# PUBLIC HEARING AND CITIZENS PARTICIPATION IN LAW MAKING IN NIGERIA: A STUDY OF THE SENATE COMMITTEE ON JUDICIARY, HUMAN RIGHT AND LEGAL MATTERS.

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# A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE NATIONAL INSTITUTE FOR LEGISLATIVE AND DEMOCRATIC STUDIES/UNIVERSITY OF BENIN (NILSD UNIBEN) POST GRADUATE PROGRAMS IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE AWARD OF MASTERS DEGREE IN LEGISLATIVE STUDIES (MLS)

JULY, 2021.

# CERTIFICATION

This dissertation titled "Public Hearing and citizens Participation in Law Making in Nigeria: A Study of the Senate Committee on Judiciary, Human Right and Legal Matters.

presented by Audu Adakole (PG/NILSD/1615017) has met the partial requirements for the award of the degree of Masters in Legislative Studies (MLS) of the National Institute for Legislative and Democratic Studies/University of Benin, Edo State.

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# DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this dissertation is a product of my own research efforts, undertaken under the supervision of Prof. Femi Ajayi and Dr Ngara Chris. It is an original work and no part of it has ever been presented for the award of any degree anywhere. All sources of information used have been duly acknowledged through the references.

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Audu Adakole

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#### **APPROVAL PAGE**

This is to certify that this dissertation "Public Hearing and citizens Participation in Law Making in Nigeria: A Study of the Senate Committee on Judiciary, Human Right and Legal Matters" has been read and approved as having met the partial requirements for the award of the degree of Masters in Legislative Studies of the University of Benin/National Institute for Legislative and Democratic Studies is approved for contribution to knowledge.

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# DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to Almighty God for His grace that has never waned in my life and all those who are in pursuit of academic excellence.

#### ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

My profound gratitude is heartily tendered to the sovereign God for His unbridled benevolence and the transformation of this dream into reality.

Sincere acknowledgement also goes to my supervisors Prof. Femi Ajayi and Dr Ngara Chris for their guidance and expertise which has broadened my knowledge on research; and has greatly inspired and guided me towards the completion of this work.

I also wish to express my appreciation to Prof. Attahiru Jega, and Dr. Asimiyu Abiola for their contributions towards the successful completion of research project..

Also to be acknowledged is Mr Odo Emmanuel (JP) whose guidance, prayers and financial assistance, contributed immensely to the success of this work.

I wish to appreciate my Parents, Mr and Mrs. Audu Onyilo and Cecilia Ogwuche Audu for their encouragement; my wife Mrs. Audu Maria and my children for their prayer and support throughout the duration of this work.

Finally, my sincere gratitude goes to my colleagues and friends Mr. Haruna Yinusa, Mrs. Obiem Mary, Mrs. Obi Theresa, Mr. Udo Ogbu and Mr. Megbolu Christopher and the entire staff of NILSD for their contributions and support towards the success of this work.

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#### ABSTRACT

This study examined public hearing and citizens participation in law making in Nigeria with reference to the activities of the Senate committee on Judiciary, Human rights and Legal matters in the 8<sup>th</sup> National Assembly. This study achieved four specific objectives. Firstly, it examined the activities of the Senate Committee on Judiciary and Human Rights and Legal matters with respect to public hearing conducted between May 2015 and May 2019; Secondly, the study assessed the extent of citizens participation in the public hearings conducted by the Senate Committee on Judiciary and Human Rights and Legal matters in the period under review; it further examined the extent to which public inputs of those public hearings influence relevant legislation passed by the Assembly in the period under review; and lastly the study identified possible challenges that militated against effective participation of citizens in the public hearings organized by the Senate Committee on Judiciary and Legal matters in the period under review

The study adopted a descriptive research design and the purposive and random sampling technique was used in the selection of respondents that provided the primary data through the use of questionnaires. The data collected was analyzed by the use of statistical tables and simple descriptive statistics such as percentage scores. The simple percentage was calculated for all the respondents. Pie charts, bar charts and histograms were also used to present the findings in a more vivid manner.

The key findings revealed that involving the citizens through the instrumentality of public hearing is effective to ensuring sound policy decision of the Senate Committee on Judiciary and Human Rights and Legal matters. The findings also revealed the challenges facing the committee thereby mitigating effective citizens participations. These included corruption amongst legislators, inexperience of new legislators, internal conflict, citizens apathy due to mistrust of the legislators, non regular conduct of public hearing to bring the citizens abreast of government activities and decision, lack of civic education and public enlightenment programmes amongst other challenges. Another finding of the study was that some major deficiencies existed in the functions of the Senate Committee on Judiciary and Human Rights and Legal Matters as one of the 57 Standing Committees. The first was that they couldn't checkmate the excesses of the executive arm of government through oversights. Also as provided in the standing rules of the Senate, they didn't live up to expectation in consideration of legislation, petitions and memorials.

The study recommended that legislative committees should use different media to promote civic education and public enlightenment so as to reduce citizens' apathy and alienation. Another key recommendation was that the different standing committees in the senate should regularly conduct public hearing to enable citizens make inputs on important national issues that affect them. The study also recommended that committees should faithfully perform their oversight functions to in checkmating executive excesses. Finally, it was recommended that more attention should be given to training and retraining of the principal officers for improved performance and overall efficiency.

## **CHAPTER ONE**

#### **INTRODUCTION**

# 1.1 Background to the Study

The role of government over the recent years has been constantly challenged, with an increasing emphasis on engaging citizens and empowering stakeholders during the planning and deployment of government policies and programs Adibe (2017) argued that this can be achieved by increased and effective citizens participation through legislative instruments such as public hearing. Quick & Bryson (2016) emphasized that in the context of planning and development encouraging citizens' to participate in issues that affect their lives is a reflection of democratic ideals in today's world.

In the view of Adibe (2017), citizens' participation in decision and law making fosters public trust in governmental legitimacy and responsiveness. More so, the society has constantly demanded an increased participation and accountability in public policies and at the same time complex and specialized issues emerge that require decisions to be made making, thus the clamour for active citizens' participation. In addition the demand for popular policies that represent general interest has become more complicated, requiring more ability and skill from managers and policy-makers.

According to Quick & Bryson (2016 p.14) one way to ensure that sound and popular decision are reached is to involve the citizens through public hearing. Citizens' involvement through public participation also appears to entrench and promotes democratic ideals and popular governance. To Adibe (2017), public hearing is viewed as a discussion regarding a particular topic which is open to interested parties, including private individuals, that is based on the direct participation of these parties. In other words, public hearing requires a personal presence that allows for an interactive debate between the participants, such debate is strictly connected with the deliberation on the implementation of projects, programmes or

public policies of government in order to shape final decision. Thus, the notion 'citizens' refers, first, to the fact that numerous subjects may be involved and secondly means the disclosure of this procedure to anyone who is interested (Quick & Bryson 2016, p.14)

To Quick & Bryson (2016) the possibility of presenting various approaches to a public hearing is beneficial for the law-making system, as it promotes social activity, however, the real efficiency of a public hearing might be limited, in the sense that political decision makers may be reluctant to take into account critical remarks in a public hearing that may disrupt their plans. Quick & Bryson (2016) also argued that a duty to inform the citizens about the extent to which public proposals have been taken into account and have been rejected could, to some extent, mitigate this negative phenomenon.

Crosby and Bloomberg (2014) opined that involving the citizens on political, and socio-economic issues, projects, policy and programmes that affect them through public hearing comes in diverse forms; for example there is public hearing organized by the legislative arm, or public hearing organized by the judiciary that are quasi-judicial in nature. However, the differentiation seems to consist of the division between public hearings that are strictly connected with law-making procedures, and those that aim at gaining a more general insight to various proposals submitted in the public space, with a view to the regulation of a specific public matter in the future. As part of the law making process, citizen involvement provides private individuals and stakeholders the opportunity to participate in influencing policy decisions of the organizers of a public hearing.

Citizens participation through public hearing has been a subject of extensive scholarly interest, especially in the context of United State solutions when public hearings increased significantly in the 1970's because deliberation in arriving at final decisions regarding the

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spending of public funds were discussed in the House of Representatives in 1973 and in the Senate in 1975 (Crosby and Bloomberg 2014).

Crosby and Bloomberg (2014) also identify five benefits of citizen participation to the planning process to include; Information and ideas on public issues; Citizens Support for planning decisions; Avoidance of protracted conflicts and costly delays; Reservoir of good will which can carry over to future decisions; and Spirit of cooperation and trust between the agency and the citizens.

Alabi (2016) sees citizens' participation as a means to ensure that citizens have a direct voice in public decisions. The terms "public" and "citizens," and "involvement" and "participation" are often used interchangeably. While both are generally used to indicate a process through which citizens have a voice in public policy decisions, both have distinctively different meanings and convey little insight into the process they seek to describe. Mize reveals that the term "citizen participation" and it's relationship to citizens decision-making has evolved without a general consensus regarding either it's meaning nor its consequences. Many agencies or individuals choose to exclude or minimize public involvement in their planning programme claiming that it is too expensive and time consuming. In spite of the above, many public participation programs are initiated in response to public reaction to a proposed project or action. However, Arowojolu, et al (2019) argued that numerous tangible benefits can be derived from an effective citizen involvement program.

This study therefore, explores public hearing as a tool for citizens' participation and law making in Nigeria with a focus on the activities of the Senate Committee on Judiciary and Human Right and Legal Matters in the 8<sup>th</sup> National Assembly that is from May 2015 to May 2019.

#### **1.2 Statement of the Problem**

The Legislative arm of the government is saddled with three basic responsibilities of representation, oversights and law making for the citizenry. Widely acceptable legislations are assessed by the level of the citizens' participation at all the stages in the legislative process. Before a bill is passed into law, it is expected that such bill should promote good governance, entrench democratic ideals and have public support and input. However, executive interference, crippling internal conflict, inexperience of new legislators, corruption and materialistic obsession are adduced as part of the challenges facing the legislative arm.

The researcher suspects inadequate civic education and public enlightenments by the committee on the bills that require stakeholders input during public hearing to be one of the major reasons for poor citizens' participation and increased citizens apathy. Mistrust on the part of the citizens towards the legislators, due to years of evidence based corrupt practices of the legislators, lack of resources and inadequate knowledge on the issues under discourse are other factors adduced by the researcher as hindering effective citizens' participation during the conduct of public hearings.

The above problem makes it difficult for citizens to make input that will shape or influence relevant legislation, since they may not have the full background knowledge of the bills for which the public hearing is being conducted, and where they do, the committee do not feel obliged to accept the aggregate views of the stakeholders present at such public hearing. Ordinarily citizens' preference will support the use of different media to provide more citizens education and enlightenment on any bill referred to the committee so as to encourage citizens input and effective participation, It is in the light of the above stated problems, that this research study is carried with the objectives of examining the activities of the Senate Committee on Judiciary and Human Rights and Legal matters with respect to public hearing conducted between May 2015 and May 2019, and the extent of citizens' participation and their input in those public hearings and the possible mitigating factors hindering effective participation.

# **1.3 Research Objectives**

The objectives of this research study are to:

- Examine the activities of the Senate Committee on Judiciary and Human Rights and Legal matters with respect to public hearing conducted between May 2015 and May 2019.
- Assess the extent of citizens participation in the public hearing conducted by the Senate Committee on Judiciary and Human Rights and Legal matters from May 2015 to May 2019.
- 3. Examine the extent to which public inputs of those public hearings influence relevant legislation passed by the Assembly in the period under review.
- 4. Identify possible challenges that militated against effective participation of citizens in the public hearing organized by the Senate Committee on Judiciary and Human Rights and Legal matters from May 2015 to May 2019..

#### **1.4 Research Questions**

The following research questions were raised to guide the study;

 Did Senate Committee on Judiciary, Human Rights and Legal matters conduct public hearing during the 8<sup>th</sup> National Assembly?

- 2. To what extent did the citizens participate in the public hearing conducted by the Senate committee on Judiciary, Human Rights and Legal matters within the period under review?
- 3. How did the citizens participation in the public hearing helped in shaping or influencing the relevant legislation passed between May 2015 and May 2019?
- 4. In what ways will the Senate Committee on Judiciary, Human Rights and Legal matters improve citizens' participation in its public hearing?

#### 1.5 Scope and Delimitation of the Study

The research work focuses on the activities of the Senate Committee on Judiciary and Human Rights and Legal Matters in the 8<sup>th</sup> National Assembly (May, 2015- May, 2019), the work also covers the public hearings conducted and other legislation carried out within the period. There was a beehive of public hearing activities which needed research attention. This prompted the researcher to choose the Senate Committee on Judiciary and Human Rights and Legal Matters in the 8<sup>th</sup> National Assembly as a case study.

#### 1.6 Significance of the Study

This study will benefit the National Assembly itself in that, it will aid members of the assembly in determining if the structures and institutions established to promote citizens participation activities are effective. The study will aid subsequent committees in weighing the performances of their predecessors and adjust where necessary. The study will also enlighten the citizens on the different stages involved in the law making process. The study would also contribute to the body of knowledge in this field.

#### CHAPTER TWO

#### LITERATURE AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This chapter reviews related literatures by different authors and analysts in regards to the diverse elements affecting citizens participation in legislative process. The authors views on citizens' participation, considered its benefits in the shaping of policy decisions in democratic societies. The chapter also contain a section of theoretical framework which is used to guide the study. This research study is hinged on the People Centred or Participatory Development theory.

# 2.1 Citizen Participation

According to Alabi (2016), over recent years, citizens' participation the debate has shifted to form a kind of participatory democracy, meaning a new form of democracy that goes beyond the original concept. here, Participation is understood not only as an opportunity for consultation and accountability of the actors and citizens, but also as an opportunity for citizens involvement in democratic activities which, through the equal inclusiveness of the various points of view, can produce outcomes that move from individual expressions to group options, and to the general will of citizens.

Ciboh (2017) argued that the more people participate in a democracy, the more democratic governance becomes. Ciboh (2017) posit that the problem of effective participation lies with the participation gap where the better-off citizens are more engaged in policy, while the poorest, vote less and lack the resources to lobby for change. But sceptics such as Arowojolu (2019), had challenged that assumption on the basis that not everyone has the skills to make informed political decisions whether rich or poor. However, this researcher opined that involving the citizens on issues of national interest help influence

and shape policy decisions making it easy for citizens concerns, needs, and values to be incorporated into government decisions.

Crosby and Bloomberg (2014), in a survey of democratic countries of Norway, Denmark, New Zealand, Canada, Belgium and Iceland between 2004 and 2014 found out that countries like Norway, Denmark, New Zealand and Canada with fairly high levels of overall citizens participation performed and scored highly on the European Union Index (EUI), than Belgium and Iceland with conversely lower levels of citizen participation. The study concluded that democracy suffers because too many active citizens lack the ability and resource to make meaningful decisions, due to socio-economic and political inequality. This researcher views that such applies to developing nations such as Nigeria, where the political, socio-economic powers resides with the elite thereby negative effective citizens participation.

Fashiku (2019) in a comparative analysis of public opinion surveys in Canada, Britain and the United States, found out that British and Canadian citizens are much more knowledgeable about their national parliaments than Americans. On a scale of one to 11 for knowledge of their national legislature, Canadians scored nearly 10. Britons and Americans scored six and three, respectively, on a scale of one to 10 simpler governmental structures and greater opportunity and motivation to obtain political information were the key factors that explained why Canadians and Britons scored better than the citizens of U.S.

Fashiku (2019) argued that an elementary understanding of the legislature is vital to democratic governance, Unfortunately, though, it is impossible to specify the level of knowledge of the legislature that is necessary to sustain democracy in any given country. Suffice it to say that most legislatures probably suffer from inadequate public knowledge and understanding of their work and as such they must constantly seek ways to provide information, educate the public and strengthen public understanding of their legislative institution.

Although, Public support for legislatures may vary with the governmental structure, it is an axiom of American politics that voters generally think highly of their own elected representative but poorly of the legislature as an institution. In the American system of separation of powers, single-member districts and candidate-centered campaigns, individual legislators are friendly faces, and voters can identify with them. The legislature as an institution, on the other hand, is a faceless institution that can be blamed for any and all actions that citizens disagree with. In Norway, a country with a parliamentary system, proportional representation according to party lists and no constituency service tradition among members of parliament, just the opposite result was found. Norwegian voters think highly of the Sorting, but they view its members as inattentive to their concerns and unresponsive to public opinion (Fashiku 2019). He also argued that voters generally do not think highly of Congress or state legislatures. Approval ratings ranging from 20 to 40 percent are common among state legislatures and during the 1990s seldom have gone above 50 percent. However, despite these low evaluations of individual legislatures at specific points of time, the researcher argue that there is generally a strong, diffuse support for legislative institutions that seems to sustains democracy in that country.

Ile, & Mapuva (2010) in their study of emerging democracies such as Asia, Africa and Eastern European countries found out that public opinion data about parliaments are hard to find. In a survey conducted just 18 months after the establishment of new parliamentary institutions in six Eastern European countries of Serbia, Ukraine, Bulgaria, Montenegro, Moldova and Belarus the study found remarkably high levels of support for legislatures. In the six countries, only one in 20 citizens thought it likely that parliament in their country

would be suspended in the next few years. More than three-quarters would oppose the suspension of parliament, if it occurred.

Ile, & Mapuva (2010) concluded that citizens in countries introducing democratic institutions in recent years have developed democratic attitudes more rapidly than Germans and Austrians did after 1945. East Europeans who lacked democratic institutions apparently learned to value them, perhaps through vicarious socialization resulting from their unhappy experiences with the undemocratic institutions of the former Communist regimes and their long repressed admiration for the institutions enjoyed by neighboring democratic systems in Western Europe. However, the study did not carry out a thorough survey of the Asia and African countries in order to assess the level of acceptance of the citizens towards their parliament so as to collaborate the findings of the survey carried out in the Six European countries

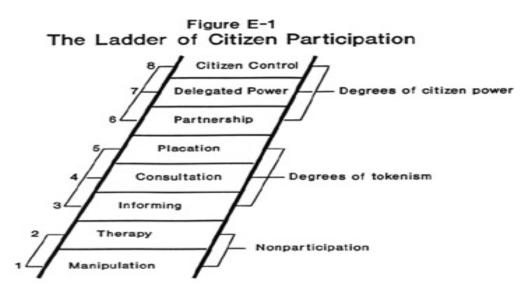
Ile, & Mapuva (2010) study of Eastern European public opinion challenges the assumption that the work of legislatures lends legitimacy to governmental regimes. They found that the causal relationship is stronger in the opposite direction: general public support for democratic regimes leads to greater approval of parliaments. Possible explanations for these findings about the relationship between knowledge and support of legislatures include differences in structure and mass media.

A USAID evaluation study carried out in the Philippines in 1995 reported a fairly high public support for the Congress, although it has steadily declined since imposition of a new constitution in 1997. Impressionistic evidence from other parts of the world suggests that many other emerging democracies have had experiences with popular support similar to the Eastern European parliaments

## 2.2 Citizen Participation and Law making process

Lim (2018) provides a concise overview of citizen participation which can offer a variety of rewards to citizens. These can be intrinsic to the involvement (through the very act of participation) or instrumental (resulting from the opportunity to contribute to public policy). They argued that a well-planned citizen involvement programs relate the expectations of both the citizens and the planner. The work was hinged on Arnstein's "ladder of citizen participation" which they viewed can assist the planner in determining his or her perceptions of a program's purpose and compare this with the anticipated perceptions of citizen respondents.

According to Lim (2018) in a successful citizen involvement programs, the disparity between the planner's and the participant's expectations is minimal and If expectations are different, conflict is probable. This conflict can be damaging to the planning process (as well as the institutions reputation), and to the relationship between the respondents and the planner as depicted in the figure 1 below;



Source: Arnstein's 1969, Ladder of Citizens Participation

According to Arnstein (1969) citizen participation programs can increase costs and the amount of time a project takes. Arnstein (1969) further argued that there is also certain level of risk associated with citizen participation programs. However, Lim, (2018) suggests that citizen participation programs can make the planning process and planners more effective by: Reducing isolation of the planner from the public; Generating a spirit of cooperation and trust; Providing opportunities to disseminate information; Identifying additional dimensions of inquiry and research; Assisting in identifying alternative solutions; Providing legitimacy to the planning effort and political credibility of the agency; and Increasing public support.

Stultz (1968) in his study of citizens participation identified a number of characteristics common to the legislature in the Third world countries. These include the popular election of legislators, constitutional supremacy, the absence of lobbying by private interests, uninformed debates often focusing on parochial concerns of the legislators, executive dominance and a functional ambiguity proceeding from a limited decision – making role. These features, as argued by Alkhire (2005) are obviously shared in several respect by the legislature in Nigeria. These features in the view of the researcher to some extent impede functionality of the legislature and its contribution to national development. Frequent changes in the membership of the house during elections, inexperience and ignorance of legislative proceedings often displayed by newly-elected members, leadership tussle and frequent changes in the leadership of the legislative houses, amongst others are other factors identified by the researcher as a clog in the wheels of national development, to resolve this Fashiku (2019)in his study identified three ways that the legislatures can adopt to make the public learns about them they are: direct communication, news media and other indirect methods.

On direct Communication Fashiku (2019) suggested the one-to-one and one-to-many communications between individual legislators and their constituents covered in a companion paper on communication between legislators and constituents as this will assist the lawmakers make decisions about public policy issues, provide mechanisms for resolving citizens' complaints about the government and allow an outlet for the expression of public views and opinions (Fashiku 2019). At the most elemental level, public participation in the legislative process requires access to the legislative building where the legislature meets. In the United States and most other established democracies, the capitol building is a major public edifice-a source of national or state pride-that is almost completely open to the public. Citizens can and do roam the legislative halls with the exception only of a few private hallways and the floor of the legislative chamber itself. All American legislative chambers have public visitor galleries where citizens can observe legislative sessions. The national capitol in the United States and a few state legislative buildings screen everyone who enters the building for security but otherwise these buildings are extraordinarily accessible (Fashiku 2019).

On media relations Fashiku (2019) argued that the primary mechanism by which citizens learn about the legislature in most countries is the news media-newspapers, radio and television. In order to analyze how the media cover different legislatures, the writer suggested that varying media cultures in different countries must be taken into account.. Key variables Fashiku (2019) includes; the degree of competition among the media, the role of political parties, the extent of government control and the prevailing styles of reportage. In the U.S. context however, there appears to be a paradoxical relationship between media competition and coverage of legislatures: the less the competition, the more extensive the coverage of the legislature. This is because newspapers in competitive markets feel compelled to provide the news that their market research shows the public wants: short, human-interest stories and not detailed public policy analysis. (Fashiku 2019) In some countries the political parties control some, if not all, of the newspapers. Party-controlled newspapers may provide extensive coverage of public policy issues and the legislature, but the coverage is likely to be highly biased. Newspapers controlled by opposition parties are likely to make strong attacks on the government and the legislature. Party-controlled newspapers in a one-party state, on the other hand, are effectively the same as government-controlled newspapers.

On indirect methods Fashiku (2019) identified four approaches which when adopted can increase citizens participation they include; legislative performance, ethics, direct democracy, civic education. On legislative performance he argued that performance of the legislatures can improve their public image or increase citizen participation, according to the writer, this happens when legislators move expeditiously and efficiently to formulate timely legislative responses to public policy problems that are regarded as favourable and of public interest, than those that delay, engage in partisan bickering and deadlock. Decorum in the legislative chamber is an important element of the public's perception of the institution. Speaking at an international conference on the links between parliament and the public, a New Zealand minister said,"*The chamber is the most visible element of parliament, and too often we fall short. If we look silly, it's not the media's fault; it's our own.*"

Presiding officers play a crucial role in ensuring that legislative rules require decorum and that those rules are enforced. On Ethics Fashiku (2019) argued that real or perceived unethical behaviour by members and staff erodes public confidence in the legislature and all legislators, This in the view of the researcher is doubly true in emerging democracies where traditions of bribery, nepotism and legislating for personal benefit may be difficult to eradicate in a short period of time. All legislatures should develop codes of ethics for public officials and conflict of interest and public disclosure laws that suit their countries' culture and circumstances. Training should be provided to legislators and staff about ethics laws, and they should be encouraged to meet the highest ethical standards, not just the letter of the law. (Fashiku 2019).

On Direct Democracy Fashiku (2019) argued that the ultimate form of public participation in the legislative process is direct democracy through referenda (also known as plebiscites) or initiatives. Referenda or plebiscites occur when a legislature (or, in some cases, the executive) refers a measure to the public for a vote. This method of allowing people to determine their own fate directly has worked well in many countries. Australia and Switzerland have made particularly extensive use of the referendum. In Switzerland citizens can demand a referendum on measures passed by the legislature by obtaining an adequate number of signatures. The referendum has been particularly useful in resolving constitutional and boundary issues. In the researcher's view the direct initiative, in which citizens can initiate a measure, bypass the legislative process and submit the matter to a public vote, is less frequently used around the world.

According to Nnanwuba (2019) the overuse of the referenda initiative can result in long and complex ballots that voters do not understand, Initiated measures may be poorly crafted and they are not subject to the public hearing and comment process that often leads to the accommodation of differing views through negotiation and compromises within the legislature. Nnanwuba (2019) further emphasize that most critics of direct democracy regard it as a threat to parliamentary democracy and representative government. It is the view of

the researcher that sparing use of these devices, as in Australia and Switzerland, "can buttress rather than destroy a parliamentary system.

On Civic Education Fashiku (2019) argued that Civic education is a vital strategy for strengthening public participation and confidence in the legislative process. The methods of direct communication described above according to this writer are all forms of civic education. The most effective long-term civic education, though, begins at younger ages in the schools. The most important thing that legislatures can do to promote civic education is to require that it be taught as part of the school curriculum, provide adequate funds for texts and curriculum materials and ensure the availability of knowledgeable and trained teachers. Legislatures in various countries have developed innovative curriculum materials to aid in teaching about the legislative process. For instance the Minas Gerais Legislative Assembly in Brazil has produced a series of storybooks and games written by award-winning children's authors to explain representative democracy in their state. They also publish a daily newspaper summarizing the discussions of the day in the legislature complete with photographs and feature stories. They also produce a weekly television talk show program in which members of the legislature are interviewed and answer call-in questions from the public. (Fashiku 2019.)

Uganwa (2014) in a comparative analysis of British, Canadian and U.S. public opinion about parliament noted that, reporting in Canada pays more attention to policy and governing and is less character-driven than in the U.S. reporting. Partial state sponsorship of the media and a tradition of public service journalism in Britain and Canada may have impeded the development in those countries of the kind of "attack" journalism practiced in the United States. In the United States today, virtually all meetings of committees in all 51 legislatures are open to the public. The only exceptions are generally for individual privacy matters, such as personnel decisions, and issues of national security. The Florida and Colorado Legislatures passed the earliest and most stringent "sunshine" laws: all meetings of two or more legislators where public business is discussed in these states must be open to the public. This openness of American legislative committees has transpired only in the last 25 years. Around the rest of the world it is far from the norm (Uganwa 2014)

In a study carried out by Lim (2018) found that 60 percent of national parliaments always or usually held private committee meetings and only one in four always or usually held public hearing. According to Lim (2018) the case for open meetings by the committee in the form of public hearing is that it allows the public to know what decisions are made and how their legislators vote at what is sometimes the most critical stage of legislation. The argument against open committee meetings in the researcher's view is that it may inhibit free and open discussion among legislators and unnecessarily limit the ability to negotiate and compromise.

Lim (2018) argued that Public hearings in the capital city and open meetings benefit only those who live within easy traveling distance of the capitol or those who have the resources to travel longer distances. Legislatures in many jurisdictions go a step beyond by taking committees on the road. Some citizens however, never had a chance to participate in their government before except at the polls (Lim 2018). On the contrary, a USAID study of the Nepal Parliament carried out in 1996 concluded that their closed committee meetings may seem undemocratic but are beneficial because they allow parliamentarians to discuss policy issues without being bound by party positions. (USAID 1996, p 18)

Lim (2018) further claim that modern information technology had also made it possible for committees to receive public testimony from remote locations by means of audio- and videoconferencing. For instance in the U.S State legislatures in geographically large western states like Nevada, Wyoming and Alaska routinely provide citizens who live great distances from the capital opportunity to testify before committees via satellite. All Texas senators have Internet videoconferencing capabilities between their district and capitol offices, so citizens can see and speak with their senators in Austin by traveling the relatively short distance to the senator's district office. While these kinds of technologies today are confined to relatively wealthy countries, decreasing costs over time will make them a viable option in poorer countries in the future. (Lim 2018)

According to Eguavoen (2016) in the late 1980s the Zimbabwe Parliament organized a series of provincial workshops in the form of public hearing throughout the country around the topic of regional planning. These included members of parliament, civil servants, and non-governmental organizations(NGO) etc., in doing these, members of the parliaments did not only felt better prepared for debate on the issue, but also had vital opportunities to interact with civil servants charged with implementing programs in the field Eguavoen (2016)

In his comparative study of Poland parliament and Nepal Eguavoen (2016) argued that improved staff and computer services "made parliament more transparent because it is easier for the media, advocacy groups and public to follow the legislative process. In Nepal, the study found out that "verbatim transcripts are long delayed, have limited distribution and require some digging to obtain. The above kinds of explanatory materials and public records generally have limited distribution, often requiring consumers of the information to come to the capitol to obtain them. Eguavoen (2016) further suggests that a minimum level of transparency requires that such records be distributed to the media and public libraries or other public facilities

# 2.3 Public hearing and Citizens Participation.

According to Ogunshola, and Adeniyi (2017), the most liberal view may lead to an overenthusiastic embrace of participatory procedures, believing that citizen participation alone can improve policies. This, Ogunshola, and Adeniyi (2017), claim is not the case. They further argued that the effectiveness of participation is related to realization of the problem and the different ways to address its complexity with focus on how and when the policy-maker can apply tools that will provide citizens with opportunities to effectively participate in public policies.

As argued by Alabi (2016) in looking for continued participation of citizens, public hearings emerged as an important tool for direct participation. The writer opined that public hearings are among the most traditional methods for citizen participation in America and are required at all levels of government. In spite of the recent and frequently negative reviews on the public hearings and the development of a large body of literature about alternative techniques for citizen engagement, it is still the technique of choice with regard to various issues.

Ogundele & Ezeh (2018) claim that public hearing responds to public demands rather than generating frustration". The writers highlighted that; this kind of participation promotes and enhances individual leadership qualities, personal growth, and awareness of government, as well as the public policy planning. In essence, the process may lead to a better and more informed citizenry.

Quick & Bryson (2016) in their studies emphasized that public hearing are limited to engaging the citizens, while the actual participants are usually the experts. As argued by Quick & Bryson (2016), public hearing responds to the demand of public participation, getting a group of citizens together so that they can be persuaded by the official point of view such participation methods include the use of referenda argued that public hearing are employed by the legislatures for the purpose of meeting public involvement needs, regarding them as an end in themselves rather than a tool with a specific purpose.

According to Takwate (2018) public hearing is an integral tool for effective citizens' participation since it has to do with open gathering of officials and citizens, in which citizens are permitted to offer comments, but officials are not obliged to act on them or, even to respond publicly. The writer in this study presented four criteria to assess public involvement they are; (i) the direct participation of amateurs in decision making; (ii) the participation of citizens in collective decision making; (iii) the length of time available for a face to face discussion; and (iv) the opportunity for citizens to participate on an equal basis with administrative officials and technical experts. The writer argued that those who attend public hearings are not representatives of the population; they are often dominated by people able to invest and make significant contributions. Thereby depriving low income earners and individuals less than 18 years old the opportunity to participate. Alabi (2016) views can be likened to the form of public hearing conducted by the Nigeria legislators who sometimes occupy both the political and socio-economic strata of the society.

# 2.4 Barriers to Effective Citizens Participation

In his study, Adibe (2017) identified three types of barriers to effective citizens participation which are perceptual barriers such as personal values or negative attitudes of the stakeholder that may be overcome through the personal efforts of stakeholders, or through changes in the "cultural" climate of a community, political barriers which are those that necessitate larger societal change in order to be overcome. of these, political and electoral cycles present perhaps the greatest challenge to effective community processes, often constraining public dialogue and limiting decision-making effectiveness. Grandstanding, pandering and

reluctance to make difficult decisions on the part of elected officials often affect proposals – especially controversial ones--that are being considered near or during election cycles.

In their study of Public dispute resolution Crosby and Bloomberg (2014) argued that "Policy making is too often controlled by the size of the majority instead of legitimate policy debate." They cites short political tenures and "an eagerness" to arrive at short-term solutions by public officials as factors that have contributed to systemic or structural problems, and in turn, increased community disputes. Logistical barriers may be overcome through a well-conceived and well-implemented public participation strategy. While the legal/regulatory and political intent may be widespread participation, this area presents the greatest difficulty to implement. Practitioners who design and implement the process must thoughtfully design the process in order to involve as many stakeholders and to make the process as representative as possible.

In his study of citizens participation Olatunji (2016) identified factors that could hinder effective citizen participation in the decision making process as; that some problems are too complex and difficult to solve thereby creating tension in reaching a rational balance between efficiency and democratic participation; the absence of a real willingness to redefine the roles of the public decision makers, and finally the consideration that participation is a complex process that wastes time and money.

2.5 Bills Presented before the Senate Committee on Judiciary, Human Rights and Legal Matters in the 8<sup>th</sup> Senate.

A total of Forty Four (44) Bills was presented before the Senate Committee, out of which 17 Bills were passed, 1 Bill was Consolidated and passed, 6 Bills had no Legislative Action taken on it, 4 Bills were at Stage report, 3 Bills were Awaiting Action from Lead Committee, 2 Bills were proposed for Public Hearing, 2 Bills were Approved, 1 Bill on

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Work in progress, 1 Bill was Awaiting consideration, 1 Bill was Adjourned consideration and referred to Legal Services, 1 Bill was merged with Proceeds of Crime Bill 2017, 1 Bill was withdrawn by leave of the Senate, 1 Bill was Negated, 1 Bill had no further legislative action taken after Public Hearing was conducted.

# 2.6 Historical Development of Public Hearing

According to Forester (2000), the use of public hearings began following the process of the enclosure of public lands that occurred in Britain in the 18th and 19th centuries. At the beginning of the enclosure process, for each plot of land that was going to be enclosed, a separate act of Parliament was required. Public meetings were held in order to create a petition to parliament to enclose the land, and later to hear objections to the act created by Parliament. Early public meetings were presided over by a commission, who were bound by impartiality. The commissioners were originally assigned, however, in later years there was at least one who was publicly appointed.

In 1845, the General Enclosure Act created permanent commissioners who sent all bills to Parliament, and one publicly appointed commissioner who presided over the public meetings to hear citizen concerns. This use of commissions to hear public concerns over the enclosure of lands was one of the first examples of a public hearing, and emphasizes how most public hearings today are used when dealing with public lands as well as private properties. A public hearing as a consultative process has been used in numerous other scenarios and countries outside of the US legislative context. For example, public hearings are the go-to method for consultation during the yearly participatory budget process developed in South and Latin America. As well, several high profile, national-level public hearings (inquiries) have been held in Canada on extremely broad topics such as Mental Health and, most recently, Murdered and Missing Indigenous Women and Girls. public hearing as an integral tool for effective citizens' participation as to do with an open gathering of officials and citizens, in which citizens are permitted to offer comments, but officials are not obliged to act on them or, even to respond publicly.

In the united states, it was observed that the high instances of public hearings conducted in the states is attributable to the numerous state and federal laws which require government agencies to hold public consultations before using government funds or implementing decisions that will affect the general public making it the most widespread venue for public participation in the United States. this significantly increased in 1973 when House of Representatives made decisions on public issues especially those that are funding related open, the Senate followed suit in 1975 (Arowojolu 2019)

# **2.7 Theoretical Framework**

The theoretical framework of this research is hinged on:

# 2.7.1 People-Centered or Participatory Development Theory

This theory originates from person-centred theory founded by Carl Rogers also known as the father of client- centred theory. Ogundele & Ezeh (2018) argued that for any development project to be successful its beneficiaries must be put at the centre and must feel to be part of the programme. In that way they feel that their capacities, talents, energies and other human resources are appreciated and hence they contribute more towards the project. The nature of development that used to guide policies in the developing world stemmed from the western countries and these include modernization, dependency and world systems theories of development. Based on these theories, developing countries were still faced with so many problems and this is the reason of lack of success in the projects of the past.

According to Ogundele & Ezeh (2018) previous development theories fail to allow the meaningful inclusion of indigenous experience and knowledge. This is because development is viewed as a process of growth stimulated by transfer of technology, a transfer in one direction, from rich, powerful to poor, and weak, and from "first to last" (Ogundele & Ezeh 2018).

Development policy therefore was influenced to be that of instruction and direction of third world people by western countries or developed nations. Ile and Mapuva (2010 p.125) indicated that in recent years global civil society institutions, namely the Breton Woods' institutions and United Nations agencies as well as global donor community have prescribed good governance, democracy and the observance of human rights as qualifications for aid. This means that policies established in developing countries were and are influenced by donor nations. The shift in participatory development puts the choice of clients, professional values, research methods and roles first. It avoids biases in urban, industrial, capital intensive, centralised, high technology, and planned top-down that often leave poor people out or make things worse for them. In order to enable the community to develop themselves, the focus of development must be on the people's capabilities, potentials, power, resources, knowledge and skills. Participatory development theory therefore, is citizenly stated as the new paradigm to follow in all aspects of welfare and development (Ogundele & Ezeh 2018). They further argued that people-centred development is important in that it essentially changes and is slow but the improvements and change may have more impact and be sustainable than technologically sophisticated fast development that cannot be sustained. Participatory development should therefore empower the people and enable them to use their capacities for any project or programme to succeed.

In his study the writers used four descriptions of people-centred development based on the following schools of thought; normative, conceptual, empirical and practical approaches. The normative level of development, centres on "the primacy of people in development".

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This thought prefers the people first, gives priority to the more deprived, poor, physically weak, vulnerable, isolated and powerless and help them change these conditions. In this case, the grassroots are given a right, which enables them to identify and demand what they want and need. The belief in this thought is that development planning emphasis should be placed upon primarily helping the poorest members of society achieve goals that they themselves help define. The conceptual level of development is based on development not as a process in a single direction but a process of continuous adaptation, problem solving and opportunity. This thought argues that development is not a movement towards a fixed goal but continuous adaptation to maximize well-being in changing conditions. It stresses the need for adaptable approaches that can continually search for solutions and take advantage of unique opportunities that arise.

Change is the main focus of this thought and according to Lim, (2018) people centred development seeks to facilitate transformation in communities. That is "returning control over resources to the people and their communities to be used in meeting their own needs including the basic needs of justice, sustainability and inclusiveness" (Lim 2018). The empirical level of development is premised on the argument that conditions in the participatory development approach are diverse and complex and "rates of acceleration is diverse"

According to Ogundele & Ezeh (2018), there is a need to operate in a dynamic environment and it is crucial to have theoretical viewpoints and empirical knowledge of indigenous people controlled in order to make use of it. Based on this analysis, poor people are knowledgeable and can be depended upon to provide local adaptability as well as leadership in development theory and policy. This approach acknowledges baseline research as crucial before implementation of a development project because the real problem of an area will be identified and the project to be implemented might gain community support because it is tackling the most wanted issues by the community. People must be consulted in that way their needs might be addressed and they may end up supporting the whole project. The practical approach acknowledges the concepts of decentralization and empowerment as crucial to enable local people to exploit the diverse complexities of their own conditions and to adapt to rapid change.

Theories are used as guidelines when dealing with human generally both individually and in groups, according to the People centred theory, for any development project to be successful its beneficiaries, which are the citizens, must be put at the centre, and they must feel to be part of the programme. In that way, their input, capabilities, talents, energies and other human resources are incorporated in the project. Aligning the above assumption to our study implies that, by conducting public hearing the legislators avail the citizenry the opportunity to express their views and opinion and make input on important national issues that requires legislative action. Since public policies are expectedly targeted towards the masses effective citizens' participation could lead to influencing and shaping of final policy decision and widely acceptable government policy.

Citizens' apathy and alienation are encouraged when the legislators in most developing countries do not abreast their citizens of government plans and actions. The senate committee on judiciary human right and legal matters in adopting the people centred or development theory approach by conducting public hearings which will availed the citizens the opportunity to make inputs on issues that affect them, had helped in the passage of some bills such as the Emergency Power Act Bill, The Whistle Blower Protection Bill, The Sexual Harassment of Students by Educators in Tertiary Institution Bills and so on, into law, with the overall objectives of promoting good governance and entrench democratic principle thereby reducing the feeling of alienation and apathy.

#### **CHAPTER THREE**

### **RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

This chapter was developed using the specific methodology versus the specific objectives approach. For each of the four objectives of this study, the type of data and the sources of the data were specified. The techniques of data collection, analysis and interpretation for each objective were also specified. Based on theory, a priori expectation, and premise of comparison of findings for each specific objective was also spelt out.

### 3.1 Research Objective One

Examining the Activities of the Senate Committee on Judiciary and Human Rights and Legal Matters With Respect to Public Hearing Conducted between May 2015 And May 2019.

This objective was designed to examine the activities of the Senate Committee on Judiciary and Human Rights and Legal Matters with respect to public hearing conducted between May 2015 and May 2019.

### 3.1.1 Sources of Data for Research Objective One

The target population for this study includes all 469 members of parliament in the National Assembly (NA), all 160 registered journalists who are members of the House and Senate Press Corps, a cross section of leaders of the 18 most prominent political parties who were able to win at least a seat in the 2019 general elections in Nigeria. This brings the total population for this study to 647. Since it is almost practically impossible, given the time constraint for this study to access the entire population for this study, a total of 130 respondents were selected as the sample for the study. 48 members of parliament in the

National Assembly, 46 registered journalists who are members of the House and Senate Press Corps and 36 (2 key leaders from each of the prominent political party) were selected using the purposive/accidental sampling technique. This means that the researcher had to administer questionnaires to those accessible respondents since it is not possible to access the entire population.

### 3.1.2 Method of Data Collection for Research Objective One

The method used to obtain the needed data for research objective one is the questionnaire developed by the researcher for use in this study. The questionnaire is divided into five sections, A-E The same applies to the other research objectives. Section A elicits brief biographical information about the respondents. Section B is the section that contains questions that elicit information on research objective one: to examine the activities of the Senate Committee on Judiciary and Human Rights and Legal Matters with respect to public hearing conducted between May 2015 and May 2019.

The section B of the questionnaire was structured in line with research objective one. The social class of the respondents their psychology and possible reactions were all given due consideration. Both open – ended and closed- ended questions were employed but all were specific and capable of generating such response that shed more light on the research objective one: to examine the activities of the Senate Committee on Judiciary and Human Rights and Legal Matters with respect to public hearing conducted between May 2015 and May 2019.

### 3.1.3 Techniques of Data Analysis for Research Objective One

To achieve research objective one, statistical tables and simple descriptive statistics such as percentage score were used in the analysis. The simple percentage was calculated for all the

respondents. Pie charts, bar charts and histograms were also used to present the findings in a more vivid manner.

### 3.1.4 A-Priori Expectations from Research Objective One

Based on the People Centred or Participatory Development theory earlier discussed in chapter two of this work, the result of this objective is expected to reveal the existence of alleged problems or setbacks to Public hearing and citizen's participation in law making in Nigeria in the senate committee on judiciary, human right and legal matters.

This is because according to the People Centred or Participatory Development theory, for any development project to be successful its beneficiaries must be put at the centre and must feel to be part of the programme. In that way they feel that their capacities, talents, energies and other human resources are appreciated and hence they contribute more towards the project.

# 3.1.5 Link between the A-Priori Expectation from Research Objective One and Existing Body of Knowledge

The a-priori expectation from this research objective one will be compared with the findings of Ciboh (2017) who argued that the more people participate in a democracy, the more democratic governance becomes. Ciboh (2017) also posited that the problem of effective participation lies with the participation gap where the better-off citizens are more engaged in policy, while the poorest, vote less and lack the resources to lobby for change The Extent of Citizens Participation in the Public Hearing Conducted by the Senate Committee on Judiciary and Human Rights and Legal Matters From May 2015 To May 2019.

This second objective was designed to show the extent to which the factors identified in research objective one affect the quality citizens' participation in the public hearing conducted by the Senate Committee on Judiciary and Human Rights and Legal matters from May 2015 to May 2019. Section C of the questionnaire contained questions that elicited data from respondents on the extent of citizens' participation.

Based also on the Participatory development theory earlier discussed in chapter two of this work, the result of this objective revealed how the factors identified in research objective one affect the quality of citizens' participation in the public hearing conducted by the Senate Committee on Judiciary and Human Rights and Legal matters. Also, the a-priori expectation from this research objective two was directly compared with the findings Fashiku, (2019) which held the opinion that an elementary understanding of the legislature is vital to democratic governance, Unfortunately, though, it is impossible to specify the level of knowledge of the legislature that is necessary to sustain democracy in any given country. Suffice it to say that most legislatures probably suffer from inadequate public knowledge and understanding of their work and as such they must constantly seek ways to provide information, educate the public and strengthen public understanding of their legislative institution

# The Extent to Which Inputs of Public Hearings Influence Relevant Legislation Passed by the Assembly in the Period under Review.

This objective was designed to reveal the extent to which inputs of public hearings influence relevant legislation passed by the Assembly during the period under review. Data were elicited from Section D of the questionnaire to show the salient inputs of these public hearings and their influence on legislation.

Based on the People Centred theory earlier discussed in chapter two of this work, the result of this objective pointed out how inputs of public hearings influence relevant legislation passed by the Assembly. This is because according to the People Centred theory, inputs such as: Reducing isolation of the planner from the public; Generating a spirit of cooperation and trust; Providing opportunities to disseminate information; Identifying additional dimensions of inquiry and research; Assisting in identifying alternative solutions; Providing legitimacy to the planning effort and political credibility of the agency; and Increasing public support all influence legislation passed by the assembly.

The a-priori expectation from this research objective three can be directly compared with the findings Lim, (2018) that provided a concise overview of citizen participation which can offer a variety of rewards to citizens. These can be intrinsic to the involvement (through the very act of participation) or instrumental (resulting from the opportunity to contribute to public policy). The writer also argued that a well-planned citizen involvement programs relate the expectations of both the citizens and the planner.

Challenges that Militated Against Effective Participation of Citizens in the Public Hearings Organized by the Senate Committee on Judiciary, Human Rights and Legal Matters from May 2015 to May 2019.

This fourth objective was designed to point out the challenges that militated against effective participation of citizens in the public hearings organized by the Senate Committee on Judiciary, Human Rights and Legal Matters from May 2015 to May 2019. The second segment of the questionnaire contained questions that elicited data from respondents on such possible challenges.

The results of this objective unravelled some possible challenges militating against effective participation of citizens in the public hearings such as Negligence of the principle of fairness or equity; Violation of the right of citizens to be informed and to express their views on governmental decisions; Not representing the interests of disadvantaged and powerless groups; Failure to capture the insights of citizens; Irrationality in some democratic decision making; Loss of interest by the public in the decision making process by the public.

Based on the Participatory Development theory earlier discussed in chapter two of this work, citizen participation programmes can increase costs and the amount of time a projects take. The theory further implied that there are also certain levels of risks associated with citizen participation programmes.

The a-priori expectation from this research objective four can be directly compared with the findings of Nnanwuba et al, (2019) who opined that the overuse of the referenda initiative can result in long and complex ballots that voters do not understand, Initiated measures may be poorly crafted and they are not subject to the public hearing and comment process that

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often leads to the accommodation of differing views through negotiation and compromises within the legislature.

### CHAPTER FOUR

### **DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS**

This chapter focused on the analysis of data collected from the field based on the specific objectives of the study. For each of the four objectives of this study, the field data collected was classified and organized to sieve the needed information on the challenges of legislative reporting in Nigeria.

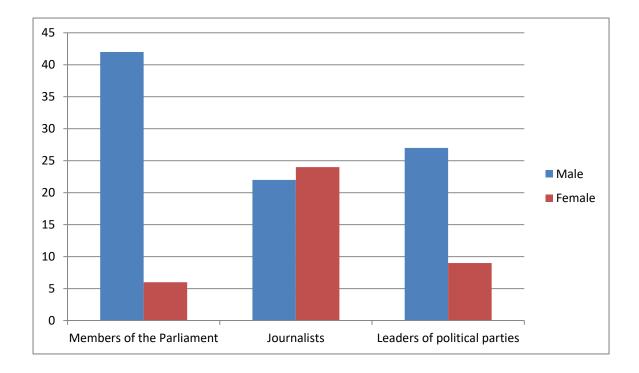
### 4.1 Data Presentation

The aspect of the questionnaire labelled "section one" represents the respondents' demographic data and it s represented below:

		Category		Percentage(%)	
Gender	Members of the Parliament	Journalists	Leaders of political parties	Frequency	
Male	42	22	27	91	70.0
Female	6	24	9	39	30.0
Total	48	46	36	130	100.0

<b>Table 4.1: Gender of Respondents</b>	<b>Table 4.1:</b>	Gender	of Res	pondents
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Field survey, 2020



## Fig 4.1 Gender of Respondents

Table 4.1 shows that majority of the total respondents- 70% were males while the rest 30% were females. This table reflects the situation in the political arena of the country where majority of the political posts are occupied by the males. The only exemption here according to this table is among the journalists where a greater number, 24 out of the 39 respondents were females.

Age		Category	Frequency	Percentage(%)	
	Members of Journalists Leaders of political				
	the Parliament		parties		
25-30	0	14	1	15	11.5
31-35	0	15	15	30	23.1
36-40	4	8	13	25	19.2
41-45	16	8	3	27	20.8
46 & above	28	1	4	33	25.4
Total	48	46	36	130	100

 Table 4.2: Age of Respondents

## Field survey, 2020

Table 4.2 reflects the true picture of the political setting in the country where majority of the politicians are well advanced in age. The old keep clinging to power even when physically and mentally they are no longer in the best position to rule. This gives the youths no place to bring vigor and innovation into the political stream of the country. A closer look at the age distribution of the members of parliament further buttresses this point because the larger number of them were 46 years and above.

4.2 Analysis of Structured Questions on Research Objective One: Activities of the Senate Committee on Judiciary and Human Rights and Legal matters with Respect to Public Hearing.

4.2.1 Examining the Activities of the Senate Committee on Judiciary and Human Rights and Legal Matters With Respect to Public Hearing Conducted between May 2015 and May 2019

**Question 1:** Do you agree that the activities of the senate committee on judiciary and human rights have been fair?

Table 4.3: Nature of Activities of the Senate Committee on Judiciary and HumanRights

Variable		Category		Percentage (%)	
	Members of Journalists the Parliament		Leaders of political parties		
Yes	36	44	32	112	86.2
No	6	0	2	8	6.2
Undecided	6	2	2	10	7.6
Total	48	46	36	130	100.0

Field survey, 2020

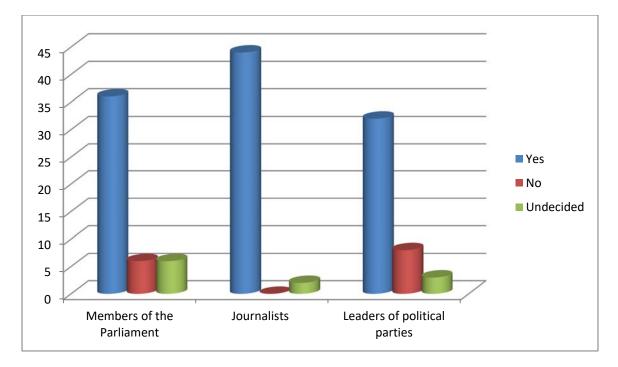


Fig 4.3 Nature of Activities of the Senate Committee on Judiciary and Human Rights

Fig 4.3 shows that 86.2% of the respondents agreed that the activities of the senate committee on judiciary and human rights have been fair, 6.2% did not agree to this while 7.6% of the sample population was undecided.

Question 2: How will you rate the public hearing between May 2015 and May 2019?

Variable		Category		Frequency	Percentage
	Members of the Parliament	Journalists	Leaders of political parties		(%)
Fair	25	20	16	61	46.9
Unfair	14	26	19	59	45.4

Table 4.4: Rating of public hearing between May 2015 and May 2019

Undecided	9	0	1	10	7.7
Total	48	46	36	130	100.0

Field survey, 2020

Table 4.4 shows that approximately 46.9% of respondents rated the public hearing between May 2015 and May 2019 as fair; 45.4% thought it was unfair while 7.7% of respondents could not make up their minds on the rating of the public hearing. This shows that there is a sharp contrast in opinions between those who feel the public hearings have been fair and those who think otherwise.

4. **Question 3:** How will you describe the quality the services of the senate committee on judiciary and human rights?

Variable		Category			
	Members of the Parliament	Journalists	Leaders of political parties		(%)
Good	38	45	31	114	87.7
Poor	10	1	5	16	12.3
Total	48	46	36	130	100.0

# Table 4.5: The Quality of Services of the Senate Committee on Judiciary and Human

Rights

Field survey, 2020

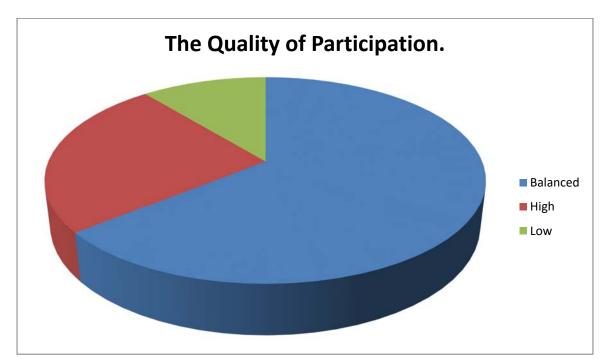
Table 4.5 suggested that the quality the of services of the senate committee on judiciary and human rights has been good with 87.7 % of correspondents agreeing and only a paltry 12.3 % not agreeing. This shows that a high percentage of both members of parliament and reporters as well as leaders of political parties all agree that the quality the of the services of the senate committee on judiciary and human rights is good.

**Question 4:** How will you describe the quality of participation by the citizens in public hearings?

Variable		Category		Frequency	Percentage
	Members of the Parliament	Journalists	Leaders of political parties		(%)
Balanced	15	37	18	70	53.8
High	10	8	17	35	26.9
Low	23	1	1	25	19.3
Total	48	46	36	130	100.0

 Table 4.6: The Quality of Participation.

Field survey, 2020



### Fig 4.6 The Quality of Participation.

Fig 4.6 reveals that 53.8% of the respondents believe that the quality of participation is balanced. 26.9% see it as being high while 19.3% are of the opinion that the quality is low. The table further reveals that while majority of the members of parliament insisted that the quality of participation is low, majority of the reporters were of a contrary opinion.

# 4.3 Analysis of Structured Questions on Research Objective Two: Extent of Citizens Participation in Public Hearing.

**Question 5:** Do you feel citizens are interested in participating in public hearings conducted by the senate committee on judiciary and human rights?

Variable		Frequency	Percentage		
	Members of the Parliament	Journalists	Leaders of political parties		(%)
Yes	5	11	35	51	39.2
No	43	35	1	79	60.8
Total	48	46	36	130	100.0

Table 4.7: The Extent of Citizens Participation in the Public Hearings

Field survey, 2020

Table 4.7 shows that 39.2% of respondents are of the opinion that citizens are interested in participating in public hearings conducted by the senate committee on judiciary and human

rights while 60.8 % of the claims favour the stand that citizens are interested in participating in public hearings conducted by the senate committee on judiciary and human rights. This means that majority of the respondents were of the opinion that citizens are interested in participating in public hearings conducted by the senate committee on judiciary and human rights.

Question 6: Do you think the right of fair hearing of citizens is often violated by lawmakers?

Variable		Frequency	Percentage		
	Members of the Parliament	Journalists	Leaders of political parties		(%)
Yes	9	40	32	81	62.3
No	39	6	4	49	37.7
Total	48	46	36	130	100.0

Table 4.8: Violation of the Right of Fair Hearing of Citizens

Field survey, 2020

Table 4.8 depicts a situation where a high percentage of the respondents- 62.% admitted that the right of fair hearing of citizens is often violated by lawmakers while 37.7 % held a contrary view. However, a close look at the table shows that while a lesser number of the

legislators claimed not to have violated the right of fair hearing of citizens, a larger number of the reporters claimed otherwise.

## 4.4 Analysis of Structured Questions on Research Objective Three: Influence of Public

### Participation on Legislation.

**Question 7:** Would you say that providing opportunities to disseminate information affects legislations passed by the Assembly?

# Table 4.9: Influence of Inputs of Public Hearings on Relevant Legislation Passed by the Assembly

Variable		Frequency	Percentage		
	Members of the Parliament	Journalists	Leaders of political parties		(%)
Yes	48	46	36	130	100.0
No	0	0	0	0	0.0
Total	48	46	36	130	100.0

### Field survey, 2020

Table 4.9 revealed that 100% of the respondents agreed that providing opportunities to disseminate information affects legislations passed by the Assembly. This shows that the place of information dissemination cannot be overemphasized.

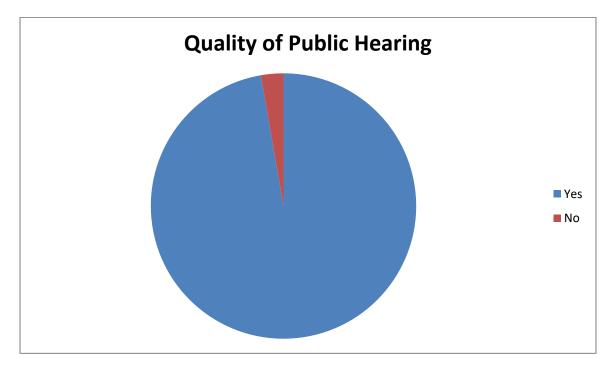
**Question 8:** Do you agree that identifying additional dimensions of inquiry and research improves the quality of public hearing?

# Table 4.10: Identifying Additional Dimensions of Inquiry and Research Improves the

# **Quality of Public Hearing**

Variable		Category			
	Members of the Parliament	Journalists	Leaders of political parties		(%)
Yes	39	44	31	114	87.7
No	9	2	5	16	12.3
Total	48	46	36	130	100.0

Field survey, 2020



# Fig 4.10 Identifying Additional Dimensions of Inquiry and Research Improves the Quality of Public Hearing

Fig 4.10. Shows a sharp contrast of responses. 87.7% of respondents were of the opinion that identifying additional dimensions of inquiry and research improves the quality of public hearing. On the contrary, 12.3% of respondents reported that it was not correct.

# 4.5 Analysis of Structured Questions on Research Objective Four: Challenges militating against effective participation of citizens in the public hearing.

**Question 9:** Would you say that negligence of the principle of fairness or equity is one of the challenges militating against effective participation of citizens in public hearings?

 Table 4.11: Challenges that Militated Against Effective Participation of Citizens in the

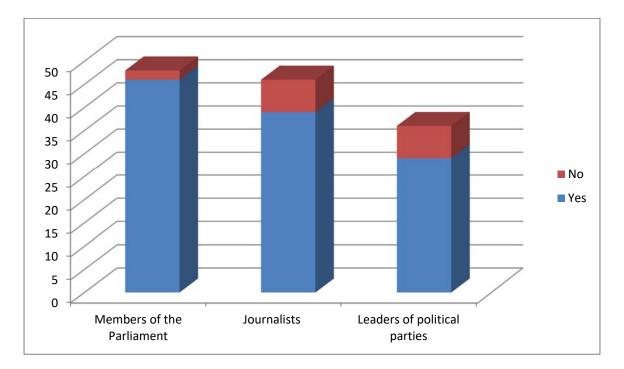
 Public Hearings

Variable	Category			Frequency	Percentage
	Members of the Parliament	Journalists	Leaders of political parties		(%)
Yes	46	39	29	114	87.7
No	2	7	7	16	12.3
Total	48	46	36	130	100.0

### Field survey, 2020

Table 4.11 shows that majority of the respondents-87.7% were of the opinion that negligence of the principle of fairness or equity is one of the challenges militating against

effective participation of citizens in public hearings while just 12.3% held a contrary opinion.



# Fig 4.11 Challenges that Militated Against Effective Participation of Citizens in the Public Hearings

**Question 10:** Would you say that Violation of the right of citizens to be informed and to express their views on governmental decisions is one of the challenges militating against effective participation of citizens in public hearings?

# Table 4.12: Violation of the Right of Citizens to be Informed and to Express their Views

Variable	Category			Frequency	Percentage
	Members of the	Journalists	Leaders of	_	(%)
	Parliament		political parties		

Yes	40	5	6	51	39.2
No	1	41	30	72	55.4
Undecided	7	0	0	7	5.4
Total	48	46	36	130	100.0
<b></b>	2020				

### Field survey, 2020

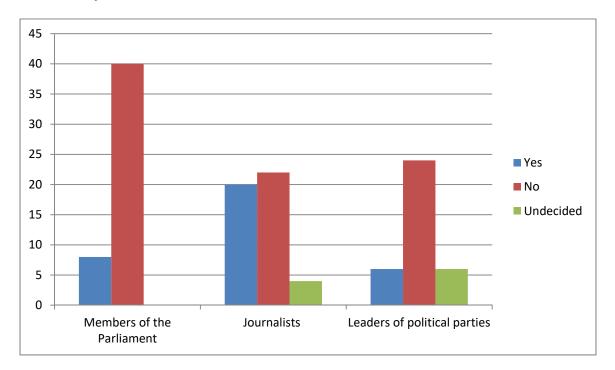
Table 4.12 above shows that majority – 55.4% of the total respondents, believe that Violation of the right of citizens to be informed and to express their views on governmental decisions is one of the challenges militating against effective participation of citizens in public hearings. 39.2%, held the view that Violation of the right of citizens to be informed and to express their views on governmental decisions is not one of the challenges militating against effective participation of citizens in public hearings their views on governmental decisions is not one of the challenges militating against effective participation of citizens in public hearings while the rest 5.4% were undecided.

**Question 11:** Will you say that Irrationality in some democratic decision making is one of the challenges militating against effective participation of citizens in public hearings?

Variable	Category			Frequency	Percentage
	Members of the Parliament	Journalists	Leaders of political parties		(%)
Yes	8	20	6	34	26.2
No	40	22	24	86	66.1
Undecided	0	4	6	10	7.7
Total	48	46	36	130	100.0

Table 4.13: Irrationality in Some Democratic Decision Making

Field survey, 2020



### **Fig 4.13 Irrationality in Some Democratic Decision Making**

From Table 4.13, respondents believed that Irrationality in some democratic decision making is one of the challenges militating against effective participation of citizens in public hearings. 66.1% of respondents thought so, while 26.2% thought that Irrationality in some democratic decision making is not one of the challenges militating against effective participation of citizens in public hearings

# 4.6 Public Hearing Conducted By the Senate Committee on Judiciary, Human Rights and Legal Matters in the 8<sup>th</sup> Senate

The Senate Committee on Judiciary, Human Rights and Legal Matters as one of the 57 Standing Committees of the Senate within the 8<sup>th</sup> Assembly (May 2015 – May 2019) conducted a total number of 24 Public Hearings on different Bills as shown in Table 4.14 below:

S/N	Bill	Legislative Action
1	Frivolous Petitions Bill, 2015 (Sb.143)	Public Hearing conducted
		on 7 <sup>th</sup> March, 2016
2	Sexual Harassment Bill, (SB.262)	Public Hearing conducted on
		20 <sup>th</sup> June, 2016
3	Abduction, Wrongful Confinement for	Public Hearing conducted on 8 <sup>th</sup>
	Ransom Bill, 2016	December, 2016
4	Prohibition and Protection of Persons	Public Hearing conducted on 8 <sup>th</sup>
	from Lynching, Mob Action and Extra	December, 2016

### **Table 4.14**

	Judicial Executions Bill, 2016 (SB.109)	
5	Witness Protection Programme Bill, 2016	Public Hearing conducted on 8 <sup>th</sup>
	(SB.157)	December, 2016
6	Small Claims Courts (Establishment, Etc.)	Public Hearing conducted on 9 <sup>th</sup>
	Bill, 2016	February, 2017
7	Whistle Blower Protection Bill, 2016	Public Hearing conducted on 8 <sup>th</sup>
	(SB.158)	December, 2016
8	National Research and Innovation	Public Hearing conducted on
	Council (Establishment, Etc.) Bill (Joint	12 <sup>th</sup> December, 2016
	Referral, Committee on Science and	
	Technology as Lead)	
9	Lobbyist (Regulation and Registration)	Public Hearing conducted on
	Bill, 2016 (SB.99)	9 <sup>th</sup> December, 2016
10	National Commission for Peace,	Public Hearing conducted on
	Reconciliation (Establishment, Etc.) Bill,	12 <sup>th</sup> June, 2017
	2017 (SB.74)	
11	Revised Law of the Federation Bill, 2017	Public Hearing conducted on
	(SB.391)	12 <sup>th</sup> June, 2017
12	Emergency Power Act, 1966 Bill, 2017	Public Hearing conducted on
	(SB.182)	12 <sup>th</sup> June, 2017
13	Arbitration and Reconciliation Act Cap.	Public Hearing conducted on
	A18 LFN 2004 (Amendment) Bill, 2017	12 <sup>th</sup> June, 2017

	(SB.362)	
14	Arbitration and Reconciliation Act Cap.	Public Hearing conducted on
	A18 LFN 2004 (Repeal and Re-	12 <sup>th</sup> June, 2017
	Enactment) Bill, 2017 (SB.427)	
15	Nigerian Assets Management Agency	Public Hearing conducted on
	(Establishment Etc.) Bill, 2017 (SB.285)	13 <sup>th</sup> June, 2017
16	Proceeds of Crime Bill, 2017 (SB.376)	Public Hearing conducted on
		13 <sup>th</sup> June, 2017
17	Reports on the Nigeria Peace Corps	Public Hearing conducted on
	(NPC) Bill, 2017 (SB.173& SB.183)	26 <sup>th</sup> July, 2017
18	Nigerian Law Reform Act Cap. N118	Public Hearing conducted on
	LFN 2004 (Amendment) Bill.2017	25 <sup>th</sup> October, 2017
	(SB.26)	
19	Firearms Act Cap. F28 LFN 2004	Public Hearing conducted on
	(Amendment) Bill, 2017 (SB.489)	13 <sup>th</sup> June, 2017
20	Nigerian Police Development Fund	Public Hearing conducted on
	(Establishment Etc.) Bill, 2017 (SB.433) (	20 <sup>th</sup> December, 2017
	Joint Referral Police Affairs Committee	
	as Lead)	
21	National Electoral Offences Commission	Public Hearing conducted on
	(Establishment Etc.) Bill, 2017 (SB.469)	12 <sup>th</sup> February, 2017
	Joint Referral with Committee on INEC	
	as Lead)	

22	Data Protection Bill, 2017 (SB.2)	Public Hearing conducted on
		20 <sup>th</sup> March, 2018
23	Legal Practitioners Act Cap. C11 LFN	Public Hearing conducted on
	2004 (Amendment ) Bill 2017 (SB.435)	20 <sup>th</sup> March, 2018
24		
24	Facial Mutilation (Prohibition) Bill, 2017	Public Hearing conducted on
	(SB.408)	20 <sup>th</sup> March, 2018

Source: National Assembly, 2019.

# 4.7 Bills Presented before the Senate Committee on Judiciary, Human Rights and Legal Matters in the 8<sup>th</sup> Senate.

A total of Forty Four (44) Bills was presented before the Senate Committee, out of which 17 Bills were passed, 1 Bill was Consolidated and passed, 6 Bills had no Legislative Action taken on it, 4 Bills were at Stage report, 3 Bills were Awaiting Action from Lead Committee, 2 Bills were proposed for Public Hearing, 2 Bills were Approved, 1 Bill on Work in progress, 1 Bill was Awaiting consideration, 1 Bill was Adjourned consideration and referred to Legal Services, 1 Bill was merged with Proceeds of Crime Bill 2017, 1 Bill was withdrawn by leave of the Senate, 1 Bill was Negated, 1 Bill had no further legislative action taken after Public Hearing was conducted.

### 4.7.1 Motions / Other Referrals

A total of Thirty Five (35) Motions/ Other Referrals was presented before the Committee out of which 9 were Approved, 3 were Awaiting consideration, 14 had no Legislative Action taken on it, 1 at Stage report, 1 Awaiting action from Lead Committee, 1 work in progress,1 overtaken by event, 1 had investigation going on, 1 was negated, Also, the Senate passed the Federal Capital Territory (FCT) Act (Amendment) Bill 2016, to increase the number of judges in the High Court of the FCT from 37 to 75. Sponsored by Joshua Lidani (Gombe South), and co-sponsored by the Chairman of the Senate Committee on Judiciary, Human Rights and Legal Matters, David Umaru, and Sen. Andy Uba (PDP-Anambra South), the passage followed a clause by clause consideration of the report of the Senate Committee on Judiciary, Human Rights and Legal Matters on the bill.

### 4.8 Public Hearing on the Emergency Power Act (Repeal and Enactment) Bill 2016.

This public hearing was held on the 12<sup>th</sup> of June, 2017 by the Senate Committee on Judiciary, Human Rights and Legal Matters, following a referral from the Senate plenary sitting of Tuesday 7<sup>th</sup> March, 2017. The referral was on Emergency Power Act (Repeal and Enactment) Bill.

The committee was composed of the followings;

Senator David Umaru	- Chairman
Senator Babajide C. Omoworare	Vice Chairman
Senator James E. Manager	- Member
Senator Bala Ibn Na'Allah	- Member
Senator Joshua M. Lidani	- Member
Senator Abdullahi Adamu	- Member
Senator Chukwuka Godfrey Utazi	-Member
Senator Ovie Omo- Agege	- Member
Senator Suleiman Adokwe	- Member
Senator Atai Aidoko	- Member
Charles Luri Bala Esq.	- Committee Clerk

#### The Objectives of the bill was:

To repeal the Emergency Powers Act, 1961 and re-enact the Emergency Powers Act, 2016, by providing elaborate procedure for the declaration of a State of Emergency in Nigeria or any part thereof, subject to the provisions of the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria 1999, as amended

To provide for the general administration of an emergency area, with respect to search, arrest without warrant, detention of persons and imposition of curfew;

To provide for effective control of arms and explosives in the emergency area

To provide for payment of compensation and other sundry reliefs to people who might be affected by an order made by the President in an emergency area.

The stakeholders submitted that Emergency Powers Act, 1961 predates the Republican Constitution of 1963. It was accordingly observed that the repeal and re-enactment of the Act is of paramount legislative significance. As these modifications on the law, will bring it into conformity with contemporary dynamics and modern exigencies as well as address obvious deficiencies in the substantive law; the Act having been in existence for decades.

Secondly, they stated that all the provisions that relate to the general administration of emergencies with respect to search, arrest and detention of persons in the areas of conflict, prohibition of public processions, imposition of curfew, control of persons, arms and explosives are comprehensive enough.

They further submitted that the passage of the bill will no doubt address the growing complexities of our present day security challenges of insurgency and other harrowing agitations across the country.

Finally, the stakeholders commended the aspects of the bill that provide for the procedure for declaration of a state of emergency, which requires Mr. President to place before the National Assembly, the facts and circumstances leading to the declaration of the state of emergency. This provides for checks and makes it difficult for the President to arbitrarily declare a state of emergency in any part of the country without resort to the National Assembly in a democratic setting. Above all, it confers on the National Assembly the power to decide whether the proclamation should remain in force or not.

Flowing from the presentations made during the public hearing and the observations/findings, the Senate Committee on Judiciary, Human Rights and Legal Matters, considered and passed the Bill.

#### **CHAPTER FIVE**

#### SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This chapter presented a summary of major findings of this study as well as all the conclusions that were drawn from the analysis of the data gathered for this study. The recommendations made from the conclusions of this study are also presented under this chapter.

### 5.1 Summary of Finding

The study was designed to examine public hearing and citizens' participation in Nigeria legislative process using the Senate Joint Committee on Judiciary, Human Rights and Legal Matters as our study focus. Public hearing was defined as a discussion regarding a particular topic which is open to interested parties, including private individuals, that is based on the direct participation of these parties. Legislators as the representative of the people, has a duty to carry the citizens along in law making process, so as to enable them make input on issues that affects them. the problem of corruption amongst legislators, non regular conducting of public hearing was sighted as some of the reasons for legislative ineffectiveness, The objectives of the study were to examine the activities of the Senate Committee on Judiciary and Human Rights and Legal matters with respect to public hearing conducted between May 2015 and May 2019, Assess the extent of citizens participation in the public hearing conducted by the Senate Committee on Judiciary and Human Rights and Legal matters from May 2015 to May 2019, examine the extent to which public inputs of those public hearing influence relevant legislation passed by the Assembly in the period under review, Identify possible challenges that militated against effective participation of citizens in the public hearing organized by the Senate Committee on Judiciary and Human Rights and Legal matters from May 2015 to May 2019.. The study adopted the case study

research design, employing the purposive sampling technique which was used to select the key informant that provided the primary data, while the secondary data was taken from published materials. Findings showed that citizens participation through public hearing play a critical role in influencing legislative action. the specific roles of the senate committee on judiciary, human rights and legal matters as identified includes conducting oversights and consideration of nominations, consider legislation, resolution, messages, petitions memorials and others matters as provided in the standing rules of the senate, numerous problems confronting the committee are non performance of oversight functions, lack of fund to conduct public hearings on regular basis, low civic education, too many petitions to deal with at the same time, problem of overlapping legislations, citizens apathy towards legislative activity due to mistrust on the part of the citizens, corruption among legislators amongst others. Also, key informants who were interviewed also noted that popular policies engender peace and acceptability on the part of the citizens as they feel a sense of belongings in the decision making process.

### **5.2 Recommendations**

In view of the foregoing, the following recommendations were made;

That legislative committees should use different media to provide and promote civic Education and enlightenment which can be achieved through public enlightenment programmes so as to reduce citizens' apathy and alienation on governmental activity The different standing committees in the senate should conduct public hearing on regular basis so as to give the citizens the opportunity to make inputs on the issues to be presented Legislators should ensure that the conduct of oversights function which are aimed at checkmating executive excesses are not jeopardized with the attitudes of corrupt legislators

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Interest groups, civil society organizations (CSOs) should not look at government activities as being government business alone, they should try in their own capacity to educate the masses on governance and make positive impact on the lives of the citizens

Training and education should be targeted to key legislative leaders and senior staff who are responsible for legislature-wide functions so as to broaden their knowledge and improve efficiency

Technical assistance can also be targeted to a few key leaders and staff of the legislature. Assuming that a climate exists in which a legislature wants to open up its process, experienced legislative staff from established democracies with public information responsibilities could provide very effective in-country advice and support in short periods of time.

#### **5.3** Conclusion

Citizens' participation in law making process is a basic component of citizenship, and this can be achieved through the instrumentality of public hearing, however, this may be discouraged actively or inadvertently by the legislators. citizens also vary considerably in confidence as a result of income inequality, level of education which could determine the level of political and intellectual authority to take part. As a result, those with higher income and education are likely to participate most commonly. Thus participants may not represent a wide range of group interest, or perspective and higher income participants typically exercise more power over decision. Hence, deliberate effort is needed to design processes that will create decision making that is broadly representative, in which participants exercise similar power, and where participants act on shared useful knowledge.

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### **APPENDIX I**

# Public Hearing and Citizen's Participation in Law Making in Nigeria: A Study of the Senate Committee on Judiciary, Human Right And Legal Matters Questionnaire

### Dear Sir/Ma,

#### **Request for your assistance in completing this Research Survey**

My name is Audu, Adakole. I am a Master's Degree student of the National Institute for Legislative and Democratic Studies (PG/NILSD/1615017) carrying out a study on the title: **Public Hearing and Citizen's Participation in Law Making in Nigeria: A Study of the Senate Committee on Judiciary, Human Right And Legal Matters.** 

I will be most grateful with your assistance in filling this questionnaire. The information you provide will be strictly for the purpose of research, and so, it will be treated with strict confidentiality. Thus, you are not required to disclose your identity.

### Section A: Biodata

## (Please, tick ( $\sqrt{}$ ) in the box for the appropriate answer).

- Tick the one that refers to you: (a) Member of Parliament [ ] (b) Legislative Reporter[ ] (c) Political party leader[ ]
- 2. Sex

(a) Male  $\{ \}$  (b) Female  $\{ \}$ 

3. Age

(a)  $25-30 \{ \}$  (b)  $31-35 \{ \}$  (c)  $41-40 \{ \}$  (d)  $41-45 \{ \}$  (e) 46 and above[]

Section B: Examining the Activities of the Senate Committee on Judiciary and Human Rights and Legal Matters With Respect to Public Hearing Conducted between May 2015 and May 2019

4. Do you agree that the activities of the senate committee on judiciary and human rights have been fair?

(a) Yes { } (b) No { } (c) Undecided { }

5. How will you rate the public hearing between May 2015 and May 2019?

(a) poor  $\{ \}$  (b) good  $\{ \}$  (c) Undecided

- 6. How will you describe the quality the services of the senate committee on judiciary and human rights?
  - (a) Balanced { } (b) Fair { } (c) Unfair

# Section C: The Extent of Citizens Participation in the Public Hearing Conducted by the Senate Committee on Judiciary and Human Rights and Legal Matters From May 2015 To May 2019.

- 7. Do you feel citizens are interested in participating in public hearings conducted by the senate committee on judiciary and human rights?
  - (a) Yes  $\{ \}$  (b) No  $\{ \}$
- 8. Do you think the right of fair hearing of citizens is often violated by lawmakers?
  (a) Yes { } (b) No { }
- 9. Would you agree that the level of transparency of the senate can affect the public participation in public hearings?

(a) Yes  $\{ \}$  (b) No  $\{ \}$ 

# Section D: The Extent to Which Inputs of Public Hearings Influence Relevant Legislation Passed by the Assembly in the Period under Review.

- 10. Would you say that providing opportunities to disseminate information affects legislations passed by the Assembly?
  - (a) Yes  $\{ \}$  (b) No  $\{ \}$
- 11. Do you agree that identifying additional dimensions of inquiry and research improves the quality of public hearing?
  - (a) Yes  $\{ \}$  (b) No  $\{ \}$
- 12. Do you agree that Assisting in identifying alternative solutions would influence legislations passed by the Assembly?
  - (a) Yes { } (b) No { } (c) Undecided { }

Section E: Challenges that Militated Against Effective Participation of Citizens in the Public Hearings Organized by the Senate Committee on Judiciary, Human Rights and Legal Matters from May 2015 to May 2019.

- 13. Would you say that negligence of the principle of fairness or equity is one of the challenges militating against effective participation of citizens in public hearings?
  - (a) Yes  $\{ \}$  (b) No  $\{ \}$
- 14. Would you say that Violation of the right of citizens to be informed and to express their views on governmental decisions is one of the challenges militating against effective participation of citizens in public hearings?
  - (a) Yes  $\{ \}$  (b) No  $\{ \}$  (c) Undecided  $\{ \}$
- 15. Will you say that Irrationality in some democratic decision making is one of the challenges militating against effective participation of citizens in public hearings?

(a) Yes  $\{ \}$  (b) No  $\{ \}$  (c) Undecided  $\{ \}$