiveness of their meetings. The nineth section highlights the importance of sectoral briefs and interactions in strengthening the House's oversight mechanism. The tenth section explores the relationship between the 10th House of Representatives and other arms of the federal government. Finally, section eleven outlines the challenges faced by the 10th House of Representatives and the prospects for its future performance.



ROLE OF THE SPEAKER AND HOUSE LEADERSHIP

he leadership of the 10th House of Representatives, under the guidance of Speaker Rt. Hon. Abbas Tajudeen, has been pivotal in defining a clear vision and mission for the House. This vision prioritizes unity among members, multi-partisan collaboration, and effective management of the House's diversity. By running an inclusive system that prioritizes the welfare of members and encourages a robust feedback mechanism, the Speaker has ensured that every member feels valued and heard. Regular leadership meetings and executive sessions have been instrumental in keeping members appropriately briefed on key issues, fostering a cohesive legislative body committed to addressing the needs of the Nigerian populace.

One of the notable qualities of the Speaker's leadership has been the early constitution of committees, which has facilitated greater focus and better oversight. New committees were created to address emerging issues, and the roles of existing committees were streamlined and harmonized by defining lead committees to minimize conflicts due to overlapping mandates. The establishment of a Committee on Legislative Agenda and a Committee on Monitoring and Evaluation has been critical in ensuring that the House's activities align with its strategic goals. Under Speaker Tajudeen's leadership, the House developed a robust and comprehensive legislative agenda that identifies legislative measures and actions to support the 8-point agenda of President Bola Ahmed Tinubu, focusing on areas such as economic growth, national security, and social development.



Innovations introduced in the House during this period have set a new standard for legislative practice in Nigeria. These include the **creation of new and specialized committees**, **sectoral debates**, and **ministerial briefings at plenary sessions**. The **National Assembly Open Week**, the **use of sign language in the chamber**, and the **celebration of International Women's Day** have all contributed to a more inclusive and accessible legislative process. The establishment of the **Programmes Coordinating Unit** and **increased interface with civil society groups** have enhanced transparency and civic engagement. The **revision of the Standing Orders of the House** and the **publication of a comprehensive directory** have improved legislative operations and accessibility. Additionally, the House's proactive approach in **visiting and intervening in crisis and conflict-affected communities across Nigeria, organizing world press conferences** to address national issues, and holding **town halls on the 2024 budget**, exemplifies its commitment to inclusiveness and citizen engagement. The **hiring of aides with disabilities** further underscores the House's dedication to inclusivity.

The stability within the House has been unprecedented, thanks to **focused leadership** and **improved executive-legislative relations**. Speaker Tajudeen's commitment to the House's agenda and the President's vision has been unwavering. His leadership has been passionate about addressing the security and economic development challenges facing Nigerians. This dedication has resulted in a legislative environment that not only supports the executive's policies but also ensures that the legislative branch remains a strong, independent entity working tirelessly for the nation's progress.

In summary, the role of Speaker Rt. Hon. Abbas Tajudeen and the leadership of the House has been central to the successes recorded during the 2023-2024 legislative year. Through visionary leadership, strategic innovations, and a steadfast commitment to inclusivity and good governance, the House has made significant strides in addressing the needs of the Nigerian people and fostering a stable, effective legislative process.



OVERVIEW OF LEGISLATIVE AGENDA

Experience has shown, particularly in societies in transition that, the legislature is the most innovative institutional infrastructure in the democratization process. At the inception of legislative institutions, it is customary to identify priority areas of focus. This list of selected issues guides the core functions of the legislature: lawmaking, oversight, and representation. While some argue that prioritizing certain issues in a legislative agenda can lead to neglecting other important matters, it is crucial to understand that a legislative agenda serves as a roadmap for meeting the people's expectations from their representatives in government.

The legislature, as a comprehensive institution, assumes various responsibilities such as representation, oversight, and legislation. To function effectively, it is essential for the legislature to establish clearly articulated priority areas. However, the approach and level of inclusion in articulating these priorities are equally important. The 10th House of Representatives in Nigeria aimed to involve citizens and stakeholders in identifying crucial national issues that would inform their legislative agenda. This approach ensured that the priorities of the Nigerian people were considered when formulating policies and laws. Engaging citizens and stakeholders in developing a legislative agenda marks a significant departure from the established practice where the legislature traditionally set its agenda independently.

Following the inauguration of the 10th House of Representatives on June 13, 2023, the Speaker, Rt. Hon. Abbas Tajudeen, constituted a committee to develop a legislative agenda that would guide the House's interventions to achieve its constitutional mandates. The following month, the committee on the Legislative Agenda, in collaboration with the Office of the Speaker and with support from PLAC, convened a Stakeholders' Dialogue to harness citizens' input into the Legislative Agenda. Six months later, on November 14, 2023, the Speaker unveiled and publicly presented the Legislative Agenda.

The Legislative Agenda of the 10th House was prepared in the context of several challenges, including an underperforming economy, socioeconomic and human development issues, security challenges, and a restive citizenry, particularly a burgeoning youth population. These challenges were exacerbated by the removal of the fuel subsidy without immediate palliatives, high insecurity leading to food scarcity, and economic hardships from the Naira's floatation, among others. Thus, the legislative agenda reflects a commitment to addressing these challenges and harnessing opportunities through focused and strategic

Constitutional reforms aim to devolve more powers to subnational governments, strengthen local governments, consolidate previous alterations into a sinale document. streamline procedures for constitutional amendments, create additional legislative seats for women, and fortify the **Independent National Electoral Commission.** These reforms are designed to address governance gaps and enhance the transparency, fairness, and inclusivity of the electoral system.

legislative actions. This agenda serves as a roadmap for enacting laws, conducting oversight functions, and representing the interests of the Nigerian people in national decision-making processes. By aligning its legislative priorities with the nation's pressing needs, the 10th House aims to contribute significantly to Nigeria's development and advancement.

Additionally, the legislative agenda is anchored on twelve agenda points across five pillars, including improved National Assembly processes and delivery; executive-legislative engagement; national security; constitutional and electoral reform; advancement of innovation and technology; socio-economic development; anti-corruption; re-engineering foreign policy; civil society and citizen engagement; women's participation in government; and environmental sustainability and green energy. These priorities, as highlighted by Prof. Julius Ihonvbere, focus on economic empowerment and diversification, infrastructure development, education and human capital development, healthcare for all, and transparent governance and accountability.

The agenda for improved National Assembly processes and delivery focuses on strengthening the institutional capacity of the Assembly to fulfil its constitutional mandate. This includes enhancing the efficiency and effectiveness of legislative processes and service delivery To respond to Nigeria's specific development challenges and the various geo-political zones, the 10th House identified eight priority areas for reforms and interventions.



Strengthening Good Governance

- Rule of Law and Human Rights Anti-Corruption
- Improving National Assembly Delivery Processes
 - Executive-Legislative Engagement

Improving National Security

- Improved Accountability in the Security Sector
- Counter Terrorism and Counter-Insurgency
- Inter-Agency Collaboration
 Police Reforms
- NASS Security & SAA



2

3



Law Reform

- Constitutional Reform Local Government Reform ● Decongesting the Exclusive List
- Social and Economic Rights Judicial and Legal System Reform ● Electoral Reform

Economic Growth and Development

■ Economic Restructuring ● Economic
 Diversification & Agricultural Development



5



Social Sector Reform and Development

- Education Healthcare
- Infrastructure Pension Reform

Inclusion and Open Parliament

- Women's Representation & Participation
- Youth Development Open Parliament & Citizens' Engagement ● Inclusion



6

7



Influencing / Directing Nigeria's Foreign Policy

- Parliamentary Diplomacy
- Policy Influence Oversight

Climate Change & Environmental Sustainability

● Energy Transition ● Pollution and Gas Flaring ● Clean Energy Sources



8

to citizens through capacity development of members and staff, reforms in legislative procedures, improved committee systems, and better internal and external communications. Notably, committees are now required to make regular reports on their activities to the House leadership, and members must maintain functional constituency offices and submit bi-annual engagement reports to the Speaker.

The agenda further emphasizes fostering a closer working relationship between the executive and legislative branches of government, promoting collaboration, dialogue, and consultation to ensure effective governance and policy implementation. Despite commendable efforts by security agencies, the agenda recognizes the need for further legislative measures to improve national security, as economic activities cannot thrive in an insecure environment. This includes policies and measures to maintain law and order, combat terrorism, secure borders, and safeguard national interests.

Constitutional reforms aim to devolve more powers to sub-national governments, strengthen local governments, consolidate previous alterations into a single document, streamline procedures for constitutional amendments, create additional legislative seats for women, and fortify the Independent National Electoral Commission. These reforms are designed to address governance gaps and enhance the transparency, fairness, and inclusivity of the electoral system.

To equip Nigeria for the 4th industrial revolution, the House will prioritize technology and innovation, focusing on artificial intelligence, the Internet of Things (IoT), and data security. This involves harnessing technological advancements to drive economic growth, improve public services, and promote digital literacy. Initiatives may include investments in research and development, promotion of startups, and adoption of emerging technologies.

The House will also prioritize sustainable economic growth through legislation that enhances agricultural development, improves the ease of doing business, and implements tax reforms to attract investment. Human rights, healthcare, media, and citizen engagement are also prioritized, with a particular focus on climate change and alternative energy. Climate change is a significant threat to Nigeria's development, impacting economic and security challenges such as farmer-herder conflicts.

As noted by the House Leader, the legislative agenda of the 10th House is not merely an aggregation of policies and promises; it is a commitment to building a brighter future for all Nigerians. The agenda includes an implementation, monitoring, and evaluation strategy, with an innovative committee established to ensure that the milestones are met. The success of this agenda will be a key measure of the House's performance, and it is hoped that the House will faithfully implement it to meet the high expectations of the Nigerian people.



CITIZENS' EXPECTATIONS AND ASSESSMENT OF THE 10TH HOUSE

Pollowing a directive from the Office of the Speaker of the 10th House of Representatives, the Programme Coordinating Unit (PCU) initiated a study to gauge public perception of the members of the House of Representatives and, by extension, the national legislature. The key objectives of the study were to assess public perception of the House, determine the public's view on the most important roles of legislators, provide insights into citizens' expectations and verify their alignment with the priorities of House Members, link citizens' expectations to the legislative agenda, identify challenges associated with the legislature's work, and bridge the gap between legislators and citizens.

The study employed a descriptive research design incorporating both qualitative and quantitative methods. Data was gathered from secondary sources such as media reports, parliamentary documents, and other publications, as well as primary sources through in-depth interviews with five key informants and an online survey using structured questionnaires administered to civil society representatives. In total, 116 participants completed and returned their questionnaires.

The key findings revealed that all respondents have a good understanding of the mandate and responsibilities of the House and the National Assembly. Accordingly, while respondents

mostly identified law making (88.6%), representation (81.6%) and oversight (65.8%) as the core mandates of the House of Representatives; a few respondent included community problem solving (34.2%) and projects, attracting community projects (50.9%), and solving personal problems (16.7) as among the mandates of the House of Representatives. Regarding the most important functions of the House of Representatives, 48% of respondents identified lawmaking as the most critical function, while 29% and 4% cited representation and oversight, respectively, as the second and third most important functions.

The perception of lawmaking as the primary function underscores the House's essential role in creating and enacting laws that govern national life. Effective legislation is viewed as crucial for addressing issues such as economic policies, social justice, public health, and national security, thereby improving citizens' quality of life. Also, representation, ranked second, reflects the expectation that representatives should advocate for their constituents' interests and needs within the government. This involves active participation in legislative debates, securing resources for local development, ensuring that diverse views are considered in national policymaking, and emphasising democratic accountability. Lastly, although oversight was seen as the least critical function, it remains an essential legislative role. Oversight involves monitoring and evaluating the executive branch to ensure accountability and transparency. The low emphasis on oversight might indicate a public lack of awareness of its importance or a perception that it is currently being adequately fulfilled.



Regarding the quality of representation, 80 % of respondents felt that legislators largely represent their constituents. Additionally, % identified the implementation of constituency projects as a top priority, followed by establishing constituency offices (13.4%) and attending to personal needs (3.0%). Access to representatives remains a challenge, with 81.2% of respondents experiencing obstacles. Most citizens prefer more frequent interactions with their representatives, with 47.3% favouring quarterly visits and 26.8% preferring monthly visits. Face-to-face meetings were the preferred mode of communication (40%), followed by phone calls (15.3%).

To enhance citizens' participation in the activities of the House of Representatives (HoR) and similar legislative bodies, several key strategies were identified from the collected responses. First, a consistent call for transparency emerged as a foundational requirement. Respondents stressed the importance of functional constituency offices, regular feedback mechanisms for constituents, and publicising the assignments and activities of HoR members. This transparency is seen as crucial to building trust and accountability between lawmakers and the public. Second, digital tools were highlighted as essential for modernising citizen engagement. Recommendations included empowering citizens through information and communication technology (ICT), ensuring easy access to legislative information via user-friendly platforms, and promoting virtual participation options. This approach aims to overcome geographical barriers and accommodate diverse schedules, thereby increasing overall participation.



- At the Citizens' Townhall on the 2024 Budget and Appropriation Process

Third, community engagement initiatives, such as town hall meetings, constituency visits, and interactive sessions, were emphasised to facilitate direct dialogue between constituents and lawmakers. These platforms enable citizens to voice concerns, provide feedback, and contribute meaningfully to legislative processes. Both physical and virtual meeting options were suggested to ensure inclusivity and accessibility for all constituents.

Fourth, promoting accountability and responsiveness was another prominent theme. Recommendations included making legislative processes more transparent, publicly sharing lawmakers' activities through scorecards, and actively engaging with citizen feedback and concerns. These measures aim to demonstrate that lawmakers are responsive to the needs and priorities of their constituents. Lastly, educational campaigns and civic education programmes were highlighted as crucial for fostering informed citizens and encouraging

active participation in legislative processes. Increasing public awareness through media campaigns, educating citizens about their rights and responsibilities, and ensuring inclusivity in decision-making processes were key recommendations.

To enhance inclusivity in the legislative activities of the 10th House of Representatives, respondents recommended several actions. First, transparency and open communication channels are vital to fostering inclusivity within the legislative process by conducting frequent town hall meetings and public forums to facilitate direct interaction between lawmakers and constituents and ensuring transparency through regular updates, publicising activities, and making legislative proceedings accessible to the public via digital and traditional media. Second, promoting diverse representation and inclusive policies to reflect Nigeria's demographic diversity by establishing reserved seats for women and persons with disabilities (PWDs) in the House of Representatives to ensure equitable representation and establishing diversity quotas for committee memberships to amplify voices from underrepresented groups in legislative decision-making.

Third, engage with civil society organisations (CSOs) and community groups to incorporate diverse perspectives and promote civic education. This can be achieved by collaborating with CSOs and community groups to amplify citizen voices, promote civic education, and address the needs of marginalised populations, and by holding public hearings, consultations, and feedback mechanisms to gather community input and ensure legislative decisions reflect public interests.

Fourth, improving accessibility and leveraging technology to enhance citizen engagement in legislative processes. This can be achieved by providing accessible platforms and translation services for citizens, including those with disabilities, to participate in legislative activities and implementing remote participation tools and digital platforms to broaden participation beyond physical limitations. Lastly, establish accountability measures and feedback mechanisms to maintain responsiveness and transparency by implementing biannual assessments and annual evaluations of representatives' performance to gauge responsiveness to constituent needs and publishing reports, decisions, and legislative activities to build trust and accountability with the public.

Furthermore, citizens advised that Members of the 10th House of Representatives can significantly improve legislative performance by focusing on key areas such as transparency, accountability, and effective constituency engagement. Transparency is fundamental to building trust with constituents. Members should prioritise open communication and clear reporting of legislative activities. Regular town hall meetings and public forums provide platforms for direct interaction, allowing representatives to gauge public opinion and address concerns promptly.

Second, enhanced constituency engagement is crucial for effective representation. Members should dedicate time to meet with constituents, listen to their needs, and provide regular updates on legislative initiatives. This approach ensures that legislative priorities align with the aspirations of the people they represent. To strengthen legislative oversight and

accountability, members must prioritise national interests over partisan politics. This includes robust scrutiny of government actions and policies to ensure they serve the broader public interest effectively.

Third, diverse representation within committees and policy-making processes is essential for addressing the varied needs of Nigeria's population. On this, members were advised to promote inclusivity by involving marginalised groups and ensuring their voices are heard in legislative deliberations. Harnessing technology for remote participation and digital consultations can broaden citizen engagement. Implementing feedback mechanisms allows constituents to contribute to legislative decision-making, fostering a more responsive and inclusive governance framework. Members should strengthen oversight functions to hold the executive accountable for policy implementation and expenditure. This involves conducting thorough inquiries, ensuring proper checks and balances, and enforcing compliance with legislative mandates.

Based on these findings, the study offered several recommendations to the Leadership of the 10th National Assembly. These included improving transparency and accountability in financial matters to build public trust, strengthening existing platforms and creating new ones for public interaction beyond constituency visits, and promoting the independence of the legislative arm of government while maintaining strong executive-legislative relations. Additionally, the Assembly was advised to prioritize laws and policies addressing economic and social challenges, improve social services, job creation, security, and poverty alleviation.

Further recommendations focused on enhancing legislative processes and procedures, including pre and post-legislative scrutiny to improve the quality of bills and reduce incidents of presidential vetoes, strengthening legislative oversight, ensuring adequate funding for committees, and enhancing the quality of legislative deliberations through constitutional amendments to raise the educational requirements for legislators.

By addressing these recommendations, the 10th House of Representatives can align its legislative activities more closely with public expectations, fostering a more responsive and effective legislative process that significantly contributes to Nigeria's development and democratic consolidation.



LAW-MAKING IN THE 10TH HOUSE

aw-making serves as the mechanism through which legislatures translate citizens' views, opinions, and preferences into actionable policies or laws. It is the primary instrument through which the House fulfils its commitments outlined in its legislative agenda. The National Assembly's law-making authority is granted by Section 4 of the 1999 Constitution (as amended). Utilizing its law-making powers, the National Assembly addresses the country's emerging political and socio-economic challenges.

This section details all law-making activities aimed at fulfilling the objectives of the 10th House's Legislative Agenda, which was designed to address gaps in various sectors of the economy. It evaluates the legislative activities undertaken in the first session of the 10th House of Representatives within the framework of its legislative agenda. This evaluation benchmarks its legislative performance in promoting good governance through inclusive law-making. Specifically, the section examines the legislative output of the 10th House in terms of bills introduced, laws enacted, and public hearings conducted. It also highlights the impact of these legislative efforts on addressing national issues and improving the lives of Nigerians. By assessing the scope and effectiveness of its law-making activities, this section provides a comprehensive overview of how the 10th House is meeting its mandate and driving progress through robust legislative action.

5.1. Bills

An analysis of the bills processed during the first session of the 10th House of Representatives reveals outstanding performance in both the quantity and quality of legislation introduced, considered, passed, and assented to. Table 1 provides a summary of the status of bills received and considered in this session. By June 13, 2024, a total of 1,351 bills were presented on the House floor—the highest number ever introduced in the first session of the House of Representatives since 1999.

Of these 1,351 bills, 100% were read for the first time, demonstrating the House's commitment to legislative productivity. Additionally, 1,068 bills (79%) were awaiting their second reading, showcasing a robust pipeline of legislative activity. Furthermore, 112 bills (8.3%) were referred to standing committees for further legislative scrutiny, in accordance with Order 12, Number 6 of the House Standing Order (as amended). This process ensures thorough examination and refinement of proposed laws, reflecting the House's dedication to comprehensive legislative intervention.

The impressive legislative output underscores the 10th House's proactive approach to addressing the nation's challenges through effective law-making. By maintaining a high standard of legislative activity, the House aims to fulfil its mandate and contribute significantly to Nigeria's socio-economic development and governance.

Table 5.1: A Summary of Status of Bills Received and Considered in the House, 13 June, 2023 – 13 June, 2024

Status of Bills	No of Bills	% Over Total		
Bills Presented	1, 351	100		
Members' Bills	1, 339	99.0		
Executive bills	12	1.0		
Bills Read 1st Time	1, 351	100		
Bills Awaiting Second Reading	1, 068	79		
Bill Negatived	1	0.1		
Bills Awaiting Consideration	81	6		
Bills Referred to Standing Committees	112	8.3		
Total Bills Passed	89	6.6		
Members' Bills Passed	80	90.0		
Executive Bills Passed	9	10.0		

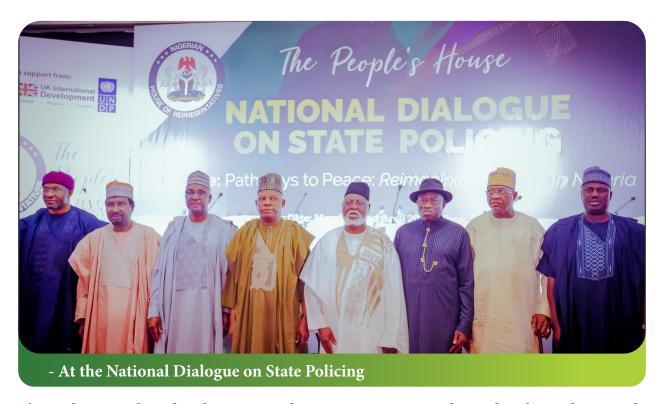
Source: House Bills Progression Chart, June 13, 2023-June 13-2024

Table 5.1 summarizes the bills received and considered by the House between June 13, 2023, and June 13, 2024. A detailed analysis of the legislative activities of the 10th House of Representatives reveals a significant trend in the bills introduced and passed. Out of the total bills presented, 12 (1.0%) were executive bills, while 1,339 (99.0%) were members' bills.

This disparity underscores the proactive legislative engagement of House Members.

The 10th House has outperformed its predecessors, passing 89 bills (6.6% of those presented) by June 13, 2024. This matches the record of the 7th House, which also passed 89 bills in its first session. Of the bills passed, nine (10.0%) were executive bills and 80 (90.0%) were members' bills. This demonstrates that while the majority of bills were introduced by House Members, the executive bills, though fewer, were expedited due to the professional and collaborative approach to executive-legislature relations adopted by the 10th House. This synergy is crucial for the effective implementation of President Bola Tinubu's Renewed Hope Agenda.

Despite the high volume of bills introduced and passed in the first session, the leadership of the 10th House remains committed to legislative effectiveness. This commitment is evident through robust floor debates, critical committee deliberations, and efficient legislative reporting. The drive for quality legislation is motivated by the need to address various national challenges comprehensively.



The 10th House has also demonstrated a commitment to inclusive legislation by actively engaging citizens in the law-making process. Several stakeholders' forums have been organized to gather citizens' perspectives. Notable events include the National Dialogue on State Policing, the National Discourse on Nigerian Security Challenges and Good Governance at the Local Government Level, a two-day retreat for Members on the effective implementation of the Petroleum Industry Reform Act (PIA) 2021 and tax reform modernization, the Stakeholders Dialogue to harness citizens' input for the Legislative Agenda, the Citizens Townhall on electoral reforms, and the Citizens Townhall on the 2024 Appropriation Bill.

These initiatives highlight the House's dedication to transparency, inclusivity, and responsiveness in its legislative activities, ensuring that the voices of the people are integral to the legislative process and that the laws enacted serve the best interests of all Nigerians.



Table 5.2: Comparative Analysis of Bill Processing Activities: First Session of the 10th House (June 13, 2023–May 7, 2024) vs. Previous Houses (June 1999–June 2023)

Status of Bills	June 1999 - May 2000	June 2003 - May 2004	June 2007 - May 2008	June 2011 - May 2012	June 9, 2015 - June 9, 2016	June 11, 2019 - June 11, 2023	June 13, 2023 - June 13, 2024
Bills Received	41	82	68	270	685	853	1, 351
Executive Bills	13	46	23	48	10	12	12
Member's Bills	28	36	45	222	675	841	1, 339
Bills Passed	10	25	10	19	89	69	89
Executive Bills Passed	7	14	4	7	8	5	9
Members' Bills Passed	3	11	6	12	81	64	80

Source: Dan-Azumi and Gbahabo (eds.) (2019); Source: Underlying data from House Committee on Rules and Business, June 13, 2023-May 7, 2024.

Table 5.2 presents a comparative analysis of bill processing activities during the first session of the 10th House of Representatives and the first sessions of previous assemblies from 1999 to 2020. The data reveals a steady increase in the number of bills received across these sessions, with a significant rise in the 2023/2024 legislative year, which saw a total of 1,351

bills received. This compares to 41 in 1999/2000, 270 in 2011/2012, 685 in 2015/2016, and 853 in 2019/2020. The 2023/2024 legislative year marks the highest number of bills received in any first session since 1999, indicating a high level of legislative activity among members of the 10th House of Representatives.

In terms of the number of bills passed, both the 2015/2016 and 2023/2024 legislative years recorded the highest number of bills passed in any first session since 1999, with 89 bills each. This highlights the increased legislative productivity of the current House compared to previous sessions. The 10th House of Representatives has considered and passed bills across the eight priority areas outlined in its legislative agenda. Notable bills passed during the first session include the Electric Power Sector Reform Act (Amendment) Bill, 2023; Nigeria Hunters and Forest Security Service (Establishment) Bill, 2023; Federal Audit Service Bill, 2023; Control of Small Arms and Light Weapons Bill, 2023; Armed Forces Act (Amendment) Bill, 2023; National Assembly Library Trust Fund Act (Amendment) Bill, 2024; Student Loans (Access to Higher Education) Act (Repeal and Enactment) Bill, 2024; Judicial Office Holders (Salaries and Allowances, etc.) Bill, 2024; Cybercrimes (Prohibition, Prevention, Etc.) Act (Amendment) Bill, 2024; National Anthem Bill, 2024; and the Traditional Complementary and Alternative Medicine Council of Nigeria (Establishment) Bill, 2023.



Other notable bills include the Mandatory Inclusion of Teachings on Breast and Cervical Cancers into the Curriculum of All Senior Secondary Schools in Nigeria Bill, 2023; Mandatory Inclusion of Preventive Measures and Teachings on Sexual Gender-Based Violence into the Curriculum of All Levels of Secondary Schools in Nigeria Bill, 2023; Revenue Mobilisation Allocation and Fiscal Commission Act (Repeal and Enactment) Bill, 2023; National Assembly Budget and Research Office (NABRO) (Establishment) Bill, 2023; South-East Development Commission (Establishment) Bill, 2023; National Research and Innovation

Council (Establishment) Bill, 2023; and the Agricultural Research Council of Nigeria Act (Amendment) Bill, 2023. These legislative actions reflect the House's commitment to addressing diverse and critical areas within its agenda.

A critical review of the bills passed during the first session of the 10th House of Representatives reveals a strong focus on social sector reform and development, with 37 bills passed in this area. This was followed by 13 bills each related to good governance and economic growth and development. However, only two bills were passed concerning inclusion and open parliament. Notably, no bills were passed addressing climate change, environmental sustainability, or influencing Nigerian foreign policy. Therefore, in the upcoming second session, it is imperative that the House prioritizes passing bills on good governance, economic growth and development, and other neglected priority areas.

By focusing on these areas, the 10th House can ensure a comprehensive approach to addressing the nation's challenges and fulfilling its legislative mandate to improve the lives of all Nigerians.

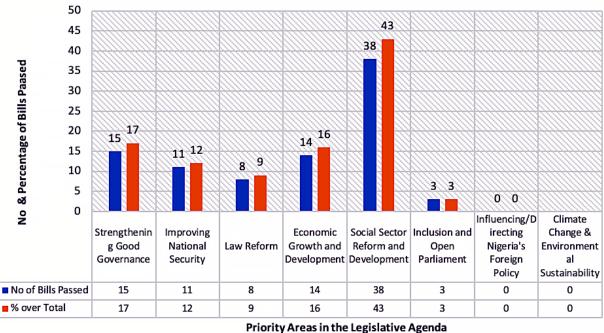


Figure 5.1: Bills Passed in Key Priority Areas of the Legislative Agenda

Source: House Bills Progression Chart, June 13, 2023-June 13-2024

Of the bills passed by the 10th House of Representatives in its first session, eight have already been assented. Table 5.3 presents the details of the assented legislation by President Bola Tinubu from 2023 to 2024. The analysis shows that the 10th House has performed exceptionally well concerning output in its First Session.

Table 5.3: List of Assented Bills Processed by the 10th House of Representatives at June 2024

	Bills Processed				
1	Supplementary Appropriation Act, 2023				
2	Appropriation Act, 2024				
3	Cybercrimes (Prohibition, Prevention, etc.) (Amendment) Act, 2024				
4	Student Loans (Access to Higher Education) Act, 2024				
5	Electricity Act (Amendment) Act, 2024				
6	Federal Capital Territory Statutory Appropriation Act, 2024				
7	Control of Small Arms and Light Weapons, 2024				
8	National Anthem Act, 2024				

Source: Directorate of Legal Services, National Assembly, June 2024

5.2. Constitutional Alteration

The 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria (as altered) delineates legislative powers between the federal and state governments. The Exclusive Legislative List grants the federal government authority over 68 items, including defence, foreign affairs, taxation, and trade, while the Concurrent List allows both federal and state governments to legislate on 30 shared matters, such as revenue allocation and industrial development. Despite Nigeria's federal structure, federal laws prevail over conflicting state laws, highlighting the federal government's predominant role.

Law reform in Nigeria is essential for ensuring that legislation reflects societal changes and supports democratic consolidation. Laws must evolve alongside societal developments to meet citizens' legitimate demands and aspirations. The periodic review of the constitution is crucial to maintaining a relevant and effective legal framework. Upon inauguration, the 10th House of Representatives initiated the constitutional alteration process. Under the leadership of Deputy Speaker Rt. Hon. Benjamin Kalu, the House Committee on the Review of the Constitution conducted citizen engagement sessions in February 2024. These sessions aimed to incorporate public input into the review process, aligning the constitution with the contemporary needs and aspirations of Nigerians.

Following these engagements, the committee established a timeline with a deadline of December 2025 to produce tangible outcomes. This strategic approach ensures timely amendments that address pressing issues while allowing adequate time for presidential consideration outside of election periods. This initiative reflects a proactive stance towards legislative reform, drawing from past experiences to enhance effectiveness. Guided by principles of dialogue, advocacy, participation, and inclusivity, the Committee reintroduced bill proposals from the Ninth National Assembly that previously did not receive presidential assent. The committee's call for memoranda, supported by technology and social media, aims to facilitate broad public participation, seeking diverse perspectives to inform comprehensive constitutional amendments.

Key areas for constitutional alterations include the establishment of state police, local government reform, state access to mines, increased women's participation in politics, specification of taxes and levies, and provision for the Office of the Mayor of the Federal Capital Territory, Abuja. These reforms aim to address governance gaps and promote equitable and effective governance across Nigeria. Currently, the committee is reviewing 350 public memoranda and approximately 120-member bills proposing constitutional amendments. This rigorous review process underscores the committee's commitment to thoroughness and inclusivity in the constitutional review process. The goal is to produce outcomes that reflect the evolving needs of Nigerian society and enhance the legal framework's responsiveness to societal changes.

Through these efforts, the 10th House of Representatives demonstrates its dedication to legislative excellence and the continuous improvement of Nigeria's democratic and legal systems. By actively engaging citizens and stakeholders, the House ensures that the constitutional reforms are comprehensive, forward-looking, and aligned with the nation's aspirations.

5.3. Public Hearings

Public hearings are essential tools for enhancing public participation in the legislative process. They serve as fora for stakeholders to exchange ideas on matters of both private and national interest, related to the subject of the hearing. In the context of law-making, public hearings enable committees to gather extensive information from stakeholders about proposed legislation, allowing the public to influence the decision-making process. In terms of legislative oversight, public hearings provide committees with critical information about the operations of the executive branch and its agencies, thereby enhancing the effectiveness of parliamentary oversight.

The authority for the National Assembly to conduct public hearings is derived from Sections 58 and 88 of the 1999 Constitution. These sections provide for an effective bill process under which public hearings and investigations may be conducted based on a referral order by the Senate. The Senate Standing Orders, 2022 (as amended), specifically Order 100-(2f)(ii), stipulate that each committee or subcommittee hearing shall be open to the public, except under certain conditions where a majority vote may close the session to protect national security or comply with legal requirements.

An analysis of the sessional reports from 117 committees of the First Session of the 10th House of Representatives reveals that only six committees conducted public hearings, totalling six hearings. This low number is understandable given that many committees were inaugurated only between November and December 2023.

To improve the effectiveness of public hearings, it is recommended that the National Assembly adopts best practices from other democracies. For instance, in the United States, public hearings are a cornerstone of the legislative process, where comprehensive stakeholder

engagement is encouraged. Similarly, the UK Parliament frequently utilizes public hearings to ensure transparency and public involvement in policy-making.

Incorporating digital technologies can also enhance public participation. Online platforms and virtual hearings can allow wider public access and engagement, especially for those unable to attend in person. This approach not only increases transparency but also ensures that a broader spectrum of public opinion is considered in the legislative process.

Furthermore, the National Assembly should consider increasing the frequency and scope of public hearings. Regularly scheduled hearings on major legislative initiatives and key oversight issues can foster a culture of openness and accountability. By doing so, the Assembly can build greater public trust and ensure that legislative outcomes better reflect the needs and aspirations of the Nigerian people.

In conclusion, while the number of public hearings conducted during the First Session of the 10th House of Representatives was limited, there is significant potential to enhance this crucial aspect of the legislative process. By adopting best practices, leveraging digital technologies, and committing to more frequent and comprehensive hearings, the National Assembly can significantly improve public participation, legislative effectiveness, and oversight capabilities.

The public hearings conducted by the committees were instrumental in processing bills and other referrals. These hearings solicited stakeholder feedback, gathered detailed information about proposed legislation presented in the First Session of the 10th House of Representatives, and assessed the public acceptability of these bills before they were passed. The conduct of these hearings facilitated the enactment of several significant bills, including the National Assembly Library Trust Fund Act and the 2024 Appropriations Act.

Figure 5.2 supports further analysis by illustrating the frequency distribution of public hearings conducted by the committees during the First Session. The data shows that all six committees that held public hearings conducted between one and five hearings, representing 5.1% of the committees.

The relatively small number of public hearings held in the First Session of the 10th House has significant implications. With fewer hearings, committees had limited opportunities to achieve several key objectives, such as publicizing issues, promoting policy positions, attracting media attention, gathering diverse opinions, and pressuring the executive branch to act on particular issues. Public hearings provide a platform to highlight the problems that legislation aims to address, raising public awareness and understanding. Committees can use hearings to present and justify their policy stances, gaining public support and legitimacy. Public hearings can draw media coverage, amplifying the legislative agenda and informing a broader audience. Hearings allow various societal and governmental interests to offer their opinions and expertise, enriching the legislative process with diverse perspectives. By spotlighting specific issues, public hearings can apply pressure on the executive branch to act.

To enhance the effectiveness of public hearings, the National Assembly should consider several strategies. Drawing on best practices from other democracies, such as the extensive use of public hearings in the United States Congress and the UK Parliament, can provide valuable insights. These practices emphasize comprehensive stakeholder engagement and transparency. Incorporating digital technologies can also significantly improve public participation. Online platforms and virtual hearings can enable broader public access and engagement, especially for those unable to attend in person. This approach not only increases transparency but also ensures that a wider range of public opinions is considered in the legislative process.

Moreover, increasing the frequency and scope of public hearings is essential. Regularly scheduled hearings on major legislative initiatives and key oversight issues can foster a culture of openness and accountability. This commitment to more frequent and comprehensive hearings will help build greater public trust and ensure that legislative outcomes better reflect the needs and aspirations of the Nigerian people.

In conclusion, while the number of public hearings conducted during the First Session of the 10th House of Representatives was limited, there is significant potential to enhance this crucial aspect of the legislative process. By adopting best practices, leveraging digital technologies, and committing to more frequent and comprehensive hearings, the National Assembly can significantly improve public participation, legislative effectiveness, and oversight capabilities.

140 117 120 108 100 No of Committees 92.3 100 80 60 20 5.1 5.1 5.1 3 2.6 0 No of Public 0 11+ NA No of Committees Committees hearings that conducted Conducted by 6 Public committees Hearings ■ No of Committees ■ % Over Total

Figure 5.2: Frequency Distribution of Public Hearings by 117 House Committees, 2023/2024

Source: Sessional Reports of House Committees, 2023/2024.



REPRESENTATION ACTIVITIES

6.1. Motions and Resolutions

The legislature serves as a vital link between the people and the centres of power, representing the will of the populace. Legislators are tasked with embodying their constituents' goals, concerns, and values within the legislative process, highlighting their crucial intermediary role. This representation fosters an accountable and responsive system of government, upholding the fundamental principles of democracy. Representation is not merely a formality; it is the connective thread that sustains the democratic system. By understanding and articulating the diverse needs of their constituencies, legislators ensure that policies and laws reflect the nuanced realities experienced by people on the ground.

Motions, which can lead to resolutions, are significant tools through which legislatures perform their representative functions. A motion is a legislative device or formal proposal made by a member, prompting the legislature to act on specific issues of concern. These issues may affect individual citizens or the nation as a whole. In Nigeria, for example, motions are primarily moved by assembly members at various levels of government and typically specify the actions the motion's sponsors wish the assembly to take regarding the issue at hand. Once a motion is debated, resolutions are made and communicated to the government for implementation.

During the first session of the 10th House of Representatives, most motions led to significant resolutions aligned with the legislative agenda. These resolutions addressed a wide range of critical issues, including national security, economic growth and development, social sector reform, governance, women and youth inclusion, foreign policy, and law reform. The effectiveness of these resolutions in shaping government action underscores the legislature's role in ensuring that the voices of the people are heard and acted upon.

To further enhance the legislature's representative function, it is essential to adopt best practices from other democratic systems. For instance, regular town hall meetings, constituency outreach programs, and the use of digital platforms for public engagement can help legislators stay connected with their constituents. Additionally, incorporating public input into the legislative process through consultations and public hearings can ensure that policies are more inclusive and representative of the people's needs.

By continuously refining these practices and embracing new technologies, the legislature can strengthen its role as the people's representative, ensuring that governance remains transparent, accountable, and responsive to the evolving needs of society. This proactive approach not only enhances democratic governance but also fosters greater public trust and engagement in the legislative process.

Table 6.1: Actual and Percentage Distribution of Motions Received in the First Session of the 10th House

	No of Motions	% Over Total
Motions Received	679	
Motions Negatived	7	1.0
Motions Referred to Ad-hoc Committees	43	6.0
Motions Referred to Standing Committees	629	93. 0

Source: House Committee on Rules and Business, May 4 2024.

Table 6.1 presents the number and percentages of motions received during the first session of the 10th House of Representatives. As of June 13, 2024, a total of 679 motions were moved on the floor of the House. Of these, 672 motions (99%) were under consideration by various committees, while seven motions (1%) were negatived. Among these motions, 43 (6%) were referred to ad hoc committees, and 629 (93%) to standing committees.

The House has demonstrated its commitment to thorough examination and deliberation on critical matters by constituting 30 ad hoc committees to conduct investigative hearings and make recommendations for necessary legislative actions. This proactive approach highlights the House's dedication to addressing issues with depth and diligence. Several standing and ad hoc committees have already submitted their reports for the House's consideration, reflecting a diligent approach to addressing issues raised through motions.

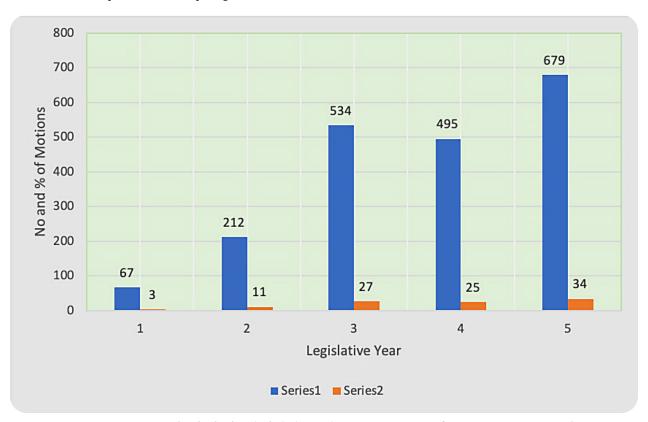
Furthermore, as of June 13, 2024, over 600 of these motions have been resolved, showcasing

the House's dedication to legislative representation and responsiveness to the needs of the people. This high rate of resolution illustrates the effectiveness of the House in translating motions into actionable outcomes, thereby reinforcing its role as a responsive and accountable legislative body.

To further enhance the robustness and substance of these legislative processes, the 10th House has adopted best practices from other parliamentary systems. This includes incorporating advanced data analytics to track the progress of motions and ensure timely follow-up actions. Additionally, the use of digital platforms for public participation and feedback has been integrated to foster greater transparency and inclusivity in the legislative process.

In conclusion, the first session of the 10th House of Representatives has set a high standard for legislative activity and responsiveness. By effectively managing a large volume of motions and ensuring thorough examination and resolution, the House has demonstrated its commitment to addressing the needs and concerns of the Nigerian people. Moving forward, continuous improvement in legislative practices and greater public engagement will further strengthen the House's role in promoting good governance and democratic accountability.

Figure 6.1: Actual and Percentage Distribution of Motions Received in the First Sessions of the House of Representatives, June 2007- June 13, 2024



Source: Dan-Azumi and Gbahabo (eds.) (2019); Department of Statistics, National Assembly, 2023; House Committee on Rules and Business, June 13, 2023-May 7, 2024.

Figure 6.1 provides a comparative analysis of the motions moved and considered during the first session of the 10th House of Representatives, compared to the first sessions of previous

assemblies from 2007 to 2023. The data reveals a steady increase in the number of motions moved on the floor across these sessions, with a notable exception in the 2015/2016 legislative year, which saw 534 motions moved, representing 27% of the total. This is compared to 495 motions (25%) in the 2019/2020 legislative year. In the 2023/2024 legislative year, there was a significant increase, with 679 motions moved, accounting for 34% of the total. This represents a marked rise compared to the 67 motions (3%) in 2006/2007, 212 motions (11%) in 2011/2012, and 495 motions in 2019/2020. Thus, the 2023/2024 legislative year stands as the highest-performing in terms of motions moved in any first session since 1999, indicating a high level of legislative activity among members of the 10th House of Representatives.

A critical examination of the motions moved during the first session of the 10th House of Representatives reveals a strong emphasis on addressing various aspects of the legislative agenda. Among the eight key priority areas, the highest number of motions focused on social sector reform and development. Table 6.1 shows that 242 motions (36%) were moved and considered in this priority area. This significant legislative focus addresses issues impacting social welfare, healthcare, education, energy, infrastructure, and other essential services critical for societal well-being. This prioritization reflects the House's high level of responsiveness to the immediate needs and concerns of the populace in the social sector during the review period.



Following social sector reform and development, improving national security emerged as the second-highest priority, with 129 motions (19%) dedicated to this area. The substantial number of security-related motions underscores the ongoing security challenges and the concerted efforts to enhance safety in the country. This focus included measures to address issues such as deteriorating insecurity, banditry, incessant killings and kidnappings by bandits, armed robbery, insurgency, and the farmer-herder crisis. Proposed solutions were geared towards counter-terrorism, inter-agency collaboration, police reforms, and enhanced intelligence sharing, highlighting the House's commitment to comprehensively addressing security threats.

To provide a more robust analysis, it is important to note the broader impacts of these legislative efforts. According to a report by the National Bureau of Statistics (NBS), effective legislative oversight and timely implementation of resolutions can significantly enhance governance and public trust. Additionally, adopting best practices from international parliaments, such as the integration of technology in legislative processes, can further streamline operations and improve public engagement.

In conclusion, the first session of the 10th House of Representatives demonstrated a high level of legislative activity and responsiveness to critical national issues. By focusing on key areas such as social sector reform and national security, the House has shown its commitment to addressing the pressing needs of the Nigerian people. Moving forward, continuous improvement in legislative practices and enhanced public participation will further strengthen the House's role in promoting good governance and democratic accountability.



Table 6.2: Motions Received by Key Priority Areas of the Legislative Agenda

Key Priority Area	No of Motions	Percentage
Strengthening Good Governance	83	12.2
Improving National Security	129	19.0
Law Reform: Streamlining and Improving the Constitutional Reform Process	27	4.0
Economic Growth and Development	98	14.4
Social Sector Reform and Development	242	36.0
Inclusion and Open Parliament	22	3.2
Influencing / Directing Nigeria's Foreign Policy	8	1.2
Climate Change & Environmental Sustainability	70	10.3
Total	679	100

Source: *Votes and Proceedings of the House of Representatives, 2023-June 13, 2024.*

During the period under review, the economic growth and development priority area received significant attention from members of the 10th House, with 98 motions (14.4%) moved. These motions aimed at fostering economic stability, restructuring, diversification, agricultural development, reviving Nigeria's economy, restoring investor confidence, improving the business environment, and implementing tax reforms to attract investments. This underscores the House's commitment to stimulating economic activities, creating jobs, and promoting sustainable economic growth and diversification for national prosperity.

The strengthening of good governance was another priority area, with 83 motions (12.2%) moved, making it the fourth-highest focus during the first session of the 10th House. These motions aimed to enhance transparency, accountability, and efficiency within government operations. By maintaining public trust and ensuring effective service delivery, the House aims to reinforce the integrity and responsiveness of governmental institutions.

In the area of climate change and environmental sustainability, 70 motions (10.3%) were moved, highlighting a proactive commitment towards environmental protection. Motions in this area addressed issues such as flooding, gully erosion, desertification, the green wall, gas flaring, and environmental pollution. Proposed solutions included strengthening environmental standards and regulations, ensuring compliance with the Climate Change Act of 2021, overseeing NESREA's activities, and expediting the passage of legislation on gas flaring prohibition and punishment.

Law reform, specifically streamlining and improving the constitutional reform process, received 27 motions (4.0%), reflecting ongoing efforts to modernize the legal framework to address contemporary challenges. Inclusion and open parliament were the subjects of 22 motions (3.2%), emphasizing a commitment to transparency, inclusivity, and public engagement in legislative processes. Although smaller in proportion, this area is crucial for fostering a participatory democracy. Conversely, influencing and directing Nigeria's foreign policy received the least attention, with only 8 motions (1.2%), indicating that while foreign policy is important, it is currently seen as less urgent compared to pressing domestic issues.

To ensure comprehensive legislative effectiveness, it is important for the 10th House to focus on less performing priority areas of the legislative agenda, such as influencing and directing Nigeria's foreign policy, inclusion and open parliament, and law reform. However, the House should continue prioritizing issues of economic growth and development and strengthening good governance to ensure sustained progress and stability for Nigeria. This is particularly crucial given the economic challenges facing the country, including the depreciation of the naira and rising food commodity prices. Additionally, the House should strive to address the inclusion of women, youth, and persons with disabilities in governance, ensuring a more equitable and representative legislative process. Addressing national security is also paramount given the worsening insecurity in the country.

The performance report of the 10th House of Representatives in its first session showcases a comprehensive and proactive approach to addressing pressing national issues through legislative instruments of motions and resolutions. This report highlights the House's active

engagement with a wide array of significant concerns, demonstrating a diligent effort to represent and respond to the needs of the populace. The motions considered have served as a vital channel for bringing urgent matters to the forefront of both the House's attention and the nation's awareness. By highlighting critical issues and advocating for necessary actions, these motions position the legislature as the most suitable institution for articulating and addressing the concerns of the populace. This proactive approach underscores the House's role in ensuring that the voices of the people are heard and acted upon effectively, reinforcing its commitment to responsive and accountable governance.







6.2. Constituency and Zonal Intervention Projects

Constituency or zonal intervention projects, valued at 100 billion Naira, are developmental initiatives nominated by the 469 members of the National Assembly from the 36 states of the federation and the Federal Capital Territory (FCT). These projects, also known as "constituency projects," are strategically located within each member's constituency to ensure that development and government presence are felt across all federal constituencies in Nigeria annually.

Despite their significance, these projects have sparked controversy, particularly concerning the role of legislators in their implementation. Critics argue that legislators should not directly implement these projects due to potential conflicts of interest and inefficiencies. However, it is essential to understand that legislators primarily exercise oversight, ensuring that these projects align with their legislative mandate and are executed effectively.

Under the leadership of Speaker Abass Tajudeen, the 10th House of Representatives has pioneered a sustainable framework for managing these projects post-completion. This framework includes a formal handover to state or local governments for ongoing maintenance, ensuring that the benefits of these projects are preserved and effectively managed. This approach addresses immediate community needs and promotes accountability and sustainability in public infrastructure.

This new framework is supported by reputable sources that emphasize the importance of sustainability in public projects. According to the World Bank, sustainable infrastructure is crucial for long-term economic growth and development. By ensuring that constituency projects are handed over to local authorities for maintenance, the 10th House aligns with global best practices for sustainable development.

Furthermore, the formal handover process enhances transparency and accountability. It ensures that local governments are directly involved in the upkeep and management of these projects, fostering a sense of ownership and responsibility. This collaborative approach between the National Assembly and local governments strengthens the overall governance framework and ensures that public resources are used efficiently.

In summary, the 10th House of Representatives, under the leadership of Speaker Tajudeen Abass, has made significant strides in ensuring that constituency projects are effectively managed and maintained. By implementing a sustainable framework for project handovers to state and local governments, the House not only addresses immediate community needs but also promotes long-term accountability and sustainability in public infrastructure. This proactive approach sets a positive precedent for future legislative initiatives and reinforces the commitment of the National Assembly to fostering inclusive and sustainable development across Nigeria.

6.3. Constituency Outreach and Empowerment

The economic challenges facing Nigeria have placed significant expectations on Honourable Members, as constituents increasingly look to them for assistance and support. Despite these challenges, Honourable Members have shown remarkable dedication and commitment to their constituencies. They have actively engaged with communities, addressing local needs through various outreach and empowerment initiatives.

The House has resolved to remain accessible and responsive to their constituents, underscoring their dedication to effective representation and service delivery at the local level. Their efforts in grassroots engagement have been pivotal in rebuilding citizens' confidence, promoting democracy, and delivering good governance, aligning with the expectations of the Nigerian people.

One key initiative is the management of constituency projects. By ensuring that these projects are handed over to local authorities for maintenance, the 10th House has set a precedent for sustainable development. According to a report by the World Bank, effective management of local projects is crucial for sustainable development and long-term economic growth. This approach not only addresses immediate community needs but also ensures long-term benefits and accountability.

In addition to these efforts, Honourable Members have implemented numerous programs aimed at empowering local communities. These include educational scholarships, health



initiatives, agricultural support programs, and small business grants. These programs are designed to uplift communities, promote economic self-sufficiency, and enhance the overall quality of life.

Moreover, the House's commitment to accessibility is exemplified by the establishment of regular town hall meetings and constituency offices. These platforms enable direct communication between Honourable Members and their constituents, ensuring that the voices of the people are heard and addressed. This proactive engagement fosters transparency and trust between the government and the populace.

The 10th House of Representatives' approach to sustainable development and community engagement sets a positive precedent for future legislative initiatives. By focusing on long-term benefits and accountability, the House is not only addressing current challenges but also laying the foundation for a more prosperous and stable Nigeria. Their actions reflect a deep commitment to public service and a strong belief in the potential of grassroots empowerment to drive national progress.

6.4. Examples of Constituency and Zonal Intervention Projects

Since the inception of uninterrupted democracy 25 years ago, numerous constituency projects have significantly improved healthcare infrastructure. For instance, the construction of primary healthcare centres in rural areas has provided essential medical services to

underserved populations, thereby reducing mortality rates and enhancing overall public health. Additionally, the renovation and construction of schools under these projects have substantially elevated the quality of education. Modern classrooms, laboratories, and libraries have been established, fostering conducive learning environments and improving student performance.

Similarly, road construction and maintenance projects have greatly improved connectivity in remote areas, facilitating trade and access to essential services. These infrastructure improvements have positively impacted local economies and the quality of life for residents. Water supply systems aimed at providing clean and safe drinking water have been implemented in various constituencies. The installation of boreholes and water treatment facilities has addressed water scarcity issues and improved public health.

Furthermore, agricultural support initiatives have assisted local farmers by providing farming equipment, improved seeds, and training. These initiatives have boosted agricultural productivity, contributing to food security and economic stability in rural areas. According to the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), such interventions are crucial for sustaining agricultural growth and enhancing rural livelihoods.

In a nutshell, the 10th House's strategic implementation of constituency and zonal intervention projects underscores its commitment to promoting development and government presence across Nigeria. By addressing the immediate needs of communities and ensuring sustainable project management, the House has set a benchmark for effective governance and public service delivery. The leadership and initiatives of the 10th House serve as a model for future legislative assemblies, demonstrating the potential for legislative tools to effect meaningful change and support national development. The World Bank highlights that sustainable infrastructure development is key to long-term economic growth, and the 10th House's efforts align with this principle, ensuring that their projects not only provide immediate benefits but also contribute to lasting progress and stability.

6.5. Public Petitions

A petition is a legislative instrument used by the public to present grievances to the legislature for redress. The public petition system allows individuals to bring complaints before the National Assembly. In the House of Representatives, the Committee on Public Petitions maintains records of all petitions received and refers them to appropriate committees for consideration. This committee evaluates all referred petitions and periodically reports its recommendations for actions to be taken at plenary sessions. Petitions often stem from allegations of wrongful termination and various human rights violations.

The Committee on Public Petitions plays a crucial role by acting as a bridge between citizens and the legislative system, ensuring that citizens' concerns are heard and addressed within the legislative framework. This process reflects the House's commitment to addressing individual grievances through legislative action. **During the period under review, the**

10th House received 306 petitions from distressed Nigerians, as shown by Figure 6.2. Out of these, 30 were considered, 15 were laid by committees, and 5 were addressed by the House. Most petitions involved allegations of human rights abuses or injuries due to misapplication of the law or administrative process abuses, primarily affecting civil or public servants. Issues included wrongful dismissal, termination, retirement, non-reinstatement, victimization, and non-payment of salaries or gratuities. While some petitions targeted private sector entities, communities, and individuals, the majority were directed at the government. The Committee on Public Petitions addresses some of these petitions, while others are referred to relevant committees.

According to the World Bank, effective grievance mechanisms are essential for accountability and transparency in governance. The 10th House's robust public petition system aligns with global best practices, ensuring that grievances are systematically reviewed and addressed. This commitment to addressing public grievances demonstrates the House's dedication to upholding human rights and promoting justice.

Additionally, the House's efforts in processing petitions contribute to building public trust in the legislative process. By actively engaging with citizens' concerns, the House reinforces its role as a responsive and accountable institution. The continuous improvement of the petition system, including the use of digital platforms for submission and tracking, can further enhance its efficiency and accessibility.

In brief, the public petition system in the 10th House of Representatives serves as a vital tool for citizens to seek redress for their grievances. The diligent work of the Committee on Public Petitions ensures that these concerns are addressed within the legislative framework, reflecting the House's commitment to justice and accountability. By aligning with global best practices and continuously improving the system, the House can further strengthen its role as a guardian of citizens' rights and a pillar of democratic governance.

Figure 6.2: Actual and Percentage Distribution of Petitions Received and Considered by the House, 2023/ 2024 Legislative Year

Source: House Committee on Public Petition, June 13, 2024.

The instrument of public petitions has proven highly effective in enabling the House to address grievances for individuals who might otherwise lack access to justice due to their social status. A notable success in the 10th House involved securing a thirty-million-naira (N30,000,000) compensation package for Tairu Quadri Adewale, an amputee electricity worker. Adewale, a 400-level Electrical Engineering Intern



from Olabisi Onabanjo University, suffered a life-altering electrocution incident in May 2008 while working for the defunct Power Holding Company of Nigeria (PHCN) in Lagos.

This resolution followed a series of hearings that began in the Ninth Assembly and culminated in the Nigerian Electricity Liability Management Company (NELMCO) presenting a final settlement check to Adewale on December 5, 2023. The House Committee on Public Petitions facilitated this outcome, underscoring the critical role of public petitions in providing a channel for redress and justice, particularly for those marginalized by their social circumstances.

This case exemplifies the tangible impact of the public petition mechanism and stands as one of the many success stories of the 10th Assembly. According to Transparency International, effective grievance mechanisms are vital for promoting justice and accountability in governance. The successful resolution of Adewale's case demonstrates the House's commitment to addressing individual grievances and upholding human rights.

The work of the Committee on Public Petitions highlights how legislative tools can be used to effect meaningful change and support marginalized individuals. This success reinforces the importance of maintaining a robust public petition system, ensuring that all citizens have access to justice and can seek redress through the legislative process. Moreover, the positive outcomes achieved through the public petition system contribute to building public trust in the legislative process. By actively engaging with and resolving citizens' concerns, the House reinforces its role as a responsive and accountable institution.

Finally, the public petition system in the 10th House of Representatives serves as a powerful tool for justice and accountability. The diligent efforts of the House Committee on Public Petitions ensure that grievances are addressed within the legislative framework, reflecting the House's commitment to fairness and human rights. By continuously improving this system and adhering to global best practices, the House can further strengthen its role as a protector of citizens' rights and a cornerstone of democratic governance.

6.6. Citizens' Engagement

The House has made significant strides in fostering increased collaboration with citizens across all major legislative activities. This has been achieved by involving citizens in oversight, committee activities, and other legislative processes, ensuring that their voices are heard and their contributions integrated into lawmaking.

When developing the Legislative Agenda, the House organized a citizens' town hall meeting, incorporating the inputs gathered into the final draft. In response to citizens' concerns about the credibility of elections, the House has proactively sought citizen input for the proposed amendment of the Electoral Act 2022 and other electoral reforms. This initiative included organizing a citizens' town hall meeting on electoral reforms, where the House solicited views and suggestions on enhancing electoral integrity and reducing the judiciary's involvement in electoral processes. The House firmly believes that election outcomes should be determined at the polling unit rather than in a courtroom. The recommendations and insights from the citizens' town hall meeting on electoral reforms are expected to significantly influence the amendments to the Electoral Act.

In line with the Legislative Agenda, which aims to establish a comprehensive budgetary and appropriation process, the House promptly organized a citizens' town hall meeting focused on the 2024 Appropriation Bill upon receiving it from the executive. This event provided the public with a platform to share their perspectives on how the budget could better address the needs of all Nigerians, particularly those at the grassroots level.

Events organized by the House to engage citizens in the law-making process during the First Session included the National Dialogue on State Policing, the National Discourse on Nigerian Security Challenges and Good Governance at the Local Government Level, a two-day retreat for Members of the House of Representatives on the effective implementation of the Petroleum Industry Reform Act (PIA) 2021 and tax reform modernization, the Stakeholders Dialogue to harness citizens' input to the Legislative Agenda of the 10th House, the Citizens Townhall on Electoral Reforms, the Citizens Townhall on the 2024 Appropriation Bill, and Open Week, among others.

These initiatives underscore the House's commitment to actively involving citizens in its activities and ensuring that the legislative process is transparent and inclusive. Looking ahead, there are plans to extend this engagement by taking the budget directly to constituents at the local level, allowing them to contribute their insights and suggestions. This approach aligns with the 10th House of Representatives' designation as the "PEOPLE'S HOUSE," reinforcing its dedication to representing and serving the interests of all Nigerians.

The active engagement of citizens in legislative processes not only enhances transparency and accountability but also ensures that the laws and policies enacted reflect the true needs and aspirations of the people. By continuing to prioritize citizen involvement, the House can strengthen democratic governance and build greater public trust in the legislative system.



OVERSIGHT FUNCTIONS

7.1. Oversight Instruments

versight encompasses the review, monitoring, and supervision of government policies, programs, and projects. The critical role of legislative oversight in ensuring compliance with legislation and the effective implementation of government policies cannot be overstated. Oversight occurs in various contexts, including appropriations, investigative and legislative hearings by standing committees, specialized investigations by select committees, and reviews and studies by parliamentary support agencies and staff.

The authority to conduct oversight is derived from Sections 88 and 89 of the Constitution, which empower parliamentary committees to inquire into or investigate any matter for which the National Assembly has the power to make laws. During the first session of the 10th House of Representatives, legislative committees utilized several oversight instruments in accordance with relevant rules of practice and procedure, as illustrated in Box 7.1. The importance of legislative oversight extends beyond mere compliance; it is fundamental to the principles of accountability and transparency in governance. According to the World Bank, effective oversight mechanisms are essential for improving public sector performance and ensuring that government actions align with legislative intent and public expectations.

During the first session, the 10th House of Representatives demonstrated a strong commitment to its oversight function. Various committees conducted in-depth reviews and investigations into key areas such as budgetary allocations, implementation of government

projects, and adherence to policy guidelines. These efforts not only identified areas of non-compliance but also provided actionable recommendations for improvement, thus enhancing the effectiveness of government operations.

For example, the House Committee on Public Accounts conducted thorough audits of government expenditures, ensuring that public funds were utilized efficiently and transparently. Similarly, the Committee on Health undertook inspections of healthcare facilities to assess the implementation of health policies and the impact on public health services. The proactive use of oversight tools by the 10th House has also included public hearings, where stakeholders and citizens were invited to provide input and share their experiences. This inclusive approach not only strengthens the oversight process but also fosters greater public trust and engagement in the legislative process. Moreover, the 10th House has embraced technology and data analytics to enhance its oversight capabilities. Digital platforms have been used to track the progress of government projects and to gather real-time feedback from constituents. This modernization effort aligns with global best practices and ensures that oversight activities are more efficient and effective.

In conclusion, the 10th House of Representatives has demonstrated a robust approach to legislative oversight, utilizing a range of tools and strategies to ensure government accountability and transparency. By actively engaging in oversight activities and incorporating modern technologies, the House has set a high standard for legislative performance and responsiveness. This commitment to oversight not only reinforces the House's role in safeguarding democracy but also ensures that government actions serve the best interests of the Nigerian people.

Box 7.1: Oversight Instruments of Committees of the National Assembly

- Briefs Received from MDAs
- Oversight Visits and Inspections to MDAs and Projects
- Engagement with Appropriation Bill/ Budgetary Function
- Public Hearing
- Investigative Hearing
- Public Petitions
- Confirmation/Screening of Nominees
- Interactive Meetings/Sessions
- Study Tour

Source: *Hamalai* (2014)

Upon its inauguration, the House made critical decisions to enhance and reposition its functions. The Speaker emphasized that while the House aimed to build on previous achievements, the 10th House intended to redefine its legislative business modus operandi. A key initiative was to strengthen committees for effective oversight of Ministries, Departments, and Agencies (MDAs) through consistent funding, the provision of necessary

resources, and capacity building. Consequently, oversight duties, including investigative hearings, were mandated to conclude with reports and recommendations presented to the entire House for appropriate legislative action.

The revised Standing Orders of the House required committees to submit quarterly reports to the leadership, and a Committee on Monitoring and Evaluation of House Committees was established. This strategic move underscores the House's commitment to robust legislative oversight, essential for ensuring transparency, accountability, and good governance. By enhancing the capacity and resources available to committees, the House aims to strengthen its supervisory role over government agencies and departments, thereby contributing to improved public service delivery and adherence to legislative mandates. The establishment of the Committee on Monitoring and Evaluation of House Committees further demonstrates the House's dedication to enhancing its oversight mechanisms. This committee provides an additional layer of scrutiny by evaluating the performance of other committees in carrying out their oversight responsibilities. Through these measures, the House seeks to foster a culture of diligence and effectiveness in its oversight functions, ultimately contributing to a more efficient and responsive government.

Like other legislative institutions worldwide, the National Assembly carries out its oversight functions through committees, often aligning them with corresponding government ministries and departments. In this context, the House, following the criterion of ensuring professionalism, constituted 120 Standing Committees, 20 Statutory Committees, and 70 Parliamentary Friendship Groups. These are in addition to the 30 ad hoc committees established before the constitution of standing committees.

The comprehensive restructuring of the committee system aligns with global best practices, as noted by the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU), which highlights the importance of specialized committees in enhancing legislative oversight. The IPU also emphasizes the need for adequate resources and training to empower committees to perform their duties effectively.

Finally, the 10th House of Representatives has demonstrated a robust commitment to enhancing its legislative and oversight functions. By strengthening committees, implementing stringent reporting requirements, and establishing the Committee on Monitoring and Evaluation, the House aims to ensure greater accountability and transparency within government operations. These measures not only reinforce the House's role in safeguarding democracy but also contribute to more effective governance and improved public service delivery for the Nigerian people.

7.2. Oversight Visits and Inspections

During the 2023/2024 session, House Committees conducted oversight visits to 107 ministries, departments, agencies, and projects nationwide, despite most standing committees being inaugurated between November and December 2023. This averaged 0.9 visits per committee. These visits aimed to ensure that government programs and administration

were implemented effectively, efficiently, and in alignment with legislative intent.

Out of the 107 oversight visits, the House Committee on Health Institutions conducted 23, focusing on assessing the performance of the 2023 budget implementation and conducting on-the-spot assessments of capital project execution. Inspected institutions included Lagos University Teaching Hospital, Obafemi Awolowo University Teaching Hospital, the Federal Teaching Hospital in Ido-Ekiti, the Federal Medical Centre in Owo, and the National Postgraduate Medical College in Lagos.

Similarly, the House Committee on Safety Standards and Regulations visited 18 locations, including MDAs, corporate bodies, hotels, and parks in Abuja and Lagos. They observed that most locations lacked adequate safety standard procedures and management systems and did not have competently certified personnel as recommended by the Institute of Safety Professionals of Nigeria (ISPON) Act, 2014. The Committee on Works followed, conducting 14 oversight visits to MDAs and projects. Details of these visits can be found in the Tables in the List of Appendices.

These oversight activities are crucial for ensuring accountability and transparency in government operations. According to the World Bank, effective oversight can significantly improve public sector performance by identifying inefficiencies and ensuring that resources are used appropriately. The proactive approach taken by the 10th House of Representatives in conducting these oversight visits demonstrates a strong commitment to good governance and public service delivery. By rigorously evaluating the implementation of government programs and projects, the House ensures that legislative mandates are followed and that public funds are utilized effectively. Moreover, the findings from these visits provide valuable insights for future policy-making and legislative actions. They help identify areas that require improvement and enable the House to make informed decisions that enhance the overall governance framework.

In sum, the oversight visits conducted by the House Committees during the 2023/2024 session highlight the importance of legislative oversight in promoting transparency, accountability, and efficiency in government operations. These efforts not only reinforce the House's role in safeguarding democracy but also contribute to more effective governance and improved public service delivery for the Nigerian people. By continuing to prioritize oversight, the 10th House of Representatives sets a positive precedent for future legislative sessions.

Figure 7.1 reveals that out of the 117 House Committees, 23 (19.7%) conducted between 1 and 5 oversight visits, 1 (0.9%) conducted between 6 and 10 visits, and 3 conducted more than 11 visits. However, 87 committees (74.4%) did not conduct any oversight visits during this period. The figure above illustrates the frequency distribution of these oversight visits and inspections. These visits enabled House Committees to obtain first-hand information and verify the utilization of approved funds. For example, the Committee on Maritime Safety, Education, and Administration's oversight of the Maritime Academy of Nigeria facilitated engagement with management to address staff welfare issues, promoting transparency, accountability, and efficiency at the academy in Oron.

Following these oversight visits and the subsequent reports, committees strive to implement their findings and recommendations through adjustments to budget proposals for the relevant MDAs. They also use motions and interactions with MDAs or the presidency to compel the implementation of these recommendations. In the Nigerian National Assembly, debates on issues of national importance or the outcomes of oversight visits and investigations are often introduced in the chambers as motions. However, House resolutions resulting from such motions are not binding on the executive arm of government. This limitation underscores the need for a constitutional amendment to make such resolutions binding.

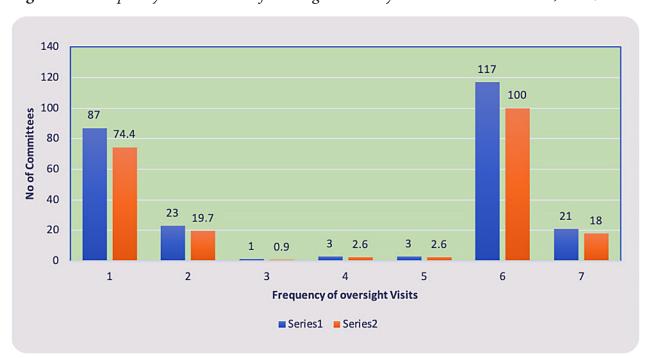


Figure 7.1: Frequency Distribution of Oversight Visits by 117 House Committees, 2023/2024

Source: Sessional Reports of the 10th House Committees of Representatives, 2023-2024.

The oversight activities of the 10th House of Representatives illustrate its critical role in ensuring government accountability and effective governance. Through methods like committee hearings, investigations, and support from parliamentary agencies, the House scrutinizes government actions and recommends corrective measures. Despite the varying levels of committee engagement in oversight visits, the House emphasizes consistent scrutiny to uphold legislative intent and responsible resource management.

For example, effective oversight can significantly improve public sector performance by identifying inefficiencies and ensuring that resources are used appropriately, according to the World Bank. The proactive approach taken by the 10th House of Representatives in conducting these oversight visits demonstrates a strong commitment to good governance and public service delivery. By rigorously evaluating the implementation of government programs and projects, the House ensures that legislative mandates are followed and that public funds are utilized effectively.

The non-binding nature of House resolutions on the executive remains a challenge. A

constitutional amendment to enhance the binding power of legislative resolutions could significantly strengthen the House's oversight capabilities and promote transparent governance. According to Transparency International, stronger legislative oversight mechanisms are essential for combating corruption and improving governance.

Overall, the oversight visits conducted by the House Committees during the 2023/2024 session highlight the importance of legislative oversight in promoting transparency, accountability, and efficiency in government operations. These efforts not only reinforce the House's role in safeguarding democracy but also contribute to more effective governance and improved public service delivery for the Nigerian people. By continuing to prioritize oversight and seeking necessary constitutional amendments, the 10th House of Representatives sets a positive precedent for future legislative sessions.

7.3. Familiarization/Courtesy Visits

The House Committees conducted 57 familiarization and courtesy visits to various MDAs and corporate bodies. These visits were crucial for acquainting the committees with the agencies under their jurisdiction, especially given the high turnover (77%) of legislators at the commencement of the 10th House of Representatives, which led to significant capacity gaps. The House Committee on Specialty Healthcare conducted the most familiarization visits, totalling 12. Following closely, the Committee on Legislative Compliance made nine visits, while the Committee on Muslim Pilgrims Affairs conducted five, making it the third highest in terms of familiarization and courtesy visits during the first session of the 10th House of Representatives, as detailed in the list of appendices.

These visits played a vital role in bridging the knowledge gap caused by the influx of new legislators. By directly engaging with MDAs and corporate bodies, the committees could better understand the operational challenges and successes of these entities, thereby enhancing their oversight capabilities.

The importance of familiarization visits in legislative processes is underscored by global best practices. According to the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU), such engagements are essential for legislators to effectively perform their roles, as they provide first-hand insights into the functioning and needs of various government agencies. Moreover, these visits foster stronger relationships between the legislative and executive branches, promoting a more collaborative approach to governance. For instance, the House Committee on Specialty Healthcare's visits to healthcare institutions allowed for direct dialogue with healthcare providers, facilitating better-informed legislative actions to improve the healthcare system.

Similarly, the Committee on Legislative Compliance's visits helped ensure that MDAs adhered to legislative mandates, reinforcing accountability and transparency. The Committee on Muslim Pilgrims Affairs' visits enabled a closer examination of the support systems for pilgrims, leading to more effective oversight of related activities.

Finally, the familiarization and courtesy visits undertaken by the House Committees during the first session of the 10th House of Representatives were instrumental in addressing capacity gaps and enhancing legislative oversight. These engagements not only improved the committees' understanding of the MDAs and corporate bodies under their jurisdiction but also fostered stronger intergovernmental relationships. By continuing these visits and incorporating feedback from these interactions, the House can ensure more effective governance and better service delivery to the Nigerian people.

7.4. Investigative Hearing

Legislative committees use investigative hearings as a crucial tool for exercising oversight functions, focusing on matters of public concern, national interest, and instances of malpractice. Sections 88 and 89 of the 1999 Constitution (as amended) grant the National Assembly the authority to conduct these inquiries, aiming to uncover corruption, inefficiency, or mismanagement in the execution of laws and the disbursement of funds authorized by the Assembly.

During the First Session of the 10th House, 21 out of 117 committees conducted a total of 31 investigative hearings as of June 13, 2024. These hearings were initiated based on resolutions from the House, public petitions, or as part of routine oversight activities. Table 7.1 details the committees involved in these hearings, highlighting their pivotal role in legislative oversight. Further comprehensive data on committee performance is available in the appendices.

Investigative hearings are vital for maintaining transparency and accountability within the government. According to Transparency International, such hearings are instrumental in exposing corruption and ensuring that public resources are used effectively. By scrutinizing government actions and decisions, legislative committees can hold officials accountable and recommend corrective measures.

The effectiveness of these hearings is evident in the outcomes they produce. For instance, during the First Session of the 10th House, several hearings led to significant findings and subsequent actions to address identified issues. These actions included recommendations for policy changes, improved administrative practices, and in some cases, legal proceedings against those found guilty of malpractice.

The role of investigative hearings extends beyond mere fact-finding. They serve as a platform for public participation, allowing citizens and stakeholders to present evidence and share their perspectives on issues of national importance. This inclusive approach enhances the legitimacy of the legislative process and ensures that diverse viewpoints are considered.

In summary, the use of investigative hearings by the 10th House of Representatives underscores its commitment to effective oversight and good governance. By leveraging their constitutional authority, legislative committees play a critical role in uncovering inefficiencies and malpractices, thereby contributing to a more transparent and accountable

government. The detailed documentation of committee activities and outcomes further reinforces the House's dedication to upholding the principles of democracy and ensuring that public resources are managed responsibly.

Table 7.1: *Investigative Hearings Conducted by 21 Committees, 2023/2024*

	Committees	No of Investigative Hearings
1	Committees that Conducted at Least 1 Hearing	17
2	Committees that Conducted Between 2-5	3
3	Committees that Conducted More than 5	1

Source: Sessional Reports of the 10th House Committees of Representatives, 2023-2024

Figure 7.1.2 indicates that out of the 117 committees surveyed, 24 conducted a total of 31 investigative hearings during the first session of the 10th House. Leading the way, the House Committee on Host Communities conducted six probes, followed closely by the Committee on Digital and Electronic Banking. Most committees that held hearings conducted between one and five hearings, while 93 committees did not conduct any investigative hearings.

These hearings are essential for addressing issues of public concern, interest, or misconduct, and for promoting accountability. For example, the House Committee on Public Assets held two investigative hearings with the Nigerian College of Aviation Technology, Zaria, in February 2024. These hearings focused on the sale of two helicopters and public-private partnership (PPP) programs and concession agreements, conducted jointly with the Committee on Special Duties.

Investigative hearings are a cornerstone of legislative oversight, providing a platform to scrutinize government actions and ensure transparency. According to the World Bank, effective oversight mechanisms, including investigative hearings, are critical for maintaining public trust and enhancing the quality of governance.

The hearings conducted by the 10th House addressed various critical issues, highlighting the legislative body's proactive approach to governance. The House Committee on Host Communities, for instance, played a pivotal role in investigating matters related to community development and corporate social responsibility, ensuring that host communities benefit from the operations of industries within their locales.

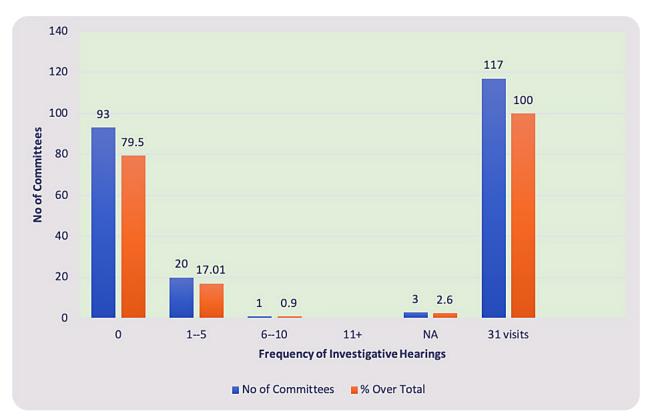
Similarly, the Committee on Digital and Electronic Banking focused on the evolving challenges in the financial sector, particularly concerning the adoption of digital banking technologies. These hearings were crucial for identifying gaps in regulatory frameworks and proposing necessary legislative measures to safeguard the interests of consumers and the integrity of the banking system.

The importance of these hearings extends beyond immediate problem-solving. They set a precedent for continuous oversight and foster a culture of accountability within government

agencies and departments. The insights gained from these hearings often lead to legislative reforms, policy adjustments, and improved administrative practices.

Generally, the investigative hearings conducted by the 10th House of Representatives underscore its commitment to effective oversight and accountability. By actively engaging in these inquiries, the House not only addresses specific issues of public concern but also strengthens the overall governance framework. This proactive approach ensures that government actions align with legislative intent and public expectations, thereby reinforcing the principles of transparency and good governance.

Figure 7.2: Frequency Distribution of Investigative Hearings by 117 House Committees, 2023/2024



Source: Sessional Reports of the 10th House Committees of Representatives, 2023-2024.



COMMITTEE MEETINGS

egislative Committee meetings are organized gatherings of legislators for specific purposes, including regular committee meetings, budget defence sessions, and interactive engagements with Ministries, Departments, and Agencies (MDAs) under the committees' jurisdiction. During its first session, the 10th House Committee convened regular meetings to discuss and plan the execution of their mandates. Additionally, interactive sessions were held with the executive branch, particularly MDAs, allowing legislators to ask questions and seek clarity on policy implementation issues and challenges encountered by citizens and MDAs in a more informal setting.

In line with the National Assembly's power of appropriation, House Committees with MDAs under their jurisdiction organized budget defence engagements. These sessions involved reviewing the previous year's budget performance of the MDAs and conducting hearings for MDAs to defend their budget proposals for the upcoming year. These meetings are crucial for ensuring transparency and accountability in the allocation and use of public funds.

During the first session of the 10th House, the committees held a total of 502 meetings, as depicted in Figure 8.1. Further analysis, supported by Figure 8.1 shows the frequency distribution of meetings conducted by the 117 House committees. The data reveals that 91 committees (77.8%) conducted between 1 and 5 meetings, 21 committees (17.9%) held between 6 and 10 meetings, and 4 committees (3.4%) held more than 11 meetings each. However, one committee did not convene any meetings during this period.

These meetings are integral to the legislative process, providing a platform for detailed discussion, planning, and oversight. Regular committee meetings ensure that legislators are well-informed and can effectively contribute to legislative debates and decision-making processes. Budget defence sessions are particularly important, as they allow committees to scrutinize the financial requests of MDAs, ensuring that public funds are allocated efficiently and in line with national priorities.

Interactive sessions with MDAs foster a collaborative approach to governance, enabling legislators to understand the challenges faced by these agencies and to work together to find solutions. This collaboration is essential for effective policy implementation and for addressing the needs and concerns of citizens.

The effectiveness of these meetings is underscored by best practices from legislative bodies worldwide. According to the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU), effective committee work is essential for the functioning of parliaments, as it allows for detailed examination of issues, fosters transparency, and promotes accountability.

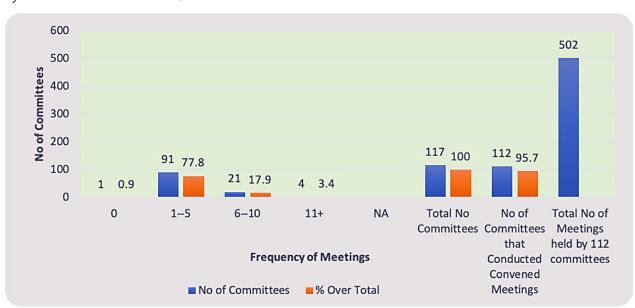


Figure 8.1: Frequency Distribution of Meetings Conducted by 117 House Committees, 2023/2024

Source: Sessional Reports of the 10th House Committees of Representatives, 2023-2024

To conclude, the extensive schedule of meetings held by the House Committees during the first session of the 10th House demonstrates a strong commitment to legislative oversight, transparency, and accountability. By engaging in regular discussions, budget reviews, and interactive sessions with MDAs, the House Committees play a crucial role in ensuring effective governance and public service delivery. These efforts contribute to a more responsive and responsible legislative process, aligning with global best practices and reinforcing the principles of democratic governance.

Table 8.1: Actual and Percentage Distribution of Meetings by Category of Meetings

Category of Meetings	No. of Meetings	% Over Total
Total No of Interactive Sessions Convened	186	37.1
Total No of Regular Meetings Convened	203	40.4
Total No of Budget Defence\Engagement Convened	113	22.5
Total No of Meetings held by 112 committees	502	

Source: Sessional Reports of the 10th House Committees of Representatives, 2023-2024.

Table 8.1 and Figure 8.1 illustrate the distribution of committee meetings by category during the first session of the 10th House. Of the 502 meetings held, 86 were interactive sessions, 203 were regular meetings, and 113 were budget defence/engagement meetings. This data highlights a strong preference among committee members for regular meetings. Notably, inaugural meetings for each committee were included in the overall count. Regular meetings are essential as they enable committees to plan and execute their mandates effectively. During these sessions, committees often consider and adopt their work plans for the legislative year, deliberate on their operational procedures, and make critical decisions affecting their functions.

For instance, during the interactive session conducted by the House Committee on Health with the National Primary Health Care Development Agency (NPHCDA), the committee addressed challenges related to vaccine distribution and cold chain management. They reviewed the agency's budget for 2023 and 2024, identifying areas needing increased funding to enhance vaccine storage and distribution infrastructure. The committee also discussed overlapping functions with other health agencies and recommended amending the NPHCDA Act to streamline operations.

Similarly, the interactive session conducted by the House Committee on Alternative Education with the management of the National Commission for Mass Literacy addressed the commission's challenges. In response to funding issues, the committee reviewed the 2023 and 2024 budgets to identify areas for increased allocation. They also intervened in issues of overlapping functions among related agencies and highlighted the need to amend the commission's act.

In another example, the House Committee on University Education held an interactive session with the management of the National Open University of Nigeria (NOUN). The committee emphasized the importance of adhering to regulatory procedures to protect students' future prospects. They reviewed the case of NOUN's struggle with law program accreditation, which affected 1,228 students facing uncertainties in their legal careers. The committee resolved to engage with the Council of Legal Education, the Body of Benchers, and the National Universities Commission to expedite the accreditation process and ensure full compliance with all necessary requirements.

Budget defence sessions also played a crucial role. These engagements helped eliminate waste and duplication of projects, ensuring that the budgets of MDAs aligned with government



policy objectives. The House Committee on Finance, for example, scrutinized the budget proposals of various MDAs, identifying unnecessary expenditures and reallocating funds to priority areas. This oversight ensured accountability for the funds appropriated in the previous year, promoting fiscal responsibility and the efficient use of resources.

These committee activities are crucial for effective legislative oversight and governance. According to the World Bank, such engagements improve transparency, accountability, and the efficient use of public resources. By actively engaging with MDAs and scrutinizing budget proposals, the House Committees ensure that public funds are utilized effectively and that government policies are implemented as intended.

Finally, the extensive schedule of meetings held by the House Committees during the first session of the 10th House demonstrates a strong commitment to legislative oversight, transparency, and accountability. These efforts contribute to a more responsive and responsible legislative process, aligning with global best practices and reinforcing the principles of democratic governance.

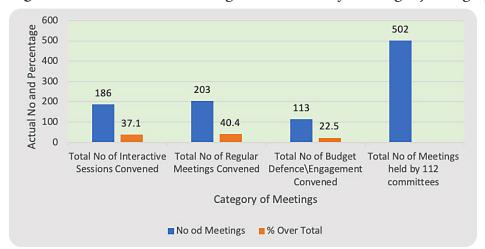


Figure 8.2: Actual and Percentage Distribution of Meetings by Category of Meetings

Source: Sessional Reports of the 10th House Committees of Representatives, 2023-2024.

Further analysis of the meetings conducted by House committees reveals the performance of individual committees. Figure 8.2 illustrates the frequency of meetings convened by each committee. The House Committee on Delegated Legislation held the highest number of meetings, with 16 sessions during the first session of the 10th House. This was followed by the Committee on Appropriation, which held 14 meetings, and the Committees on TETFUND and Other Services, and Nutrition and Food Security, which held 13 and 11 meetings, respectively. In contrast, the House Committee on Lake Chad did not convene any meetings. According to their session report, "no committee activity was carried out as of May 14, 2024." However, the report noted that a WhatsApp platform was created to facilitate communication between committee members and the secretariat.

In terms of interactive sessions, the Committee on Delegated Legislation led with 15 sessions, the most conducted by any committee during this period. This was followed by the Committee on TETFUND and Other Services with 10 sessions, and the Committee on Freedom of Information with 8 sessions. Several committees, however, did not convene any interactive sessions, as indicated in Table 7.2.

The frequency and nature of these meetings are crucial for the effective functioning of legislative committees. Regular meetings allow committees to plan and execute their mandates, deliberate on key issues, and make informed decisions. Interactive sessions, on the other hand, provide a platform for engagement with stakeholders, including government agencies, civil society organizations, and the public. These sessions facilitate the exchange of ideas, enhance transparency, and ensure that the legislative process is inclusive and responsive to the needs of the people.

For instance, the Committee on Appropriation's 14 meetings were essential in scrutinizing the national budget, ensuring that public funds are allocated efficiently and in alignment with national priorities. This aligns with global best practices, as highlighted by the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), which underscores the importance of legislative oversight in promoting fiscal discipline and accountability. Similarly, the Committee on Freedom of Information's interactive sessions played a vital role in promoting transparency and accountability in government operations. By engaging with stakeholders, the committee could identify gaps in the implementation of the Freedom of Information Act and recommend necessary legislative amendments.

In conclusion, the performance of House committees during the first session of the 10th House demonstrates a strong commitment to legislative oversight and governance. The high frequency of meetings and interactive sessions underscores the dedication of the committees to their mandates and their proactive approach to addressing national issues. By continuing to prioritize regular and interactive meetings, the House committees can ensure that the legislative process remains transparent, accountable, and responsive to the needs of the Nigerian people. This proactive approach sets a positive precedent for future legislative sessions and reinforces the principles of democratic governance.

Table 8.2: Meetings Convened by House Committees, 2023/2024

	Committees	Regular	Interactive Session	Budget Defence / Engagement	Frequency
1	Anti-Corruption	1	0	1	2
2	Public Procurement	1	6	1	8
3	Human Rights	1	1	2	4
4	Federal Capital Territory	1	5	1	7
5	FCT Area Council and Ancillary Matters	2	4	2	8
6	Delegated Legislation	1	15	0	16
7	Legislative Budget and Research	2	1	0	3
8	Legislative Library, Research and Documentation	2	2	1	5
9	Special Duties	2	3	1	6
10	Civil Society and Development Partners	1	1	0	2
11	Public Assets	1	2	0	3
12	FCT Judiciary	2	4	1	7
13	Judiciary	1	1	1	3
14	Monitoring and Evaluation of Standing and Ad-hoc Committees	3	0	0	3
15	States and Local Government	2	1`	0	3
16	Freedom of Information's (F0I)	1	8	0	9
17	Constituency Outreach	1	1	0	2
18	Political Parties Matters	3	0	0	3
19	Monitoring, Evaluation & Implementation of Legislative Agenda	3	0	0	3
20	Legislative Compliance	3	1	0	4
21	Media and Public Affairs	1	0	0	1
22	Army	1	0	1	2
23	Air Force	1	0	1	2
24	Defence	1	0	1	2
25	National Security and Intelligence	1	0	1	2
26	Police Affairs	1	0	1	2
27	Police Institutions	2	0	1	3
28	Interior	2	0	1	3
29	Maritime Safety, Education and Administration	1	1	2	3

	Committees	Regular	Interactive Session	Budget Defence/ Engagement	Frequency
30	Internal Security of the National Assembly	2	4	0	6
31	Financial Crime	1	0	1	2
32	Narcotic Drugs	1	1	1	3
33	Emergency and Disaster Preparedness	2	0	1	3
34	Electoral Matters	1	0	1	2
35	Host Communities	5	3	0	8
36	Justice	1	1	2	4
37	Agriculture Production and Service	1	1	1	3
38	Appropriations	1	1	12	14
39	Banking and Other Ancillary Institutions	2	0	1	3
40	Banking Regulations	1	3	1	5
41	Aids, Loans and Debt Management	3	2	1	6
42	Capital Market and Institutions	1	3	1	5
43	Commerce	2	1	1	4
44	Digital and Electronic Banking	1	0	0	1
45	Finance	2	3	1	6
46	Privatization and Commercialization	1	2	2	5
47	Rural Development	1	3	1	5
48	National Planning and Economic Development	2	1	0	3
49	Small and Medium Scale Enterprises (SMEs)	1	2	1	4
50	Customs and Excise	1	0	1	2
51	Nigerian Content Development and Monitoring	2	2	0	4
52	Nutrition and Food Security	3	8	0	11
53	Alternative Education	1	3	1	5
54	Aviation	1	0	1	2
55	Aviation Technology	1	0	1	2
56	Basic Education Examination Board	2	1	1	4
57	Culture and Tourism	6	0	1	7
58	Basic Education Services	2	0	1	3
59	Federal Colleges of Education	2	1	1	4
60	Federal Polytechnics and Higher Technical Education	2	1	1	4

	Committees	Regular	Interactive Session	Budget Defence / Engagement	Frequency
61	Student Loans, Scholarships and Higher Education Financing	2	0	0	2
62	Federal Road Safety Commission	2	0	2	4
63	FERMA	1	2	1	4
64	Land Transport	2	2	1	5
65	Petroleum Resources (Downstream)	1	2	1`	4
66	Petroleum Resources (Midstream)	2	1	1	4
67	Petroleum Resources (Upstream)	3	3	1	7
68	Power	2	3	1	6
69	Ports and Harbours	2	1	2	5
70	Rural Electrification	1	2	1	4
71	Specialty Healthcare	2	2	1	5
72	TET Fund and Other Services	2	10	1	13
73	University Education	5	2	N/A	7
74	Works	1	1	1	3
75	HIV/AIDS Tuberculosis and Malaria Control	2	2	1	5
76	Gas Resources	1	N/A	1	2
77	Health Institutions	1	0	1	2
78	Healthcare Services	2	3	0	5
79	Inland Waterways	1	1	1	3
80	Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs)	1	0	1	2
81	Corporate Social Responsibility	1	1	0	2
82	Steel Development	3	1	2	6
83	Solid Minerals Development	2	0	1	3
84	Science Research Institutions	2	1	1	4
85	Science and Technology	2	1	1	4
86	Science Engineering	3	0	1	4
87	Safety Standards and Regulations	3	1	0	4
88	Reformatory Institutions	3	4	1	8
89	Public Service Matters	2	1	1՝	4
90	Pensions	3	4	1	8
91	NAFDAC	0	1	0	1

	Committees	Regular	Interactive Session	Budget Defence/ Engagement	Frequency
92	Digital and Information Technology	2	1	1	1
93	Poverty Alleviation	2	1	1	4
94	Traditional Institutions		0	1	3
95	Niger Delt Affairs	2	0	1	3
96	Niger Delta Development Commission	1	1	-	2
97	Northeast Development Commission	2	1	1	4
98	Housing & Habitat	1	0	4	5
99	Populations	2	3	1	6
100	Labour, Employment and Productivity	1	0	1	2
101	National Agency for Science Engineering Infrastructure	1	0	1	2
102	Disabilities Matters	2	1	1	4
103	Youth Development	2	1	1	4
104	Youth in Parliament	1	0	0	1
105	Women Affairs and Social Development	1	2	1	4
106	Women in Parliament	1	3	0	4
107	Sports	3	1	1	5
108	Cooperation and Integration in Africa	2	1	1	4
109	Diaspora	3	1	1	5
110	Treaties, Protocol and Agreement	1	2	0	3
111	Christian Pilgrims Affairs	2	3	0	5
112	Muslim Pilgrims Affairs	1	4	1	6
113	Climate Change	2	1	3	6
114	Ecological Fund	1	3	2	6
115	Environment	2	0	2	4
116	Lake Chad	0	0	0	0
117	Renewable Energy	3	0	1	4
	Total	203	186	113	502

Source: Sessional Reports of the 10th House Committees of Representatives, 2023-2024.

Regarding regular meetings, the Committee on Culture and Tourism conducted the most, with six sessions. The Committees on Host Communities and University Education each held five regular meetings, ranking second. In contrast, the committees on NAFDAC and Lake Chad did not conduct any regular meetings. This lack of regular meetings contradicts the recommendations of Hamalai (2014) and the Standing Orders of the 10th House of Representatives, which stipulate that "each committee of the House shall adopt meeting days, which shall not be less frequent than monthly for the conduct of its business" (Orders 18, No. 4, 2023). Similarly, Hamalai (2024) further recommends that each committee of the National Assembly should meet at least once a month, totalling 12 meetings in a session.

In terms of budget defence and engagement meetings, the Committee on Appropriation naturally convened the most sessions, aligning with its critical role in reviewing and approving budget proposals. This focus ensures that public funds are allocated efficiently and in accordance with national priorities, as emphasized by the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), which highlights the importance of legislative oversight in promoting fiscal discipline and accountability.

Despite the lack of meetings in some committees, this may be due to incomplete data, as some meetings might have been held but not documented. However, many committees exceeded the prescribed number of meetings according to Order 18, No. 4 of the Standing Rules. A major challenge in committee engagement is absenteeism. Given that members are allowed to belong to a minimum of 10 committees (Order 18, No. 1 [4]), there is a general problem of absenteeism and non-active participation in committee activities.

This analysis underscores the active engagement of the House committees in legislative oversight and budgetary processes, with the majority conducting a significant number of meetings to fulfil their legislative responsibilities. Regular meetings facilitated planning and decision-making, interactive sessions addressed specific challenges faced by MDAs, and budget defences ensured alignment with government policies and accountability in fund utilization.

The active participation of House committees in these activities underscores their commitment to effective governance and legislative oversight. By adhering to the recommended frequency of meetings and actively engaging with stakeholders, the House committees can ensure that the legislative process remains transparent, accountable, and responsive to the needs of the Nigerian people. This proactive approach sets a positive precedent for future legislative sessions and reinforces the principles of democratic governance.

To sum up, the analysis of committee meetings in the first session of the 10th House highlights the importance of regular, interactive, and budget defence sessions in fulfilling legislative duties. The dedication demonstrated by the majority of committees in conducting these meetings reflects a strong commitment to their mandates and a proactive approach to governance. This commitment is essential for promoting transparency, accountability, and effective public service delivery, aligning with global best practices and reinforcing the democratic process.



Since its inception in June 2023, the 10th House of Representatives of Nigeria, under the leadership of Rt. Hon. Abbas Tajudeen, has actively engaged in sectoral briefs and debates. These initiatives play a pivotal role in fostering transparency and accountability while serving as robust oversight mechanisms to implement legislative goals and address pressing national challenges.

Sectoral debates provide lawmakers with invaluable opportunities to interact directly with heads of ministries, departments, and agencies (MDAs). This engagement facilitates a comprehensive understanding of sector-specific issues, enabling legislators to develop informed legislative interventions that cater to the needs of Nigerians. For instance, discussions with the Minister of Health and heads of health agencies have focused on improving healthcare infrastructure, enhancing disease control measures, and addressing public health emergencies. These debates have been instrumental in shaping legislation aimed at bolstering healthcare delivery and ensuring better health outcomes for citizens across the country. According to the World Health Organization (WHO), effective legislative frameworks are crucial for advancing national health goals and ensuring equitable access to healthcare services.

Similarly, engagements with the Minister of Education have centred on policies to enhance educational standards, promote inclusive access to quality education, and address infrastructure deficits in schools nationwide. By gathering insights directly from education leaders, lawmakers can enact laws that support educational development, thereby empowering Nigerian youth and fostering national development. UNESCO underscores the importance of legislative support in achieving sustainable educational reforms and improving learning environments.

Economic briefs featuring the Central Bank Governor and Minister of Finance have been pivotal in steering monetary policies, fiscal strategies, and economic growth initiatives.

These discussions inform legislative measures aimed at promoting sustainable economic development, attracting investments, and ensuring financial stability. The International Monetary Fund (IMF) highlights that effective legislative oversight is essential for maintaining economic stability and addressing socio-economic disparities.

In the realm of national security, dialogues with security service chiefs provide critical insights into security challenges, operational strategies, and resource requirements. This engagement informs legislative efforts to strengthen security frameworks, enhance law enforcement capabilities, and safeguard citizens from threats such as terrorism, insurgency, and communal violence. By addressing security concerns through effective legislation, the House significantly contributes to national stability and public safety. According to the United Nations, legislative engagement is key to developing comprehensive security policies that protect citizens and promote peace.



Overall, the sectoral briefs and debates conducted by the 10th House of Representatives serve as essential oversight mechanisms that ensure the effective implementation of the legislative agenda. By holding MDAs accountable and promoting transparency in governance, these initiatives address challenges related to accountability and good governance in Nigeria. They empower citizens by fostering legislative responsiveness to their needs, promoting inclusive development across sectors, and reinforcing the House's role as a pillar of democratic governance in the country.

Finally, the proactive approach of the 10th House of Representatives in engaging with various sectors demonstrates a strong commitment to addressing the diverse needs of Nigerians. By continuously enhancing their legislative strategies through sectoral briefs and debates, the House not only improves governance but also strengthens the democratic process, ensuring that the voices of all Nigerians are heard and acted upon effectively.



RELATIONSHIP WITH OTHER **ARMS OF GOVERNMENT**

he 10th House of Representatives has consistently demonstrated a commitment to fostering a harmonious and professional relationship with the executive and judicial branches of the Nigerian government. This commitment is rooted in the understanding that a relationship based on mutual respect and recognition of each branch's distinct constitutional mandates is crucial for the efficient functioning of governance, political stability, effective legislation, and the overall health of Nigeria's democratic system. By upholding this principle, all branches of government can work in synergy to advance the interests of Nigeria and its citizens.

The relationship between the legislative and executive arms is essential for ensuring that the government operates effectively and serves the needs of the people. When mutual respect and cooperation exist between these two arms of government, it paves the way for constructive dialogue, collaboration on policy initiatives, and the implementation of laws that address pressing national issues. Furthermore, a harmonious relationship between the 10th House of Representatives and the executive fosters an environment where checks and balances are upheld without compromising the overall governance process. This commitment to collaboration and mutual respect also contributes to political stability by minimizing conflicts among the three branches of government. When all branches work together professionally, it reduces the likelihood of gridlock or institutional friction that could impede progress on critical matters affecting Nigeria. Additionally, such a relationship promotes transparency, accountability, and good governance practices, which are vital for sustaining a healthy democratic system.

The harmonious relationship among the three branches of government during the last year of the Tinubu administration should be appreciated against the backdrop of the familiar friction that previously characterized the legislative and executive arms in the early stages of Nigeria's democratization process. Issues such as disagreements over the appropriation bill process, delays in budgetary allocations, conflicts arising from oversight functions, unwarranted delays and blockades of executive bills, and delays or refusals to confirm presidential appointments were common. These issues often led to significant institutional friction.

The radical departure from this dysfunctional relationship has enabled the National Assembly and the executive arm to work together effectively while providing the necessary support to promote an independent and dependable judiciary. Thus, without prejudice to the requirement of checks and balances, which is the hallmark of democracy, the 10th House of Representatives, the executive, and the judicial branches have continued to enjoy mutual institutional support for democratic good governance. This is not to suggest that disagreements have not occurred during the period under review, but rather, to underscore the point that such disagreements, when they arise, have served to strengthen the working relationship among the three branches of government. For example, few months into the new administration, the 10th House of Representatives rejected a request by the executive for approval to buy a presidential yacht. The lawmakers, instead moved the money proposed for the procurement to the student loan budget. This rejection should be understood in the context of the commitment of the 10th House to prioritize public expenditure.

The 10th House has played a pivotal role in mediating conflicts and ensuring the smooth resolution of crises before they escalate. A notable example of their intervention is with the Nigerian Labour Congress (NLC), where the timely dialogue and negotiations led to the successful call-off of a nationwide strike, thereby averting further potential economic disruptions. Additionally, the House's proactive engagement with the Nigerian Teachers Union resulted in a swift resolution of their grievances, ensuring minimal disruption to the educational sector. Similarly, their effective mediation with the Nigerian Medical Association facilitated the resolution of key issues, promoting stability within the healthcare sector. These examples underscore the Assembly's commitment to fostering dialogue and maintaining harmony across various sectors in Nigeria.

Finally, the 10th House of Representatives' efforts to maintain a professional and collaborative relationship with the executive and judicial branches underscore its commitment to the principles of democratic governance. By fostering an environment of mutual respect and cooperation, the House has contributed significantly to political stability, effective legislation, and good governance practices in Nigeria. This positive outlook sets a precedent for future legislative sessions and reinforces the importance of a unified approach to addressing the nation's challenges.



CHALLENGES AND PROSPECTS

he 10th House of Representatives has achieved significant milestones during the period under review. However, it is essential to acknowledge that these accomplishments do not fully encompass the ambitious legislative agenda set at the House's inauguration. The progress made so far is attributed to substantial sacrifices, unity of purpose, patriotic commitment to service, and purposeful leadership. Nevertheless, there remains room for improvement in the House's performance in the coming years.

The achievements of the House reflect the dedication and hard work of its members and leadership. Success has been achieved through perseverance, determination, and a clear vision for progress. The House has demonstrated resilience in the face of adversity and a steadfast commitment to serving the interests of the people it represents. Focused leadership has been crucial in navigating complex and demanding circumstances, ensuring the institution continues to fulfil its mandate effectively.

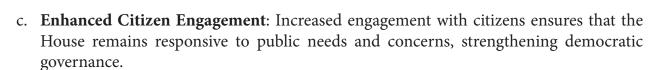
This Performance Report aims to document achievements and identify gaps. These gaps present challenges that should be viewed as opportunities to foster a performance-oriented 10th House of Representatives, dedicated to making laws for the peace and good governance of Nigeria. Based on these observations, the challenges and prospects identified during this assessment are outlined in this section.



- a. **High Legislative Turnover**: The House faces significant capacity gaps and inexperience due to a legislative turnover rate of 77%, the highest in the Fourth Republic to date.
- b. **House Chamber Repairs**: Ongoing and extensive repairs to the House Chamber necessitate ad-hoc arrangements for plenary sessions, disrupting regular legislative activities.
- c. **Economic Downturn and Funding**: The economic downturn has led to inadequate funding for House activities, impacting the efficiency and effectiveness of legislative functions.
- d. **Elevated Public Expectations**: Rising socio-economic and security challenges have led to increased expectations from citizens, putting additional pressure on legislative performance.
- e. **Increased Pressure on Lawmakers**: Legislators face heightened requests for financial assistance and other demands outside their legislative competence, diverting focus from core legislative duties.
- f. **Poor Perception and Limited Public Understanding**: The legislature suffers from a poor public perception, undermining its credibility and trustworthiness. There is also a widespread lack of understanding among citizens regarding the functions and powers of the legislature, leading to misinformed expectations and criticism.
- g. **Gender Representation**: With only 16 out of 360 seats occupied by female legislators, the House must address gender representation and promote inclusivity by implementing gender-focused policies and initiatives.

11.2. Prospects for the 10th Assembly

- a. Experienced and Capable Leadership: The 10th Assembly benefits from experienced, focused, and capable leadership, guiding the House through complex legislative landscapes.
- b. Unity of Purpose: A sustained unity of purpose among members fosters a collaborative and cohesive legislative environment, enhancing overall effectiveness.



- d. Commitment from Development Partners: The willingness and commitment of development partners to provide technical support to the House is a significant advantage, aiding in the execution of legislative initiatives.
- e. Continuous Capacity Development: An ongoing drive for capacity development ensures that members are well-equipped with the necessary skills and knowledge to perform their legislative duties effectively.
- f. Multi-Partisan Collaboration: A culture of collaboration between all political parties promotes the passage of critical legislation, ensuring that national interests are prioritized over partisan considerations.
- g. Harmonious Executive Relationship: A professional and constructive relationship with the executive arm of government supports the smooth implementation of legislative agendas and policies.

In conclusion, the 10th House of Representatives has laid a strong foundation for future legislative efforts. The progress made so far is commendable, but there is a need to address the identified challenges and leverage the outlined prospects to further improve performance. By doing so, the House will continue to uphold its mandate, contributing to the peace and good governance of Nigeria and reinforcing the principles of democratic governance.



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