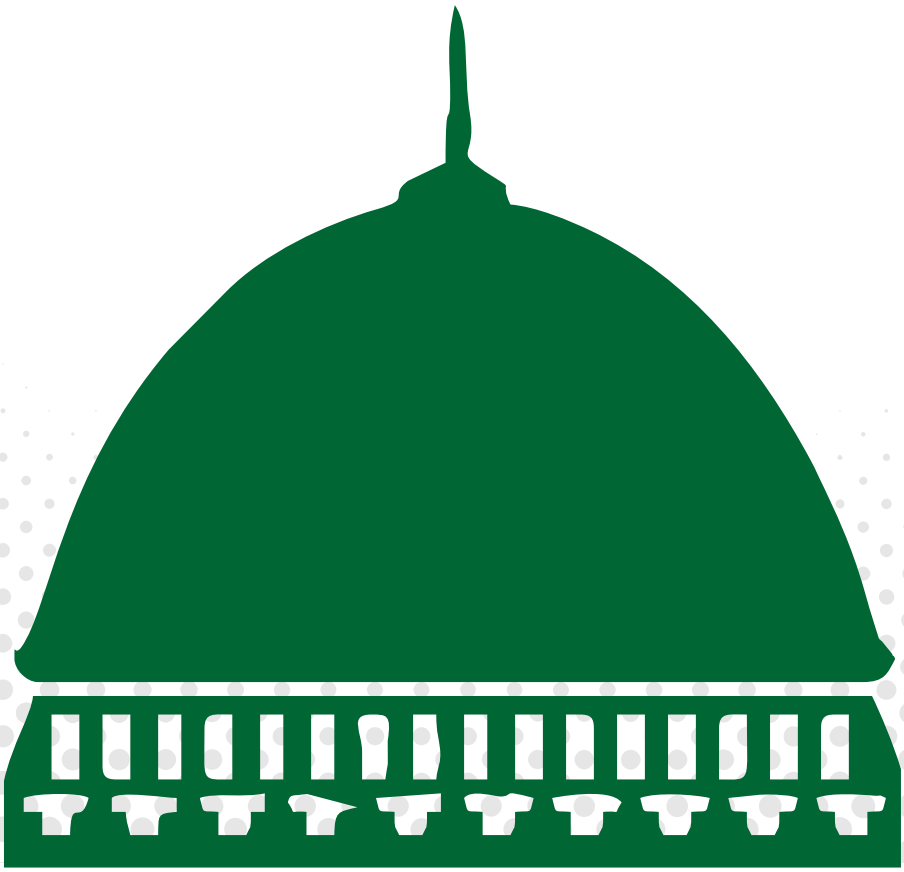
USAID
FROM THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

Palladium
MAKE IT POSSIBLE

THE ANNUAL REPORT



INDEPENDENT PERFORMANCE APPRAISALS OF THE 9TH NATIONAL ASSEMBLY OF THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF NIGERIA

(Bills Edition)

THIRD SESSION

OrderPaper

THE ANNUAL REPORT

INDEPENDENT PERFORMANCE APPRAISALS OF THE 9TH NATIONAL ASSEMBLY OF THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF NIGERIA

(Bills Edition)

THIRD SESSION

(Abridged Version)

Produced by OrderPaper Advocacy Initiative
September 2022

Scan to download full report

TABLE OF CONTENT

I. Acronyms

ii. Disclaimer

1. About OrderPaper Advocacy Initiative (OAI)
2. About the VOTER Project
3. Foreword
4. Acknowledgement
5. Executive Summary
6. Background, Limitations and Research Methodology
7. Brief on the 9th National Assembly
8. The Performance Appraisals:

- The law-making process
- Senate Bills
- House of Representatives Bills

9. Conclusion
10. Postscript

ACRONYMS

VOTER	Validating the Office of the Electorate on Representation
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
SCALE	Strengthening Civic Advocacy and Local Engagement
NASS	National Assembly
CSO	Civil Society Organization
VVIP	Volume, Value, Impact and Progression
SMEs	Subject Matter Experts
MP	Member of Parliament
NILDS	National Institute of Legislative and Democratic Studies
ICT	Information, Communication and Technology
OAI	OrderPaper Advocacy Initiative

DISCLAIMER

This Performance Appraisals of Nigeria's 9th National Assembly (Third Session) is made possible by the generous support of the American people through the United States Agency for International Development (USAID). The contents are the responsibility of OrderPaper Advocacy Initiative (OAI) and do not necessarily reflect the views of USAID or the U.S. Government.

ABOUT ORDERPAPER ADVOCACY INITIATIVE

OrderPaper Advocacy Initiative is a Civil Society Organization (CSO) that delivers interventions in the legislative space to expand the frontiers for good governance and deepen democratic practice(s). Our objective is to amplify the voices and participation of under-served and under-represented populations in leadership and decision-making to promote inclusive service delivery. Our work on Legislative Strengthening and Accountability is strongly supported by a niche media **(OrderPaper Nigeria)** which has expanded the space for citizens to understand and equipped to interface with the legislature and legislators.

ABOUT THE VOTER PROJECT

The VOTER (Validating the Office of The Electorate on Representation) Project is a series of citizen awareness and engagement activities anchored on specially curated voter education; stewardship accountability for public officials, collating and interrogating campaign promises; and mounting an organised citizen monitoring and observatory of the 2023 National Assembly elections. OrderPaper Advocacy Initiative is implementing the project with support from the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) under the Strengthening Civic Advocacy and Local Engagement (SCALE) Project by Palladium. The VOTER Project is designed under the premise that the conduct of elections for executive (president and governors) and legislative (National Assembly) simultaneously tends to create a bandwagon effect on the outcome of the polls. In other words, citizens tend to focus less attention on the legislative candidates but rather vote across party lines for both elective offices once a choice is made for the executive position. This has created a situation where candidates for the legislature are barely scrutinized and elected based on their merits and assessed capacities but by association with those seeking to be governors and/or president. Ultimately, this has robbed off on the quality of parliamentary representation and by extension, service delivery by elected representatives. The implementation of the Project is intended to address this bandwagon effect and avail electorates the opportunity to elect a vibrant and effective set of legislators in the 2023 general elections. The Project is anchored on the theory of change that If citizens base their electoral choices for legislative offices on quality representation based on established performance indicators; If citizens are adequately informed of the functions and roles of legislators; Then advocacy for needed governance reforms and effective delivery of democratic dividends will be substantially enhanced. The overall goal of the Project is to ultimately impact the electoral circle in terms of legislative positions on one hand; and on the hand, engender a sustained citizen demand for legislative accountability from elected representatives going forward.

FOREWORD

This report on the **Performance Appraisal of the 9th National Assembly by OrderPaper** aims to establish who is a good and effective legislator, using sponsoring and processing bills and motions by legislators as an evaluation matrix.

Conceptual work on legislator performance is quite sparse, but a few attempts are handy. Senator **Laura Thielen** in 2014 ('What Makes a Good Legislator?) defined good Legislators as 'ones who … understand the system, they work on issues without a lot of fanfare, and are adept at getting legislation passed, even, and maybe, especially when, it takes many years.'

A broader approach was provided by **Volden and Wiseman** 2014, (Legislative Effectiveness in the United States Congress: The Lawmakers, New York: Cambridge University Press), after a 40-year study of performance of Legislators in the US House of Representatives. They concluded that a good legislator could be seen as one who is 'highly effective … the ones who bring about major policy changes' in parliament by developing a legislative agenda rooted in personal background, previous experiences and policy expertise, focused on district (Constituency) needs; and utilising institutional power using committee and leadership positions to advance policy-making agenda.

Both definitions tend to lay emphasis on law making (policy development) and representation as yardstick for evaluating the goodness or otherwise of a legislator.

This report is therefore quite seminal for Nigerian National Assembly as it lends an avenue for discussing, in a quantitative and qualitative method, the performance of the legislature and legislators on Bills. The Report uses the **VVIP (Volume, Value, Impact and Progression) metrics** for discussing the Bills of the 9th National Assembly and the performance of legislators for each Legislative Session. Readers are able to appreciate performances of each legislator in not only raising bills, but also pushing through to the stage of passage, as well as the productivity of the Bills in impacting on implementation of Government development Agenda.

It is interesting that most Legislators, even the top 10 performers, are able to get only a small fraction (ranging from 10-40%) of the Bills they sponsored passed. For other legislators, 80-100% of the Bills they sponsored remained dormant at 1st Reading stage.

The Report's gender sensitivity is apparent by evaluating performance of female legislators. Interestingly, 2 female legislators are in the top 4 performers in the Senate while one is in the top 10 in the House of Representatives.

The Report further evaluated youthful legislators (35 years and below) whose performance is not impressive just as the former Governors in Senate except for one. Both of these categories will, on one hand, stimulate further debate on the place of the youths in nation-building especially with regards to the Not-Too-Young-To-Run law enacted by this administration. On the other hand, the place and contributions of former governors who make the Senate their port of call will be further interrogated.

The prickly issue of waste in the Bill process is common in most legislatures across the globe. South African Parliament is an exception though. The Parliament is known for its ability to sponsor Bills that are in tandem with government's strategic plan. The Parliament from January

2006 until December 2017 read for first reading 486 Bills, and 391 or 80% of those Bills were adopted, 13 lapsed, 5 were rejected, 32 were withdrawn and 45 Bills were still under consideration at the time undergoing the study.

The 115th Congress (2017 - 2018), read 12,727 Bills but only 1834 (14.4%) were passed within the 2 year period. In the United Kingdom, between 2016 and 2018, the British parliament read 493 Bills but passed only 68 or 13.8%. Similarly, the Nigerian 8th National Assembly introduced 2755 Bills (2015 -2018) but only 466 or 16.9% were passed. Only a fraction of the passed Bills were assented to and enacted into law. ***Refer to '20 Years of Law Making: The Nigerian National Assembly 2015-2019;' NILDS Publication.***

This Appraisal Report of the 9th Assembly is indirectly raising the question of why the high waste in the Bill Process of most Parliaments. It is understood that responsive legislators feel pressured to sponsor as many bills as they can. Some do raise Bills to make policy statements. Some Legislators don't have the capacity to push through, while for many, the Bills were ill-conceived.

Additionally, a high number of Bills failed to be concurred by either of the two chambers. However, it is appreciable that the performance of the 9th Assembly, from its records of Bills Processing, has done creditably well compared to most African Parliaments. This will be appreciated better knowing the huge clientelistic demand on legislators for constituency services such as cash and materials handouts, construction of schools, roads and worship centres, to mention a few.

This Appraisal Report of the 9th Assembly has provided readers with a link to each individual legislator. I find it exciting that I have direct knowledge of how my representative is performing, and I can hold him/her accountable. Thus, the Report has gone a long way in informing constituent voters of their legislators' commitment and competence, hoping they will vote wisely in the upcoming elections.

The institutionalisation of this report, if widely circulated, would in no small measure motivate legislators to be responsive and accountable to their constituents and the Nigerian populace. It is suggested that copies would be distributed in each State of the Federation. This Appraisal Report of the 9th Assembly is a highly commendable work recommended to all voters. I hope that in future editions, more funding will be available to cover the oversight performance of the Legislature.

Professor Ladi Hamalai (MFR)
Pioneer Director-General,
National Institute for Legislative and Democratic Studies (NILDS)

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

OrderPaper is grateful to the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) and the Palladium Group for the funding and technical support provided to produce this Annual Report. We also like to place on record our appreciation to Members of the National Assembly as well as the Management and Staff of the institution who have continually provided the needed cooperation to undertake the research and documentation. Furthermore, we appreciate the guidance provided by Prof. Ladi Hamalai MFR, former Director-General of the National Institute for Legislative and Democratic Studies (NILDS). Furthermore, we appreciate the Subject Matter Experts (SMEs) engaged for this work as well Civil Society Partners who availed us support and encouragement to soldier on in spite of certain hurdles. A special thanks to the leadership, management and staff of **OrderPaper** for the tremendous show of teamwork and dedication to accomplish this work. All of the work we do will not get the needed reach and impact without the support of the media- accordingly, our immense gratitude to colleagues in the media for always being available to grant us space to ventilate and amplify.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The National Assembly constitutes the legislative arm of government in Nigeria. Unfortunately, it is one of the three arms (the other two being Executive and Judiciary), that has received less scrutiny from citizens. Or, better put, it has received less-informed and organized scrutiny. While this document does not exhaustively address all the reasons behind this state of affairs, it identifies that citizens have not been availed of valid, scientific and empirical basis to interrogate the performance of their representatives in parliament.

This work goes beyond identifying this fact to proffer solutions by setting objective metrics for sufficiently measuring the performance of members of the National Assembly. It then goes on to apply data exclusively (and painstakingly) obtained from the records of the National Assembly, in addition to deploying the niche experience and exposure of **OrderPaper** in its work with the Parliament over the years and then infusing those with submissions from Subject Matter Experts (SMEs) engaged for the VOTER Project to produce concise but comprehensive appraisals of all 469 members of the National Assembly (109 in the Senate and 360 in the House of Representatives) as well as the legislative institution. This document is, therefore, an abridged version of a comprehensive three years **Report Card of the 9th National Assembly of Nigeria** from June 2019, when it was inaugurated, till May 2022. It speaks to the criteria and metrics used for the performance appraisals and provides a summary of the detailed report card, which will be disseminated in categories.

It is expected that this document will close the yawning gap in performance appraisals of the National Assembly and provide a valid and objective basis for citizens to determine the suitability or otherwise of incumbent legislators seeking re-election into the federal legislature in the 2023 general elections.

Oke Epia
Executive Director
OrderPaper Advocacy Initiative

BACKGROUND, LIMITATIONS AND RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Background

Performing and productive legislatures are fundamental to promoting effective service delivery to citizens by the government and are a critical component in a country's overall governance framework. Although differences exist across government systems, legislatures, through their constitutional mandates, fulfill three core functions in a democracy: **Representation, Law-making, and Oversight.**

Nigeria operates a bicameral legislative system at the federal level with a National Assembly sub-divided into two chambers, **the Senate and the House of Representatives,** respectively. The Senate consists of 109 Senators, while the House of Representatives has 360 Members elected from constituencies across Nigeria for a fixed four-year term of office. However, sub-national governments (36 states) each have a State House of Assembly. Unfortunately, more often than not, there are performance gaps as the impact of these elected representatives in Parliament is hardly positively felt by constituents and the country.

Limitations: Caveat and Constraints

An objective measure of the performance of the National Assembly and its Members thereof must necessarily be along the lines of **Representation, Law-making,** and **Oversight.** While it may be tricky to have a universally accepted measure of performance with respect to oversight, performance in terms of law-making and representation are increasingly less controversial.

This is because quantitative and qualitative metrics can be applied with fewer difficulties in these areas. In addition, access to data (attendance records at plenary and committee sessions, for instance) and non-completion of investigations and/or stalemated investigations are easily identifiable impediments to making valid and objective measurements of the performance of legislative oversight.

Concerning lawmaking specifically, the argument has been made, and validly so, the number of Bills sponsored by a legislator or during the tenure of a legislative assembly should not be a complete measure of performance. However, the lawmaking function presents the most convenient and least controversial in measuring a legislator's performance and, indeed, the law-making institution.

However, going beyond mere sponsorship of bills as a metric of performance to how far those bills have progressed in the legislative mill presents a possible challenge posed by political considerations, given that some kind of partisanship unavoidably impacts the legislature.

Research Methodology: VVIP as Objective Metrics of Performance Measurement in Law-making

OrderPaper has developed the VVIP metric for appraising the performance of legislators and the legislature. VVIP is an acronym for **Volume, Value, Impact and Progression.**

As indicated earlier, using the volume of bills sponsored by a lawmaker to measure performance has been criticised as insufficient to tell the full story. This means that besides the number of bills sponsored, a rigorous and holistic scrutiny of performance must interrogate the value of the bill(s) sponsored.

Value in terms of what concrete or substantial contribution the bill makes to the overall governance framework or focus of the government in power (at the federal level). Does the bill(s) advance the fulfilment of the core promises of the government in office? Or is it simply tangential or a complete departure from the promises upon which he/she was elected?

Although this metric tends to be convenient or more validly applied in situations where the political party in power also has a majority in the legislature, it is nonetheless important because the National Assembly and the Executive at the centre are perceived together as the elected (federal) Government in power.

The metric of impact speaks to the empirical value bill(s) bring (or promise to bring) to citizens' lives and living conditions. Questions about what value addition do (proposed) legislations bring to the quest to reduce poverty, improve healthcare services, expand social safety nets, engender gender and social inclusion and protection, provide better education and enhance the ease of doing business, especially for Small and Medium Enterprises (SMEs) for instance, become very important? These are the questions and related others that the metric of impact as a measure of legislative performance speaks to.

The last but certainly not least is the progression of bills. How have proposed legislations moved progressively in the legislative mill? From the introduction of a bill at First Reading, the efforts its sponsor(s) put in to move the needle to Second Reading and then through Public Hearing, Report to Plenary, Third Reading and Passage are very significant steps in making a verdict on the productivity or otherwise of a legislator. In extreme cases, the use of progression as an index does not stop at the point of passage but includes achievement of concurrence from the other legislative house and even pushing for assent by the President (in which case, the bill becomes law).

Although some may argue that the push for a bill through these stages may not be within the remit or control of its sponsor(s) it is nonetheless important that the legislator who seeks a legislation takes upon the responsibility to push it through the process and not just be content to have his/her name(s) to the proposal.

In fact, some analysts have argued that the progression of a bill(s) is the most important metric of determining the productivity of a legislator, and, invariably, an utmost test of performance within the context of the legislative assembly.

BRIEF ON THE 9TH NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

The life of the 9th National Assembly began in earnest at the inauguration of both chambers of the Senate and House of Representatives respectively on 11th June 2019. The assembly will accordingly run its four-year course until 11th June 2023.

Going by the official list of members-elect for the 9th House published by the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC), a total of nine political parties were represented in the House at inauguration. However, as at the time of the publication, the Commission informed that a total number of 20 seats were yet to be determined due to inconclusive elections. Out of the 360 seats in the House, the All Progressives Congress (APC) won the majority seats with a total of 211 members. While the major opposition Peoples Democratic Party (PDP) followed behind with a total of 111 members, as of the day of inauguration. Other parties represented were: All Progressives Grand Alliance (APGA) – 6; Action Democratic Congress (ADC) – 3; Action Alliance (AA) – 2; and People's Redemption Party (PRP) – 2 members. The African Democratic Party (ADP), Allied People's Movement (APM) and Social Democratic Party (SDP) won a seat, each. Out of the over 300 seats declared on inauguration day, only 10 were women. The House elected Mr. Femi Gbajabiamila of the APC from Lagos State and Mr. Ahmed Idris Wase, also of the APC from Plateau State, as Speaker and Deputy Speaker respectively. However, Nigerians would not forget in a hurry the heated negative campaigns that greeted the speakership contest with all manners of jabs thrown at opponents in order to score political goals and gain advantage. Mr. Gbajabiamila emerged speaker as against his closest rival, Mr. Umar Bago of the APC from Niger State, and six others, including a female, Nkeiruka Onyejeocha from Abia State. The body of principal officers of the House was constituted days after and had the following members announced by the Speaker: Mr. Alhassan Ado Dogowa (APC: Kano) – Majority Leader; Mr. Peter Akpatason (APC, Edo)- Deputy Majority Leader; Mr. Mohammed Tahir Monguno (APC, Borno) - Chief Whip; and Mrs. Nkeiruka Onyejeocha (APC, Abia) - Deputy Chief Whip. Doguwa was the Chief Whip in the 8th House of Representatives while Onyejeocha, the only female member in the leadership, had aspired to be the Speaker of the 9th Assembly before stepping down to back the current Speaker, Femi Gbajabiamila. On the minority aisle, Mr. Ndudi Godwin Elumelu (PDP, Delta) became Minority Leader; Mr. Toby Okechukwu (PDP, Enugu) – Deputy Minority Leader; Mr. Gideon Gwani Lucas (PDP, Kaduna) - Minority Whip; and Mr. Adesegun Adekoya Abdul-Majid (PDP, Ogun) became Deputy Minority Whip.

At inauguration, the APC had 65 seats in the Senate while the PDP had 41 and the Young Progressives Party (YPP) had one from Anambra. Two seats were unfilled as at inauguration due to election-related disputes. At the red chamber, Senator Ahmad Lawan, representing Yobe North senatorial district, was elected as President of the Senate. Lawan defeated Senator Ali-Ndume, a fellow north-east senator, with 79 votes out of the total of 107 ballots cast. In the same vein, Senator Ovie Omo-Agege (APC, Delta) emerged Deputy President of the Senate after polling 68 to defeat Sen. Ike Ekweremadu, the immediate past occupant of the office who polled 37 votes. Sen. Yahaya Abubakar from Kebbi emerged Leader of the Senate while Ajayi Boroffice from Ondo became Deputy Leader. The position of Chief Whip was allocated to Senator Orji Uzor Kalu and Deputy Chief Whip went to Senator Sabi Abdullahi from Niger State to complete the majority principal officers' position.

The Senate and House of Representatives unveiled individual Legislative Agendas upon which the 9th Assembly would anchor its interventions.

THE PERFORMANCE APPRAISALS

Using the criteria of Lawmaking, Representation and Oversight and applying the VVIP metrics, especially for the first criterion, **OrderPaper** had distilled and carefully curated official data obtained from the records of the federal legislature to publish the NATIONAL ASSEMBLY (NASS) REPORT CARDS for the 1st and 2nd years of the 9th assembly.

The third year Performance Appraisals has benefitted from the support provided by the VOTER Project funded by USAID under the SCALE Project. In this regard, **OrderPaper** has been able to engage and receive submissions from Subject Matter Experts (SMEs) in enriching the objective criteria outlined above. Prior to the intervention of the VOTER Project, therefore, **OrderPaper** produced and documented a specially curated series of unprecedented **NASS Report Cards** between May 2019 and June 2021. These Appraisal-measured BILLS introduced in the Senate and House of Representatives within the period under review and performed detailed analysis and ranking in terms of

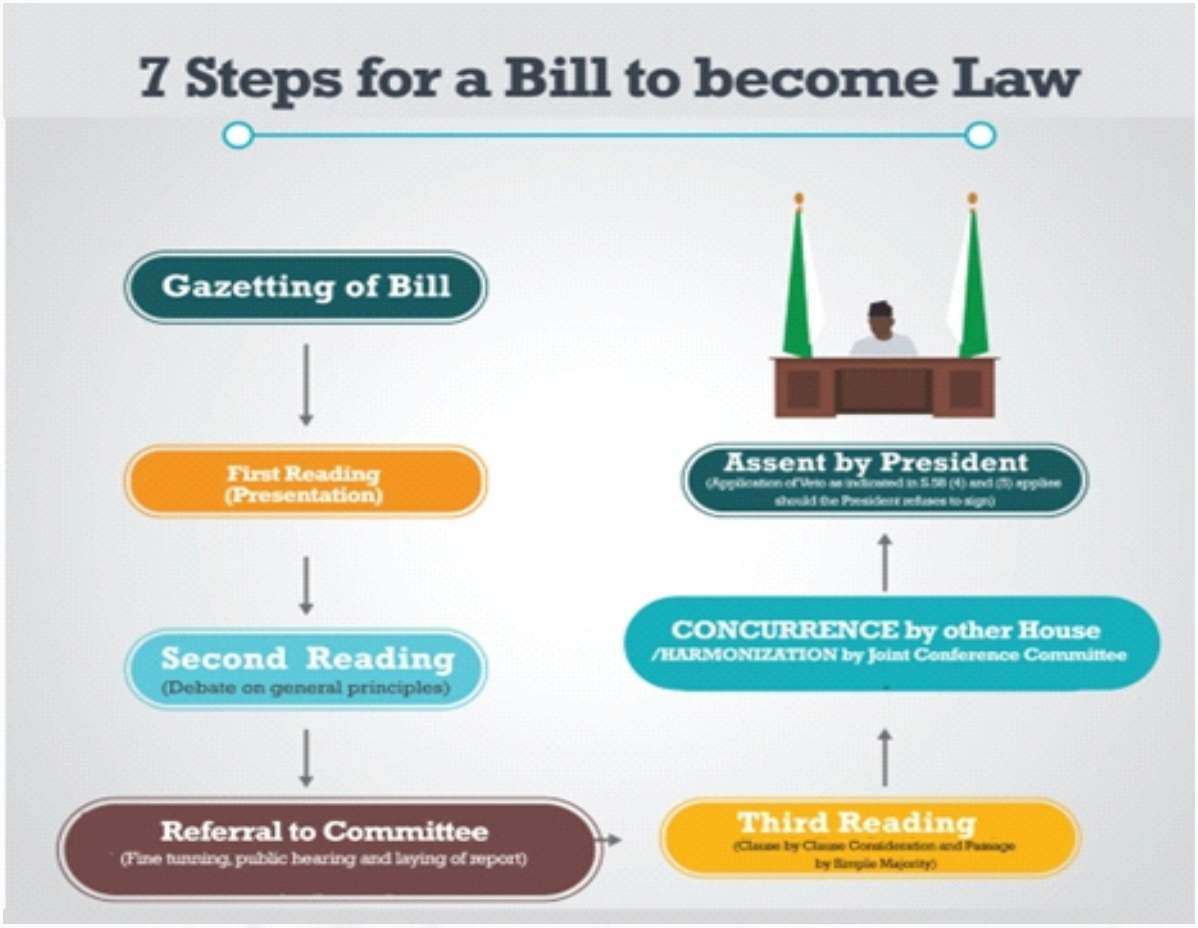
(a) QUANTITY (volume sponsored)

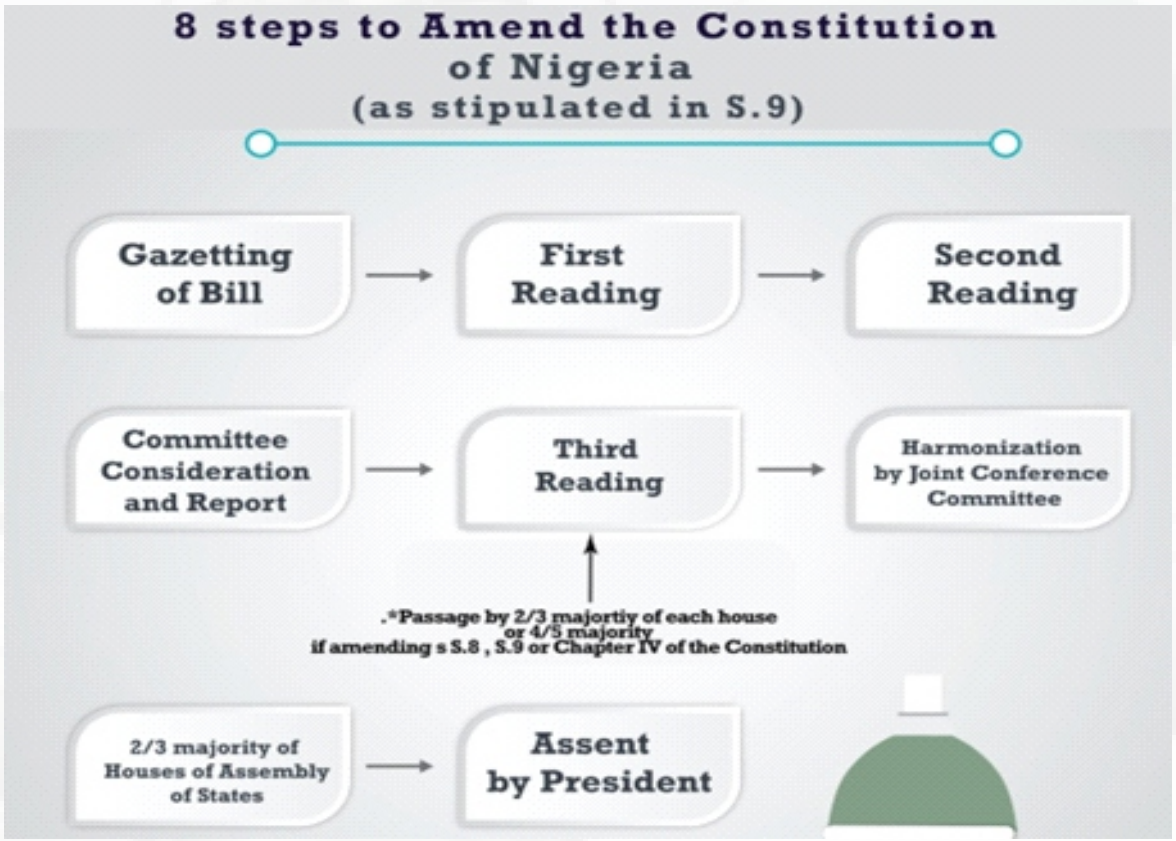
(b) QUALITY (disaggregated by relevance to governance sectors); and

(c) PROGRESSION (Movement from first reading stage to passage in either the Senate or House of Representatives).

The law-making process

The process for a Bill to become law involves seven (7) steps essentially. The first step is Gazzetting of the Bill. This is then followed by a mention on the floor of the legislative House for first reading. The third step is second reading where the general principles of the Bill are debated to ascertain its suitability or otherwise as a proposed law. If approved after debate, the Bill is then referred to the relevant standing Committee of the legislative house for consideration, including organization of a public hearing where interest groups and the generality of stakeholders will submit memoranda detailing areas of concern for amendment and improvement in the Bill. After this exercise, the Committee then reports back to the house for possible passage of the Bill for third reading. If passed at this stage, the Bill is then referred to the other chamber for concurrence; and then subsequent transmission to the President for assent for it to become law. If there are areas of differences between the versions of the Bill passed in the respective legislative houses, a joint Committee is then constituted to harmonize and present the Bill to the plenary of both chambers for passage before transmission to the President for assent. However, this 7-step process increases by one when it comes to amendment of the Constitution which are done through Bills. (See illustrations below)


7 Steps for a Bill to become Law
Gazetting of Bill
First Reading
(Presentation)
Second Reading
(Debate on general principles)
Referral to Committee
(Fine tunning, public hearing and laying of report)
Third Reading
(Clause by Clause Consideration and Passage
by Simple Majority)
CONCURRENCE by other House
/HARMONIZATION by Joint Conference Committee
Assent by President


8 steps to Amend the Constitution
of Nigeria
(as stipulated in S.9)
Gazetting
of Bill
First
Reading
Second
Reading
Committee
Consideration
and Report
Third
Reading
Harmonization
by Joint Conference
Committee
.*Passage by 2/3 majortiy of each house
or 4/5 majority
if amending s S.8 , S.9 or Chapter IV of the Constitution
2/3 majority of
Houses of Assembly
of States
Assent
by President

The Third Year Performance Appraisals

With respect to lawmaking specifically, the enriched criteria produced under the VOTER Project have identified the following key categories in arriving at a holistic performance appraisal of members of the 9th National Assembly:

1. Top performer on Bills Productivity* (Progression) Index for Senate and House of Representatives
2. Top performer on Bills sponsorship by volume for Senate and House of Representatives
3. Top performer on Bills sponsorship by female lawmakers for Senate and House of Representatives
4. Top performer on Bills sponsorship for young legislators (House of Representatives)**
5. Governance Sectorial Analysis of Bills (Value and Impact) sponsored for Senate and House of Representatives***
6. Stagnated Bills (Dumping Index)****
7. Bills tally of former governors in Senate

*Bills Productivity Index

While the sponsorship and quality of bills is a critical aspect of measuring the productivity of lawmakers, merely reading their bills before the Senate or House for the first time is not enough. The productivity of lawmakers as to how well and far their bills progress towards becoming laws is equally an essential aspect of the legislative process. Thus, this analysis shows the top senators and House of Representatives members who lobbied sufficiently to ensure that their bills move across the various stages towards passage and/or becoming laws.

**Top Performers on Bills for Young Legislators

These are the top performers in the 9th Assembly that are youthful in age and fall within the boundaries of the 'Not-Too-Young-To-Run' law enacted in 2018. The law pegs the minimum age limit to run for Senate at 30 years and 25 for House of Representatives. Senators and members of the House considered in this category are those within the age bracket of 30-45 years as at the time they assumed office in May 2019.

***Governance (Sectorial) Analysis

Asides the volume and progression of Bills sponsored, another important consideration in institutional performance measurement relates to these proposals positively impact the average Nigerian when passed into law. Thus, the following vital questions have been asked: How do these bills contribute to the security, anti-corruption and economic agenda of the Executive led by President Muhammadu Buhari? Are these bills relevant to the socio-economic and political needs of Nigeria? And importantly, did they convey the needs of the constituents these lawmakers represent? This category therefore tends to show if there is synergy between the Executive and the Legislature; and also, to see if these bills genuinely reflect the needs of constituents who elected them into office. Bills in the following governance categories are captured in this Report:

- Political and Electoral Reforms
- Public Sector Governance & Public Finance Management
- Private Sector Governance, Commerce & Industry, and Investments
- Gender, Inclusion, and Social Welfare & Protection
- Agriculture & Food Security
- Sports & Youths Development
- Petroleum, Maritime and Solid Minerals
- Media, Civil Societies and Civil Liberties
- Security, Law and Order
- Anti-Corruption and Financial Crimes
- Justice, Judiciary & Arbitration
- Energy, ICT, Works & Housing
- Science & Technology, Aviation, and Innovation
- Land, Water & Rural Development
- National Orientation, Arts, Culture and Religion
- Foreign Affairs & Multilateralism
- Ecology, Environment & Climate Change
- Social Services (Health & Sanitation)
- Education
- Constitutional Amendment
- Executive Bills (Omnibus)

****Bills Dumping Index

The essence of sponsoring bills, whether in large or small numbers, is to ensure that such bills become laws. Thus, while the bills productivity analysis behooves the lawmaker to channel in all efforts to move their bills through the various stages of passing a bill into law, the **bills dumping index,** on the other hand, captures National Assembly members who sponsored at least ten bills of which 80% are stagnated at the first reading stage. (A bill is said to stagnate when the bill's sponsor fails to move the bill beyond first reading stage.)

The following illustrations aptly capture the categories of Performance Appraisals of the 9th National Assembly (Senate and House of Representatives) outlined above. The full Report containing more detailed appraisals is available on the OrderPaper website (see QR code on page 2).

OrderPaper

ConsTrack

SENATE PRESIDING AND PRINCIPAL OFFICERS SECTORAL BILLS ANALYSIS OF THE 9TH SENATE
(June 2019 to May 2022)

Total number of bills sponsored in the senate – 1009 | Total number of establishment bills –376

Political and Electoral Reforms	24	2.4%
Public Sector Governance and Public Finance Management	107	10.6%
Private Sector Governance & Commerce Industry and Investment	57	5.6%
Gender, Inclusion, and Social Welfare & Protection	42	4.2%
Agriculture & Food Security	45	4.5%
Sports and Youth Development	8	0.8%
Petroleum, Maritime and Solid Minerals	27	2.7%
Media, Civil Societies and Civil Liberties	8	0.8%
Security, Law and Order	55	5.5%
Anti-corruption and Financial Crimes	15	1.5%
Justice, Judiciary & Arbitration	38	3.7%
Energy, ICT, Works & Housing	41	4.1%
Science & Technology, Aviation, and Innovation	27	2.7%
Land, Water & Rural Development	10	1.0%
National Orientation, Arts, Culture and Religion	19	1.8%
Foreign Affairs & Multilateralism	4	0.3%
Ecology, Environment & Climate Change	18	1.7%
Social Services (Health and Sanitation)	87	8.6%
Education	229	22.7%
Constitution Amendment	107	10.6%
Executive Bills (Omnibus)	41	4.1%
Establishment Bills (Omnibus)	376	36.9%
Amendment to Extant Laws (Omnibus)	243	24.1%
Total	1009	

Fact File:
Review Period: Year 1 to 3 of the 9th Assembly
Data Source: National Assembly records

OrderPaper

TOP 10 SENATORS BY BILLS PROGRESSION (PRODUCTIVITY INDEX)

(June 2019 to May 2022)

ConsTrack

SEN. UBA SANI
(KADUNA CENTRAL)

presidential assent=2
Passed and transmitted to House for concurrence= 3
Committee = 2
First Reading =17
Unknown = 7

SEN. IBRAHIM YAHAYA O.
(KWARA CENTRAL)

presidential assent =1
passed and transmitted to House for concurrence = 6
Committee = 5
First Reading =2
Unknown = 2

SEN. AISHATU DAHIRU AHMED
(ADAMAWA-CENTRAL)

Presidential assent = 1
Passed and transmitted to House for concurrence= 5
Committee = 1
First Reading =3
Unknown = 1

SEN. MOHAMMED SANI MUSA
(NIGER EAST)

Passed and transmitted to House for concurrence = 4
Committee = 11
First Reading =17
Unknown = 6

SEN. OVIE A. OMO-AGEGE
(DELTA-CENTRAL)

Passed and transmitted to House for concurrence = 4
Committee = 10
First Reading =10
Unknown = 1

SEN. YAHAYA ABUBAKAR A.
(KEBBI NORTH,)

Passed and transmitted to House for concurrence = 4
Committee = 3

SEN. IBIKUNLE O. AMOSUN
(OGUN CENTRAL)

Passed and transmitted to House for concurrence = 3
Committee = 5
First Reading =14
Unknown = 2

SEN. SOLOMON OLAMILEKAN A.
(LAGOS WEST)

Passed and transmitted to House for concurrence = 3
Committee = 2
First Reading =1
Unknown = 8

SEN. SULEIMAN ABDU KWARI
(KADUNA NORTH)

Passed and transmitted to House for concurrence= 3
Committee = 2
First Reading =4
Unknown = 5

SEN. BUHARI ABDULFATAI
(OYO NORTH)

Passed and transmitted to House for concurrence = 3
Committee = 2
First Reading =8
Unknown = 4

Fact File:
Captured are lawmakers with the most number of bills passed
Review Period: Year 1 to 3 of the 9th Assembly
Data Source: National Assembly records

OrderPaper

SENATORS WITH THE MOST STAGNATED BILLS (BILLS DUMPING INDEX)

(June 2019 to May 2022)

ConsTrack

SEN. ADAEZE STELLA ODUAH
(ANAMBRA-NORTH)

First Reading = 29
Committee = 5
Unknown = 5

74.3%

SEN. EKWUNIFE LILIAN UCHE
(ANAMBRA-CENTRAL)

First Reading = 13
Passed and assented= 1
Committee = 5
Unknown = 10

79.3%

SEN. IFEANYI PATRICK UBAH
(ANAMBRA-SOUTH)

First Reading = 14
Passed = 0
Committee = 3
Unknown = 3

70%

SEN. SADIQ SULEIMAN UMAR
(KWARA NORTH)

First Reading = 11
Passed = 0
Committee = 11

44%

SEN.ORJI KALU
(ABIA-NORTH)

First Reading = 11
Passed = 0
Committee = 3
Unknown = 11

88%

SEN. IBRAHIM BARAU JIBRIN
(KANO NORTH)

First Reading = 11
Committee = 7
Unknown = 3

66.6%

SEN. GYANG ISTIFANUS DUNG
(PLATEAU NORTH)

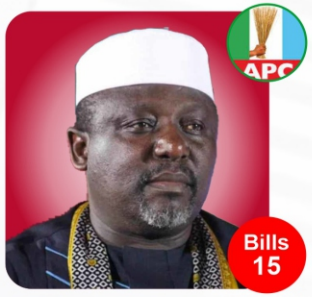
First Reading = 11
Passed = 0
Committee = 4
Unknown = 3

77.7%

SEN. GERSHOM HENRY BASSEY
(CROSS RIVER-SOUTH)

First Reading = 10
Passed = 0
Committee = 2
Unknown = 8

81%



SEN. ROCHAS OKOROCHA
(IMO WEST)

First Reading = 9
Passed = 0
Committee = 2
Unknown = 4

86.6%

SEN MUKHAIL A. ABIRU
(LAGOS EAST)

First Reading = 6
Passed = 0
Committee = 3
Unknown = 6

80%

Fact File:
Captured are Lawmakers with a high number of bills still at 1st reading stage
Review Period: Year 1 to 3 of the 9th Assembly
Data Source: National Assembly records

OrderPaper

TOP 10 SENATORS BY BILLS SPONSORSHIP (VOLUME)

(June 2019 to May 2022)

ConsTrack

SEN.ADAEZE STELLA ODUAH
(ANAMBRA-NORTH)

SEN. MOHAMMED SANI MUSA
(NIGER EAST)

SEN. UBA SANI
(KADUNA CENTRAL)

SEN. EKWUNIFE LILIAN UCHE
(ANAMBRA-CENTRAL)

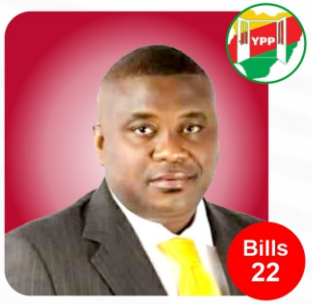
SEN.ORJI KALU
(ABIA-NORTH) ABIA STATE

SEN. OVIE A. OMO-AGEGE
(DELTA-CENTRAL)

SEN. SADIQ S. UMAR
(KWARA NORTH)

SEN. IBIKUNLE O. AMOSUN
(OGUN CENTRAL) OGUN STATE

SEN. MICHAEL O. BAMIDELE
(EKITI CENTRAL)



SEN. BASSEY ALBERT AKPAN
(AKWA IBOM NORTH-EAST)

Fact File:
Bills are at various stages of consideration
Review Period: Year 1 to 3 of the 9th Assembly
Data Source: National Assembly records

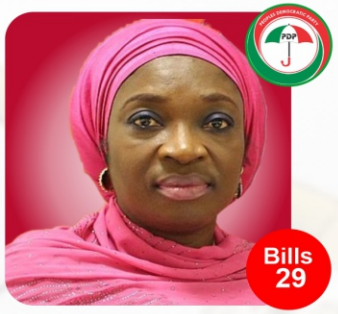
OrderPaper

ConsTrack

HOW FEMALE SENATORS STAND IN THE BILLS CHART OF THE 9TH ASSEMBLY

(June 2019 to May 2022)

SEN.ADAEZE STELLA ODUAH
ANAMBRA-NORTH)



SEN. EKWUNIFE LILIAN UCHE
(ANAMBRA-CENTRAL)

SEN.AISHATU DAHIRU AHMED
(ADAMAWA-CENTRAL)

SEN.APIAFI JOCELYN BETTY
(RIVERS WEST)

SEN. BIODUN CHRISTINE OLUJIMI
(EKITI SOUTH)

SEN. OLUREMI SHADE TINUBU
(LAGOS CENTRAL)

SEN. AKON ETIM EYAKENYI
(AKWA IBOM SOUTH)

SEN. NORA LADI DADUUT
(PLATEAU SOUTH)

Fact File:
Bills are at various stages of consideration
Review Period: Year 1 to 3 of the 9th Assembly
Data Source: National Assembly records

OrderPaper

HOW EX GOVERNORS STAND IN THE BILLS CHART OF THE 9TH ASSEMBLY

(June 2019 to May 2022)

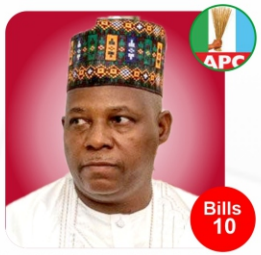
ConsTrack

SEN.ORJI KALU
(ABIA-NORTH) ABIA STATE

SEN. IBIKUNLE OYELAJA AMOSUN
(OGUN CENTRAL) OGUN STATE

SEN. ROCHAS OKOROCHA
(IMO WEST) IMO STATE

SEN.THEODORE AHAMEFULE O.
(ABIA-CENTRAL) ABIA STATE



SEN. KASHIM SHETTIMA
(BORNO-CENTRAL) BORNO STATE

SEN. SAMUEL OMINYI EGWU
(EBONYI NORTH) EBONYI STATE

SEN. SUSWAM TORWUA G.
(BENUE NORTH-EAST) BENUE STATE

SEN. ALIYU WAMAKKO
(SOKOTO NORTH) SOKOTO STATE

SEN. UMARU TANKO A.
(NASARAWA SOUTH)
NASARAWA STATE

SEN. DANJUMA GOJE M.
(GOMBE CENTRAL) GOMBE STATE

SEN. IBRAHIM KABIRU GAYA
(KANO SOUTH) KANO STATE

SEN. MOHAMMED ADAMU .
(KEBBI CENTRAL) KEBBI STATE

SEN.GAIDAM IBRAHIM A.
(YOBE EAST) YOBE STATE

SEN. CHIMAROKE OGBONNIA N.
(ENUGU EAST) ENUGU STATE

SEN. HENRY S. DICKSON
(BAYELSA WEST) BAYELSA STATE

SEN. IBRAHIM SHEKARAU
(KANO CENTRAL) KANO STATE

Fact File:
Bills are at various stages of consideration
Review Period: Year 1 to 3 of the 9th Assembly
Data Source: National Assembly records

OrderPaper ConsTrack

SECTORAL BILLS ANALYSIS OF THE 9TH HOUSE OF REPS

(June 2019 to May 2022)

Electoral Reforms	23	(1.2%)
Sports and Youth Development	22	(1.1%)
Security	130	(6.6%)
Works & Housing	70	(3.6%)
Banking	132	(6.7%)
Judiciary	39	(2%)
Gender Inclusion	85	(4.3%)
Agriculture	64	(3.2%)
Petroleum	34	(1.7%)
Media	32	(1.6%)
Anti-Corruption	28	(1.4%)
Science & Tech	42	(2.1%)
Foreign Affairs	18	(1%)
Ecology	29	(1.5%)
Education	396	(20%)
Health	218	(11%)
Constitution Amendment	210	(10.6%)
National Orientation, Values and Ethics	29	(1.5%)
Public Sector	273	(13.8%)
Ports, Maritime	36	(1.8%)
FCT	22	(1.1%)
Others	45	(2.3%)
Executive sponsored	33	
Establishment Omnibus	721	

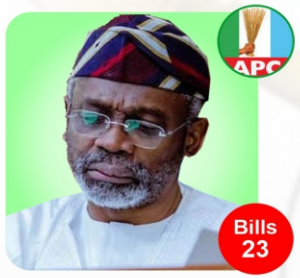
Fact File:
Total number of bills captured excluded co sponsors of a bill to avoid duplication
Review Period: Year 1 to 3 of the 9th Assembly
Data Source: National Assembly records

OrderPaper

TOP 10 HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES MEMBERS BY BILLS PROGRESSION (PRODUCTIVITY INDEX)

(June 2019 to May 2022)

ConsTrack



FEMI GBAJABIAMILA
(SURULERE I, LAGOS)

10-passed and transmitted to Senate for concurrence
1-passed by House
6-awaiting report from committee
5-1st reading
1-consolidated

MOHAMMED TAHIR MONGUNO
(MONGUNO / NGANZAI/ MARTE, BORNO)

14- passed and transmitted to Senate for concurrence
13 -awaiting report from committee
22- 1st reading
4- consolidated

FULATA ABUBAKAR HASSAN
(BIRNIWA / GURI / KIRI KASAMA, JIGAWA)

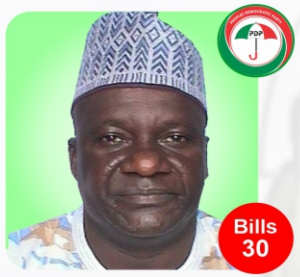
8- passed and transmitted to Senate for concurrence
4- awaiting report from committee
1- consolidated
1- recommitted
1- 1st reading

UZOMA NKEM ABONTA
(UKWA EAST / UKWA WEST, ABIA)

1- passed
6- passed and transmitted to Senate for concurrence
6 -awaiting report from committee
26- 1st reading
1-Status unknown

DAN AGUNDI MUNIR BABBA
(KUMBOTSO, KANO)

1- passed
5- passed and transmitted to Senate for concurrence
2- 1st reading



GWANI GIDEON LUCAS
(KAURA, KADUNA)

5-passed and transmitted to Senate for concurrence
7- awaiting report from committee
21-1st reading
1 -consolidated

ONOFIOK LUKE AKPAN
(ETINAN / NSIT IBOM / NSIT UBIUM, AKWA IBOM)

4-passed
8 -awaiting report from committee
20 –1st reading
1 -consolidated
1 -negatived

OSSAI NICHOLAS OSSAI
(NDOKWA EAST/ NDOKWA WEST / UKWUANI, DELTA)

4 -passed and transmitted to Senate for concurrence
10 -awaiting report from committee
1 - laid on table
30-1st reading
2 - consolidated

TAJUDEEN ABBAS
(ZARIA, KADUNA)

1- presidential assent
3 - passed and transmitted to Senate for concurrence
6 -awaiting report from committee
1-negatived
41 -1st Reading
22 - consolidated

BENSON BABAJIMI ADEGOKE
(IKORODU, LAGOS)

4 - passed and transmitted to Senate for concurrence
3- awaiting report from committee
1-consolidation
8- 1st reading

Fact File:
Captured are lawmakers with the most number of bills that have progressed the most in terms of passage
Review Period: Year 1 to 3 of the 9th Assembly
Data Source: National Assembly records

OrderPaper

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES MEMBERS WITH MOST STAGNATED BILLS

Bills Dumping Index

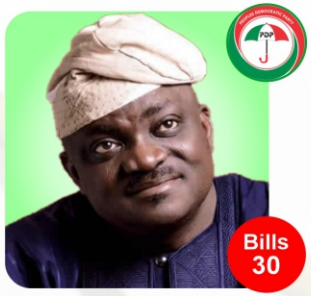
(June 2019 to May 2022)

ConsTrack

WAIVE EJIROGHENE FRANCIS
(UGHELLI NORTH / UGHELLI SOUTH/ UDU, DELTA)

33- 1st reading
4- awaiting report from committee
1-laid on the table

Percentage of bills at 1st reading stage 86.8%



OKE OLUWOLE BUSAYO
(OBOKUN / ORIADE, OSUN)

1-laid on the table
27 -1st reading
1-consolidated
1 -negatived
Percentage of bills at 1st reading stage 90%

OBINNA CHIDOKA
(IDEMILI NORTH / IDEMILI SOUTH, ANAMBRA)

22-1st reading
1- awaiting report
Percentage of bills at 1st reading stage
95.6%

FRANCIS CHARLES UDUYOK
(IKOT ABASI / MKPAT ENIN/EASTERN OBOLO, AKWA IBOM)

19 -1st reading
4 -awaiting report

Percentage of bills at 1st reading stage
82.6%

UNYIME JOSIAH IDEM
(UKANAFUN /ORUK ANAM, AKWA IBOM)

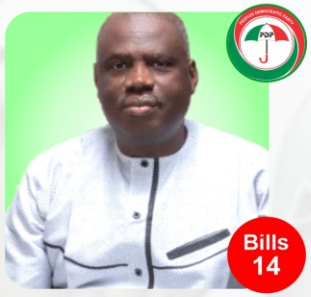
1- awaiting report
14- 1st reading
1- Consolidated

Percentage of bills at 1st reading stage
87.5%

PASCHAL OBI
(IDEATO NORTH / IDEATO SOUTH, IMO)

17- first reading
1- consolidated

Percentage of bills at 1st reading stage
94.4%



RIMAMNDE SHAWULU KWEWUM
(TAKUM/ DONGA / USSA, TARABA)

1- waiting report
13- first reading

Percentage of bills at 1st reading stage
92.8%

YAKUBU DOGARA
(BOGORO / DASS / TAFAWA BALEWA, BAUCHI)

9- first reading
1- consolidated

Percentage of bills at 1st reading stage
90%

JAMES ABIODUN FALEKE
(KEJA, LAGOS)

10-1st reading
1- consolidated

Percentage of bills at 1st reading stage
90.9%

NNAM OBI PRINCE UCHECHUKU
(AHOADA WEST / OGBA EGBEMA NDONI, RIVERS)

13- 1st reading
Percentage of bills at 1st reading stage
100%

Fact File:
Captured are Lawmakers with a high number of bills still at 1st reading stage
Review Period: Year 1 to 3 of the 9th Assembly
Data Source: National Assembly records

OrderPaper

TOP 10 HOUSE OF REPS MEMBERS BY BILLS SPONSORSHIP (VOLUME)

(June 2019 to May 2022)

ConsTrack

TAJUDEEN ABBAS
(ZARIA, KADUNA)

MOHAMMED TAHIR MONGUNO
(MONGUNO / NGANZAI/ MARTE, BORNO)

OSSAI NICHOLAS OSSAI
(NDOKWA EAST/ NDOKWA WEST / UKWUANI, DELTA)

BENJAMIN OKEZIE KALU
(BENDE, ABIA)

SERGIUS OSEASOCHIE OGUN
(ESAN NORTH EAST / ESAN SOUTH EAST, EDO)

UZOMA NKEM ABONTA
(UKWA EAST / UKWA WEST, ABIA)

WAIVE EJIROGHENE FRANCIS
(UGHELLI NORTH / UGHELLI SOUTH/ UDU, DELTA)

NKEIRUKA C. ONYEJEOCHA
(ISUIKWUATO / UMUNEOCHI, ABIA)

DACHUNG MUSA BAGOS
(JOS SOUTH / JOS EAST, PLATEAU)

OKE OLUWOLE BUSAYO
(OBOKUN / ORIADE, OSUN)

Fact File:
Bills are at various stages of consideration
Review Period: Year 1 to 3 of the 9th Assembly
Data Source: National Assembly records

OrderPaper

YOUNG PARLIAMENTARIANS (MEMBERS) OF THE HOUSE OF REPS BILLS SCORECARD

(June 2019 to May 2022)

ConsTrack

MANU SORO MASUR
(APC) (DARAZO / GANJUWA, BAUCHI)

DAGOGO DOCTOR FARAH
(PDP) (BONNY / DEGEMA, RIVERS)

TUKURA KABIR IBRAHIM
(APC) (FAKAI / SAKABA / WASAGU DANKO / ZURU, KEBBI)

BELLO JOSEPH ASUKU
(APC) (ADAVI / OKEHI, KOGI)

MUDA LAWAL UMAR
(APC) (TORO, BAUCHI)

KABIRU AMADU
(GUSAU / TSAFE, ZAMFARA)

USMAN ABDULLAHI
(LAVUN / MOKWA / EDATI, NIGER)

OJERINDE OLUMIDE A.
(IREPO / ORELOPE / OLORUNSOGO, OYO)

IBRAHIM MUHAMMAD HAFIZ K.
(TARAUNI, KANO)

TAJUDEEN ADEYEMI A.
(IDANRE/IFEDORE, ONDO)

GABRIEL SALEH ZOCK
(KACHIA / KAGARKO, KADUNA)

LADAN MUKHTAR SHEHU
(MAKARFI / KUDAN, KADUNA)

OLAIDE ADEWALE AKINREMI
(IBADAN NORTH, OYO)

SHA'ABAN IBRAHIM SHARADA
(KANO MUNICIPAL, KANO)

Fact File:
While the assented Not too Young to run bill signed into Law in 2018 by President Buhati brought down the age qualification for House of Reps from 30 to 25 year, displayed here are Reps who were age 35 and below when elected into the 9th Assembly
Bills are at various stages of consideration
Review Period: Year 1 to 3 of the 9th Assembly
Data Source: National Assembly records

OrderPaper

TOP 10 NEWBIES IN THE HOUSE OF REPS BY BILLS SPONSORSHIP

(June 2019 to May 2022)

ConsTrack

BENJAMIN OKEZIE KALU
(BENDE, ABIA)

ONOFIOK LUKE AKPAN
(ETINAN / NSIT IBOM / NSIT UBIUM, AKWA IBOM)

DACHUNG MUSA BAGOS
(JOS SOUTH / JOS EAST, PLATEAU)

SIMON DAVOU MWADKWON
(BARKIN LADI / RIYOM, KADUNA)

YUSUF ADAMU GAGDI
(KANKE / PANKSHIN /KANAM, PLATEAU)

ABDULLAHI SAIDU MUSA
(BIDA/GBAKO/KATCHA, NIGER)

BEN ROLAND IGBAKPA
(ETHIOPE EAST / ETHIOPE WEST, DELTA)

MANU SORO MASUR
(DARAZO / GANJUWA, BAUCHI)

ONWUASO CHINEDU
(AKWA NORTH/AKWA SOUTH, ANAMBRA)

TAIWO OLUKEMI OLUGA
(AYEDAADE / IREWOLE / ISOKAN, OSUN)

Fact File:
Bills are at various stage of consideration
Review Period: Year 1 to 3 of the 9th Assembly
Data Source: National Assembly records

CONCLUSION

This Performance Appraisals of the 9th National Assembly for the third session (Year three) has been produced with data on the Bills sponsored in the Senate and House of Representatives since the inauguration of the assembly on June 11th, 2019. It builds on the appraisals performed in the first and second years respectively and consolidates on the traction gained hitherto.

This work impacts the 469 members of the National Assembly – 109 Senators and 369 Representatives – as well as the institution of the federal legislature itself. It is pertinent to state that deliberate efforts were made to subject this work – including the data distillation and metrics applied for the appraisals – to independent validation by Subject Matter Experts (SMEs), academics and civil society partners familiar with the operations of the legislature. This has been largely made possible with the support of USAID under the VOTER Project being implemented by **OrderPaper.**

It is the intention of **OrderPaper** to disseminate this Performance Appraisals as widely as possible using all available resources and channels, including the cluster of our Active Citizens Engaging the Legislature (Leg'ACEs) spread across the nooks and crannies of the country. The idea is to percolate the appraisals as means of engaging with elected representatives in parliament, including and especially those, seeking to return to the legislature in the 10th National Assembly.

POSTSCRIPT

At **OrderPaper,** our mandate is to bridge the gap between citizens and Parliament. Majority of our content, projects and programmes are so carefully curated and crafted to ensure that this mandate is fulfilled. Accordingly, we have committed time, energies and resources to appraise the performance of Nigeria's federal legislature and legislators in the first, second (mid-term) and third years of the Ninth National Assembly. Importantly, while work is underway on a fourth-year appraisal, the production and publication of this 3rd year report therefore, is in the hope that it will:

- Increase public awareness about the functions and operations of parliament
- Influence constituents to take the stewardship of our federal legislators more seriously.
- Influence the need for scrutiny of all candidates seeking seats at the National Assembly in the 2023 general elections
- Influence constituents to make electoral choices based on the individual merit of legislative candidates as against bandwagon effects as the ripple effect of these choices will greatly affect the quality of representation in our legislature; and ultimately, service delivery by government.
- Advance final selections and eventual induction of successful nominees into the novel and unprecedented **OrderPaper Most Valuable Parliamentarians (MVPs) Hall of Fame** for the 9th National Assembly

THE ANNUAL REPORT

IN THE WORDS OF THE LEGISLATORS:

*"I commend **OrderPaper** for its accurate reporting and tracking of legislative activities, as well as well as bridging the gap between the parliament and the constituents, particularly through an in-depth analysis of the Bills and Motions of legislators."*
***Senator Ibikunle Amosun** | Chairman, Senate Committee on Capital Markets*

*"I'm impressed with what **OrderPaper** is doing. I read the assessment you did on Midterm report card and some of their publications and I do read them online and I think they are doing great."*
***Senator Ibrahim Olorigbe** | Chairman Senate Committee on Health*

"Your work has made members to be on their toes and compete amongst themselves to sponsor bills and also to improve on the quality of bills that are being sponsored. ...You are also complimenting the role of the legislature.You are upping the ante of the legislature, so thank you for the work you are doing."
***Rep.Tahir Mohammed Monguno** | ChiefWhip, 9th House of Representatives*

*"You tell the story the way it is and I have come to discover that **OrderPaper** is made up of men and women of content who have capacity. I am impressed with the help you are giving to the National Assembly. You understand the workings of the National Assembly better than most agencies and you try as much as possible to communicate that to Nigerians."*
***Rep. Benjamin Kalu** | Spokesperson, 9th House of Representatives*

*"You have been thorough in your assessment and nobody can question the facts of your assessment and how you have brought it out.And again if not for the criticism, the analysis, research of **OrderPaper** you would not have put some of us on our toes."*
***Rep Dachung Bagos** | Deputy Chairman, House Committee on Anti-Corruption*

*"I take **OrderPaper,** and indeed the National Assembly and particularly the House of Representatives take **OrderPaper** seriously. There have proven to be a partner in progress and development of the legislature. Providing various opportunities for discussions, fora for exchange of ideas to move the country forward."*
***Rep Henry Nwawuba** | Chairman, House Committee on Implementation of the Legislative Agenda*

This signature National Assembly Annual Report is produced exclusively by **OrderPaper Nigeria**

For more information contact us:
Office Address- Suite C12 Halima Plaza, Plot 1496, Balanga Street, Area 11 Garki, Abuja

Orderpaper.ng @Orderpaper OrderPaperToday +234 906 144 4457