

**ASSESSMENT OF THE COMMITTEE SYSTEM AND
LEGISLATIVE FUNCTIONS OF THE 8TH SENATE OF THE
NIGERIA NATIONAL ASSEMBLY**

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CERTIFICATION

The dissertation titled, “Assessment of the Committee System and Legislative Functions of the 8th Senate of the Nigerian National Assembly”, presented by **Toyin Joy SHOLADEMI PG/NILDS/1818061** has met the partial requirement for the award of degree in Masters in Parliamentary Administration (MPD) of the National Institute for Legislative and Democratic Studies/University of Benin (NILDS/UNIBEN).

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APPROVAL

This is to certify that this dissertation “Assessment of the Committee System and Legislative Functions of the 8th Senate of the Nigerian National Assembly”, has been read and approved as having met the partial requirements for the award of degree in Masters in Parliamentary Administration (MPD) of the National Institute for Legislative and Democratic Studies/University of Benin (NILDS/UNIBEN), and it is approved for contribution to knowledge.

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this dissertation is original and has been written by me. It is a record of my work and has not been presented in any previous publication under the supervision of Dr. Josiah Sabo-Kente. It has been examined and found to have met the regulations for the award of Masters Degree in Parliamentary Administration of the National Institute for Legislative and Democratic Studies/University of Benin (NILDS/UNIBEN) Postgraduate Programmes in Abuja.

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DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to the Almighty God who has always been my strength, giving me knowledge and grace to go through this academic journey successfully.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

SD	-	Senate Debate
NGO	-	Non-Governmental Organisations
CSOs	-	Civil Society Organisations
MDAs	-	Ministries, Departments and Agencies
NASS	-	National Assembly
YIAGA-CLE	-	Youth Initiative for Advocacy Growth and Advancement – Centre for Legislative Engagement

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Abstract

The study assessed the *Committee System and Legislative Functions of the Senate in the 8th of the Nigeria National Assembly (2015-2019)*. The objectives were: to assess the roles of the Senate Committees in the 8th National Assembly; to determine the extent that the 8th Senate used the committee system; to identify the challenges impeding the performance of the Senate committees in carrying out legislative functions of the National Assembly; and to recommend ways the Senate can use the committee system more effectively.

The study adopted mixed method: qualitative and quantitative research techniques to address the questions and objectives it intended to unravel. The population of the study was 697 staff members of Senate Committees. Data were collected from primary sources using the questionnaire, personal observation and secondary data obtained from the Senate Committee on Rules and Business, books, journals and the internet. In explicit, qualitative and quantitative data were used for objective one to three while only qualitative data was used for objective four. The quantitative data were presented in Charts while qualitative data were described in prose.

The study found that committees in the 8th National Assembly conducted public hearings in respect of Bills and Motions, attended to petitions, screened nominees and conducted oversight functions, with positive impactful results on good governance. In fact, the 8th Senate passed a total of 172 Bills some of which drew high media attention for the pertinent issues they addressed and the overall high perception of their potential impacts on society. Further findings revealed that the Senate Committee on Ethics, Privileges, and Public Petitions was particularly very active; the Committee concluded 139 petitions and laid 126 reports which were all considered. Findings further revealed that the Committee System was a beehive of activities as a record number of Bills were passed surpassing that of the previous Assemblies. Objective three revealed that

though the Senate Committee System has a large number of senior officers with higher educational qualifications indicating that the Committee Secretariats is a vibrant one which is able to offer quality services, however, irregular professional training and lack of adequate funding were nagging factors that militated against the effectiveness of the Senate Committees of the 8th Assembly. Findings on objective four revealed that a high number of respondents solicits for more support from civil societies, more relevant training and re-training and more funding to carry out committee assignments.

The study recommended that in respect to findings on objective one and two, despite the high number of Bills passed by the 8th Senate, it could still do better where clearer mandate is given and necessary sanctions are prescribed for inability to deliver within the required timeframe. It is also recommended as regards objective three that regular legislative training be conducted for the leadership, membership and committee secretariat. The study concluded that there is need to pay great attention to the composition of committees and take deliberate interest in its challenges in order deal with them for greater efficiency.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the study

Just like most legislatures all over the world, the Nigerian National Assembly performs three core functions; representation, lawmaking, and oversight. Legislatures are representatives of the people tasked with the responsibility of enacting laws, playing oversight roles and other legislative functions. Nigeria's federal legislature, the National Assembly, operates a bicameral system that consists of the Senate which is often referred to as the Upper Chamber, and the House of Representatives, the Lower Chamber. The legislature plays critical roles and it is the mainstay of democratic systems across the world. The legislature in all democratic systems remains the platform of representation of the diverse interests of the citizens of that nation. Also in its onus is the responsibility to determine the direction of the country through the formulation of popularly acceptable policies and programs.

The concept of the Committee System originates in Britain and was used by the British Parliament in its law-making functions. The American colonial assemblies, as well as continental assemblies employed the committee system in their legislative structures (Nwosu, 2014). This point out the familiarity of the committee system and the roles they perform in the legislature.

In the British system, the executive branch of Government develops most draft laws and the main role of the Parliament is to review, amend and pass laws but few and even fewer are passed (Nwosu, 2014). While in Presidential Systems like the United States Congress, the individual member of Congress has greater opportunity to produce draft laws before they are reviewed, amended and passed. Looking at the hybrid systems practiced in some countries like France,

they have developed other methods of developing draft laws. Whatever the case may be, the effective legislative roles of the legislature are fulfilled largely by the Committee System.

Nigeria operates the American Style Presidential system of Government with a bicameral legislature. In this system, the individual members of Congress or the Assembly possesses a great opportunity to present Motions and draft laws for consideration, amendment and eventual passage. Also, there are executive Bills which emanate primarily from the executive but must be presented, usually, by the Majority Leader of the Senate or House of Representatives as sponsors of such Bills.

The Legislature relies on the Committee System in fulfilling its functions. The legislative committees can be described as mini parliaments as well as small groups of legislators who have been assigned to perform various legislative roles on behalf of the whole body of the legislature in a particular Chamber. They are appointed by the legislative Assembly to undertake businesses on its behalf; they get their powers from the Standing Orders of the Assembly and must report their findings back to the House (US Senate, n.d).

A major essence of the committee system include the scrutiny of proposed laws, amendment of Bills, repeal and re-enactment of Bills in a more critical way in order to enhance the functionality of laws and desired positive impact on the general society. Legislative functions of committees are barely the same all over the world; as stated on Bhutan's National Assembly website, some of the functions of committees includes taking submissions, hearing witnesses, discussing matters in detail, and formulating reasoned conclusions (National Assembly of Bhutan, 2022). Furthermore, the Legislative functions of Committees include encouraging and enabling the National Assembly members to develop special interest and expertise in particular aspects of

policy and legislative matters. They investigate, legislate, review and draw attention to important matters that are referred to them and give advice.

Thus, the Committee System is an integral part of the Legislature. Legislative activities are mainly executed through the operations of the Committees. That is to say, the Committee system is an engine room of the Parliament. This is why the USA over the years, invests so heavily in the composition and staffing of its legislative committees. For instance, the United States revealed that Senate committee staffs often include staff directors, legal counsel, researchers, policy analysts, press assistants, and archivists. Committees also employ Clerks to help draft legislations, manage consideration of Bills, nominations and treaties and conduct investigation and oversight responsibilities (Paul, 2005).

Most developing democratic countries like Nigeria are striving to have effective and efficient legislature. Since the return to democracy after a long military rule, the Nigerian National Assembly has been representing the Nigerian public while operating through its legislative committees. Chapter five of the Nigerian 1999 Constitution (as amended) makes extensive provisions on the formation of the National Assembly and its workings. Section 62 (1) and (2) of the same Constitution empowers the National Assembly to create various committees in carrying out its legislative functions.

- i. The Senate or the House of Representatives may appoint a committee of its members for such special or general purpose as in its opinion would be better regulated and managed by means of such a committee, and may by resolution, regulation or otherwise, as it thinks fit, delegate any functions exercisable by it to any such committee.
- ii. The number of members of a committee appointed under this section, their terms of office and quorum shall be fixed by the House appointing it.

As much as there are provisions for the establishment of committees and its importance in the legislature, it is argued that most of these committees especially in Nigeria and most emerging democracies have not been found very effective. Some of the arguments tend towards the view that most of them lack adequate human and material resources while others argue that the mass turnover of experienced legislators at the end of an Assembly has been detrimental to legislative functions. Assessing the legislative activities of committees as performed by the Nigerian 8th National Assembly is the main crux of this study. The 8th Assembly faced some challenges that undermined the performance of its Committees legislative functions despite the consideration that it worked on and passed the highest number of Bills in comparison with the earlier assemblies in Nigeria (Jimoh, 2019).

1.2. Statement of the Research Problem

The Committees are created for the purpose of satisfying the need for specialization and division of labour in lawmaking. Despite all the powers and functions of the National Assembly, it is however alleged that laws are passed in the National Assembly without thorough analysis and adequate inputs from all relevant stakeholders. This has resulted in the passage of low quality Bills, prolonged time in their passage and eventual rejection by the executive by withholding assent or returning of Bills for further legislative actions. The basic roles of legislative committees can only be fulfilled if the legislature takes the initiative in affirming its independence. Like many other legislative bodies around the world, the Nigerian National Assembly requires the services of an efficient committee system to provide support in order to deliver on the roles of the legislature. However, despite the existence of committees in the Nigerian National Assembly, it is argued that most Bills passed into law especially in the 8th National Assembly were not subjected to thorough analysis of their political, economic, social

and legal consequences on the nation (Oyewo, 2019). There is a need to assess any structural or operational issues that may be hindering the workings of the committee system and the legislative functions of the Nigerian 8th Senate.

These are very serious concerns that need to be researched on for the purpose of recommending remedies for the situation, so that the Nigerian National Assembly could take its place in national development and be reckoned with among other Parliaments of the world.

1.3. Key research questions

- i. What significant roles did the committees play in the 8th Senate of the National Assembly?
- ii. To what extent has the 8th Senate used the committee system?
- iii. What are the challenges that impeded the performance of the Senate committees in carrying out legislative functions of the National Assembly?
- iv. What are the ways the Senate can use the committee system more effectively?

1.4. Objectives of the Research

This study is designed to assess the performance of the Senate Committees in the 8th National Assembly towards discharging their constitutional mandate and legislative functions.

The objectives of the study are to:

- i. assess the roles the Senate committees played in the 8th Assembly;
- ii. determine the extent that the 8th Senate used the committee system; and
- iii. identify the challenges impeding the performance of the Senate committees in carrying out legislative functions of the National Assembly.
- iv. Recommend ways the Senate can use the committee system more effectively

1.5. Significance of the study: Who benefits?

The Committee System in the Legislature plays a lot of role towards achieving the mandate of the Assembly. A lot of work has been done on the workings of Legislative Committees; however, not much attention has been given to the area of effectiveness of the Committees considering the roles of members, committee secretariat and other relevant stakeholders in particular assemblies.

This research intends to take an in-depth look into the Committee system and impact of its Legislative functions in the 8th Senate of the Nigerian National Assembly. This is expected to elicit recommendations that will be of tremendous use for returning and new members of the National Assembly, the career staff of the National Assembly, policy makers as well as students of legislative/parliamentary studies.

1.6 Scope of the study

Notably, loads of work has been done in the National Assembly over the past assemblies by Legislative Committees; this research concentrates on the 8th Senate of the Nigerian National Assembly, Abuja, which spanned from 2015 to 2019 while making comparative analysis of some past assemblies and some parliaments around the world. Relevant information is elucidated from selected Committee Clerks and staff of Committee Secretariats of the Senate.

1.7. Operational Definitions of relevant terms

Clarification of terms used in this research is expediently given below.

Assessment

Assessment refers to a systematic basis for making inferences, it an act of judging or detecting the amount, value, quality or importance of someone's knowledge, ability, skills, etc. or the judgement that is made.

Committee System

A committee is a group of people appointed for a specific function by a larger group and typically consisting of members of that group. A committee system is made up of a small number of parliamentary members appointed to deal with particular areas or issues originating in the parliamentary democracy.

Legislative Functions

Legislative function can be said to be the right to adopt the laws which govern the country. This is basically what the legislature does; and it includes the powers to passing laws, appropriating government's budget, confirming executive appointments, ratifying treaties, investigating the executive branch, impeaching and removing from office members of the executive and judiciary, and redressing constituents' grievances through motions and resolutions.

Nigerian 8th National Assembly

The Nigerian 8th National Assembly is the assembly of members of the National Assembly (Senate and House of Representatives) which was inaugurated in June 2015 and completed its tenure in June 2019. This assembly was presided over by Distinguished Senator Bukola Saraki in the Senate and Rt. Hon. Yakubu Dogara as the Speaker of the House of Representatives.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORITICAL FRAMEWORK

This chapter presented a review of the concept of the legislative Committee system and legislative function while reviewing divers views of various literatures. An empirical review and the theoretical framework adopted for this research is also expatiated upon.

2.0. Conceptual Review

Conceptual review of concepts relevant to the study and an outline of relationships between them is discussed.

2.1. Legislative Committees

The concept of the legislative committees and legislative functions in the 8th Senate of the Nigerian National Assembly is such that needs an overview of the origin of the Nigerian State, democratic process, the legislature and its committees. Hamalai (2010) mentioned that one of the principal mechanism of the legislature is the Legislative Committees which consist of group of Members of Parliament. These groups of people are established to carry out specific tasks or functions that are committed to them.

2.1.1 The Committee System and its origin

The legislature in all democratic systems was and still remains the podium for the representation of the various diverse interests of the citizens of a nation. It has therefore very enormous task at hand in terms of striking a balance of the divergent demands and expectations of individuals and groups, especially in societies with heterogeneity. The performance of these and other responsibilities makes the legislature a very important institution and a major study area of scholars of democratic development.

Unarguably, the whole work of the legislature is carried out using the mechanism of the committee system; the committee system as part of its internal working mechanism is a major focus among observers of democracy and the legislature in particular, in most recent times.

Wenibowei (2021) opined that the committee system is known and widely practiced among countries with representative democracy and since its introduction into the legislative process, the committee system has become an integral part of the law making organ and has been responsible for the effectiveness of the legislature in most countries. Esebagbon (2005) notes that the committee system is a major feature of presidential system of Government which Nigeria operates, fashioned after that of America Presidential model. In the same vein, in Parliamentary Governments structured along the West Minster, that is, the British system, the Prime Minister who heads the Government and other ministers are elected members of the parliament and thus members of some legislative committees. Hence, the legislative committees in the Parliamentary Government may not enjoy wide, effectual powers in the legislative process as in Presidential Legislature because the Government is usually in the House interacting with the opposition and available to confront questions on Government policies thereby creating little room for second parties to study in-depth and research on proposed measures.

Esebagbon (2005) also notes that the Committee system in the United States came about in response to the urgent need to effectively direct and review the operations of the executive branch in giving effect to laws. Therefore, Vincent (1992) opined that the committee system in the American Congress can be described as the nerve ends of congress, the gatherers of information, the sifters of alternatives, and the refiners of legislation. This means that the life and operations of American representative Government can be seen in the workings of the congressional committees and that the committee system in the American congress is very viable

and can be described as the life wire of the congress. Therefore in practice, the legislative committees have come to occupy position of great and often crucial importance not only in America but in most democratic Government legislature's decision-making process.

Keefe & Ogul (1993), observed that legislative committee powers is far from new as political scientists have long had a heavy intellectual investment in it because of its early sponsors. Also, the important roles of the committee system are now well acknowledged and accepted, giving the need for the legislature to perform its duties more efficiently and effectively. The committee system makes the processes and procedures of law making a lot easier for the legislators and thus, may be best described as the engine room for the contemporary legislature. The role committee system has come to play in the business of law-making cannot be overemphasized; an historical review will bring enlightenment on how and when the committee system originated.

Scanning through the website of the United States Senate, it gives information regarding when the committees system began to be in 1816, stating that prior to that time, the Senate relied on temporary select committees. As time went on, three types of committees evolved through the years. These are the standing, select/special and joint Committees. The committee system is one of the distinctive peculiarities of the American legislature. According to Radice (1999), the use of committees by the United Kingdom Parliament, and its predecessors, had hardly ever been systematic because its history has been one of the haphazard adaptation of existing forms to suit the exigencies of the moment. He however mentions that committees of some form appear to have existed in the earliest Parliaments because there are evidences of eight committees being established in the Parliament in 1340. This assertion fails to give a detailed analysis of the introduction of the Committee System in the British Parliament.

However, Marleau and Montpetit (2000) gave a clearer narration of the history of Committees of the British Parliament thus: that the committee in the British Parliament had existed in some form since the fourteenth century and that the precursors to the first parliamentary committees were the individuals selected as Triers and Examiners of petitions. Also, that the earliest duty of committees as they were known was to draw up legislation to carry into effect those prayers of petitions to which the Crown had acceded. By the middle of the sixteenth century, committees formed part of the regular machinery of parliament, modifying or improving legislation to which the House of Commons had agreed to in principle. Committees had their own meeting room in the palace of Westminster and committee practice had acquired many of its modern characteristics, including the more relaxed rules governing debate, the right to appoint sub-committees and the right to summon witnesses.

Also, the House was always careful to exercise control over, and responsibility for those matters it referred to committee. They further mentioned that over time, some of these large committees were given sessional orders of reference (or mandates) which remained in effect for the duration of a session; and as standing committees, they were charged with an area of responsibility, such as the consideration of a class of Bills or a particular department of House business. However, by mid-seventeenth century, a fairly elaborate system of standing committees was in place, and that system remained virtually unchanged over the next two centuries.

On the other hand, the smaller committees, composed of only those members who had been specifically named by the House, became known as select committees. While any Member could attend select committee proceedings, only those specifically named to the committee by the House could participate in the deliberations. Over time, as the business of the legislature increased in democracies, the demand for legislative efficiency and effectiveness became more

expedient. Weniwobei (2021) gave an insight into the Parliament of India, a former colonial territory of Great Britain as an apt example of a representative Government with a legislative committee system. The committee system of the India Parliament which existed in their first Parliament was in 1854 with a four committee members appointed to consider what should be its standing order at its first sitting held on May 20, 1854. It is noteworthy that the establishment of colonial legislature in African countries which were formerly colonized marked the introduction and a gradual development of the modern legislative committee system in most of African countries.

2.1.2 Origin of the Nigerian Legislative Committee System

Notably, the process of legislative evolution in Nigeria turned out to be different from that of the western democracies.

Esebagbon (2005) succinctly puts it that the legislature in Nigeria is a distinct arm of Government which derives its creation, existence, authority, powers, duties and legitimacy from the Constitution; in the case of Nigeria, it is found in Section 4 of the 1999 Constitution (as amended). Traditionally, the legislature is vested with formal lawmaking power, giving it some capacity to shape or at least influence public policy (Hamalai, 2010). The Legislature thus represents and projects the will of the people. As a very erudite lecturer at the National Institute Legislative and Democratic Studies (NILDS), Dr. Asimiyu Gbolagade Abiola would always say; the legislators in the Parliament are the representatives of the people and thus they *see, feel, hear,* and *speak* on behalf of the people. One distinct feature which differentiates the legislature from other arms of Government is identified as the constitutional authority to pass laws, and the second is the fact that its members are often elected to represent the interest of the general citizenry.

The legislature in Nigeria is an offshoot of colonialism meant to ratify the functions of the Colonial leaders. Post-colonial characters hindered the Nigerian legislature to develop as an autonomous arm of Government with all the attributes of a law-making body in modern democracies. The year 1861 was the year that the Colonial Government officially annexed Lagos as a Colony, and for effectiveness of the governance of Lagos to meet colonial political and economic needs, the Colonial Governor established a Legislative Council to oversee the affairs of the Colony (Chilaka et al, 2021). Members of the Legislative Council, selected by the colonial powers, were ten in number and only two were indigenous people. Unfortunately, this law-making arm lacked the power to perform law-making function but was only an advisory body to the colonial Governor. Later, the colony of Lagos became part of the Southern Protectorate; the colonial Government amalgamated the Southern and Northern Protectorates, which birthed the Colony and Protectorate of Nigeria, in 1914. It appointed Frederick Lugard as the First Governor General of the amalgamated colonies. For efficient administration of the amalgamated colonies with British interest as the motivating factor, Lugard established a Legislative Council comprising of only six Nigerians and a total of thirty-six (36) members arbitrarily selected by the colonial Government to represent competing interests.

Like the Lagos Council that preceded it, the Council was devoid of legislative power and performed no legislative function, but was only advisory and performed ratificatory function. In 1922, the emergence of the Clifford Constitution provided for the election of four Nigerians in a 46 membership Council; it was a major constitutional development that positively impacted on legislative development in Nigeria. The 1946 Richard's Constitution and the 1951 Macpherson Constitution tried to increase the number of elected Nigerians into the Colonial Legislative Councils in response to the nationalists' struggles in Nigeria as the elective principle had been

introduced by the Clifford Constitution. The McPherson Constitution created bicameral regional legislatures known as the House of Chiefs and the House of Assembly in the Northern and Western regions.

As Nigeria became an independent nation on 1st October 1960, it adopted the Westminster Parliamentary system of Government modeled after the British system. The Nigerian Federal Legislature became bicameral with 44 members in the Senate and 312 in House of representatives selected to serve for five years, this lasted till January 1966; this is as written on the website of the Nigerian High Commission in Kenya. The first military intervention of January 1966 in Nigeria which overthrew the civilian rule in a military coup brought an abrupt end to the first legislature. This continued till General Olusegun Obasanjo handed power to the first Executive President of Nigeria, President Shehu Shagari in 1979. The tragedy of military rule is that, the legislature is the arm of Government that is most affected because in a military regime, it is non-existent unlike the executive and judiciary (Chilaka et al, 2021). The evolution of the legislature in Nigeria continued with the Second Republic in 1979 when a new Constitution adopted the American styled presidential system of Government, thus creating legislatures at the federal and state levels.

A unicameral legislature was established at the state levels and its composition was determined by population of respective States. Chilaka et al (2021), mentions that the evolution and development of the legislature in Nigeria was stifled in 1983 when the General Muhammadu Buhari-led military staged a comeback to power. This was followed by series of *coup de tat* at one time or the other thereby elongating the military rule until 1993 when General Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida, the then head of Military Government put up an Interim Civilian Government with the mandate of transiting to a democratic rule by conducting elections. This

arrangement only lasted for three months only because it was interrupted by the emergence of General Sani Abacha as the new Military Head of State after a *coup de tat*. His administration was cut short as he died in 1988 and General Abdulsalami Abubakar assumed leadership of the Military Government and successfully conducted an election which returned Nigeria to democratic rule in May 1999.

Throughout the military rule, the legislature was suspended until the return of democracy and the legislature was re-instituted into Nigeria and heralded the Fourth Republic till date. As stated by Chilaka et al (2021), the 1999 Constitution (as amended) was in many ways a replication of the 1979 Constitution with few modifications. It recognized both the Senate and House of Representatives as the National Assembly and approves a unicameral legislative system at State levels. The Senate is made up of 109 Senators with three from each State of the federation and one representing the Federal Capital Territory (FCT), while the House of Representatives consists of 306 members distributed based on population size. The Nigerian High Commission in Kenya posted on its website that since the restoration of democracy and the legislature into the country in 1999, there has been a gradual transformation of the political landscape. Since then, Nigeria has had six consecutive assemblies or four years each, spanning through a period of 24 unbroken years (The Parliament, n.d.); (1999-2003; 2003-2007; 2007-2011; 2011-2015; 2015-2019 and the ongoing 2019-2023). The legislature while engaging with relevant stakeholders has made impressive progression in delivering on its mandate.

The structure of the National Assembly led by the bureaucracy is composed of an independent National Assembly Service Commission (NASC) established by an Act in 1990, with the current enabling law of 2014; the Commission is composed of a Chairman and 12 members, two each from the six geo-political zones of the federation. They are charged with the responsibilities of

recruitment, promotion, discipline and such duties as the Act has mandated them to perform. It is part of the duties of the Commission to appoint persons to hold or act in the offices of: the Clerk to the National Assembly, the Deputy Clerk to the National Assembly, the Clerk to the Senate, the Clerk to the House of Representatives, the Deputy Clerk to the Senate, the Deputy Clerk to the House of Representatives, the Sergeant-at-arms, the Secretaries to the Directorates, the Directors and all other relevant staff (Ikeanyibe & Nnamani, 2018). It is noteworthy that the legislative committees of the National Assembly get served by staff of the Senate and House of Representatives directorates; they form the secretariat that carry out administrative and logistic support for the activities and duties played by the various committees.

2.1.3 Types of committees

According to the National Democratic Institute (NDI) (1996), committees are a small group of legislators who are assigned, on either temporary or permanent basis to examine matters more closely than could the full Chamber. Committees are extension of the Senate/House of Representatives and are limited on their powers by the authority delegated to them. The works delegated by the Parliament to Committees are usually related to the examination of Bills, the scrutiny of the operations of the Executive or the investigation of some issues of public concern. Committees are categorized according to what they are primarily mandated to do as enunciated below.

i. Special Committees

Special Committees are committees appointed to perform special functions that are beyond the authority or capacity of a standing committee. In some legislatures, special committees are ad-hoc in nature and are appointed to inquire into or handle special matters. They are often set up by a resolution of the House, specifying their purpose, powers, size of membership and usually,

with time frame within which to submit report to the House. The members are usually appointed soon after the resolution setting them up or shortly thereafter. LawTeacher (2013) explains that the United States Congress has a wider dimension of the Special Committees. A special or select committee of the United States Congress is a congressional committee which is appointed to perform a special function that is beyond the authority or capacity of a standing committee. It is usually created by a resolution that outlines its duties and powers and the procedures for appointing members.

In the National Assembly, Special Committees are established under the standing orders, and operate for the life of the Assembly which appointed them. They are called “Special” Committee because of the special nature of their mandate. Special committees are therefore not ad-hoc, they operate as standing committees.

There are at present, six (6) Special Committees in the Senate and Seven (7) in the House of Representatives. These are:

1. Committee on Selection (Senate & House)
2. Committee on Rules and Business (Senate & House)
3. Committee on House/Senate Services (Senate & House)
4. Committee on Public Account (Senate & House)
5. Committee on Ethics and Privileges (House) in Senate it is Ethics, Code of Conduct and Public Petitions
6. Committee on Public Petitions (House only)
7. Committee on Media and Public Affairs (House only)
8. Committee on National Security and intelligence (Senate only).

The Senate Standing Order (96) states that special committees must be constituted within the first fourteen (14) legislative days following the first sitting of the Senate, while the House standing order (18), Rule (1) states that special committees must be constituted within the first thirty (30) legislative days following the first sitting the House.

ii. Standing Committees

Standing Committees are appointed under the standing orders or Rules of the respective chambers, the Senate or the House of Representatives. As the name implies, they are permanent in nature and exist for the life of the Assembly which appointed them. The Rules also gives each standing committee clear mandate and functions, as well as Agencies under their supervision. Standing committees also consider matters referred to them by House. They are required to report their findings and proposals to their parent body for consideration.

iii. Sub-Committees

Sub committees are the offshoot and creation of standing committees, their reports are submitted to the mother-committee which created them.

iv. Ad-Hoc Committees

House Order (18), Rule (9) establishes special Ad-Hoc Committee to be constituted as the need arises, to handle specific matters. They are special Ad-Hoc because, unlike special committees, the Rules have not given the specific mandate. They get their mandate or terms of reference at the time of establishment and are dissolved soon after submitting report. SanatKanwar (2019) corroborated in asserting that in the Indian Parliament for instance, Parliament can also form ad-hoc Committees for a specific purpose such as addressing administrative issues, examining a Bill, or examining an issue.

v. Joint Committees

In a bicameral legislature like Nigeria, joint committees are composed of an equal number of Members of both Houses jurisdiction. This is often premised on the behalf that no House or chamber is superior to the other.

vi. Joint Committee on Finance

Section 62(3) of the 1999 Constitution authorizes the National Assembly to set up a Joint Committee on Finance. The sub-section says that: The Senate and the House of Representatives shall appoint a Joint Committee on Finance consisting of an equal member of persons appointed by each House and may appoint any other joint committee under the provision of the section.

vii. Conference Committees

In a bicameral legislature like Nigeria, a Conference Committee is a special type of joint committee with equal members drawn from the two chambers. It is dissolved automatically after it submits its report. Its mandate usually is to reconcile the differences in a Bill or measures passed by each of the chambers in different forms.

viii. Committee of the whole

The committee of the whole is simply a committee consisting of the whole member of the legislators in a particular Chamber. At such committee sittings, the Presiding Officers assumes the role of the Chairman while the sitting lasts. In this regard, Esebagbon (2005) stated that in the absence of the Presiding Officers, the Deputy Presiding Officers or any other Principal Officer may chair the Committee of the Whole. Hamalai (2010) mentions that while most legislative committees comprise a number of legislators, parliament may also use the device of meeting as a Committee of the Whole House, during which all Members of Parliament may attend. Issues that the House can deal with in the Committee of the Whole include consideration

of committee report on Bills and screening of ministerial nominees. The Committee of whole functions such that when the Committee completes action on an issue, it rises immediately and reports back to the House by recommending that the Bill be passed or otherwise; the report be adopted or referred for further legislative actions.

2.1.4 Constitutionality of Parliamentary Committees

Committees of the Nigerian National Assembly draw their authority from the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria and the Standing Orders of the Senate and House of Representatives. Esebagbon (2005) opined that it is in recognition of the pivotal roles that committees play in modern legislative process that section 62 (1) and (2) of the 1999 Constitution states:

- i. The Senate or the House of Representatives may appoint a committee of its members for such special or general purpose as in its opinion would be better regulated and managed by means of such a committee, and may by resolution, regulation or otherwise, as it thinks fit, delegate any functions exercisable by it to any such committee.
- ii. The number of members of a committee appointed under this section, their terms of office and quorum shall be fixed by the House appointing it.

2.1.5 Powers of Committees

The powers of committees in the National Assembly of Nigeria include power to:

- i. Examine matters within their specific mandate or matters referred to them by the House
- ii. Report to the House from time to time, and required to include a dissenting or minority view to its main report.
- iii. Send for persons papers and reports
- iv. Sit when the House is adjourned

- v. Hire experts and Consultants
- vi. Undertake tours for inspection or investigation
- vii. Organise or institute hearings on any matter referred to them
- viii. Print necessary papers and evidence among others

2.1.6 Committee System and Legislative Process

The Legislature is known to perform three very important functions; these functions are not without the commitment of the Committee System. Since the return to democratic rule in 1999 which heralded the present fourth republic, the Nigerian legislature has been striving to ensure that, the often referred to as nascent democracy is employing its internally established structures and mechanisms to achieve stability in this arm of Government. Notably, through its engagement with the executive arm of Government on policies, programs and projects that is meant to positively affect the living standard of the polity, it has significantly brought governance closer to the people, these successes are nonetheless achieved through the proficiency of the Committee System.

Therefore, the committee system is a very critical aspect of the internal mechanisms that the legislature usually employ to get its mandate delivered in a professional, efficient, and effective manner while paying attention to inclusiveness through public hearings.

Describing the importance of the committee system Hamalai(2010) stated that, the committee permits parliament to use its resources both in terms of people and time to examine complex issues thoroughly than when they are discussed on the Floor of a House. Examples of these are the examination of witnesses and detailed consideration of legislation, estimates and technical matters. Moreover, the complexity and variety of issues that face modern legislatures, the demand and limitation on the time of legislators makes demand for specialization and division of

labour inevitable; this is adequately covered by the creation and utilization of legislative committees.

Keefe and Ogul (1993) observed that with committee experience comes the opportunity for specialization, which in turn enhances the members' and legislature's effectiveness; and this is assumed by many. Hence, the legislative committees assume much of the work of the parliament. It is also argued that without the committee system, it will almost be impossible for any legislative House to finish the volume of work which is required to be handled within a particular Assembly. Furthermore, the committee process facilitates negotiations and log-rolling. They stated that the American Congress turns most of its work over to committees simply because the committee room is the only place where it is possible to arrange a compromise acceptable to all major interests affected.

This is true regarding the Nigerian National Assembly because, in legislating on a Bill, most times a Technical Committee comprising of the lawmakers, stakeholders and technocrats is usually set-up by relevant legislative committees after a public hearing to garner further information towards the presentation of a robust law.

2.1.7 Challenges of Legislative Committees

The workings of Legislative Committees like most set-up is not without a few challenges. One of the such challenges in the Nigerian National Assembly includes the high turn-over of legislators – the National Assembly for instance has been experiencing a high turnover rate of legislators who have been trained and involved so much in the relevant committees where they worked and made impact. When new and inexperienced legislators take over, the Committees suffer and seem to start all over again. For instance, the Committee on Rules and Business was

chaired for two consecutive times in the House of Representatives and once in the Senate by a distinguished legislator, he was not returned in the 8th Assembly. He left the legislature with his wealth of experience leaving the Committee on Rules and Business to inexperienced hands but at the mercy of the few longstanding Committee Staff.

Another challenge is the issue of the constant change of Committee Clerks – where legislators reject Committee Clerks for whatever reasons, despite the fact that they have been relevant and well-experienced in a particular Committee, it hampers the work of the Committee as the new Clerk may have to start learning the workings of the particular Committee.

The Committee Secretariat needs all basic working facilities such as computers, information systems, internet facilities, modern library materials, etc. to function at its optimum. Lack or inadequacy of such amenities hampers the effectiveness of committees. Following closely is poor funding; no committee can function effectively without adequate funds needed for the day-to-day running or administration of matters under its jurisdiction. Financial constraints also make effective legislative oversight and meaningful research on legislative proposals impossible.

Furthermore, vital technical and research support to committees are sometimes insufficient; hence Committee Clerks are expected to be ‘jack of all trade’ without the required capacity. To combat this challenge, some Committee Chairmen resort to the use of consultants. The American Congress has over the years been able to develop and surmount this challenge as succinctly put by Keefe and Ogul (1993), staffing is a crucial matter in the development and maintenance of legislative autonomy because where the legislature must rely on outside forces for information and assistance, it loses control over its own activities and eventually lose its independence.

2.1.8 The Nigerian legislature and its relationship with other arms of Government

Nigeria as a country operates the Presidential System of Government, and one of the cardinal features of the Presidential System of Government is the distribution of power among three arms or organs of Government; the Legislature, the Executive and the Judiciary. The legislature is very unique because it is the representation of the people saddled with the responsibility of enacting laws and performs the role of oversight over the other arms of Government. The legislature may be unicameral or bicameral as the case may be; Nigeria operates a bicameral legislature at the Federal level which consists of the Senate and the House of Representatives just like in the USA.

Furthermore, Chilaka et al (2021) mentioned that countries that practice unicameral legislature only have one legislative House empowered to make laws. Examples of such countries include Spain, New Zealand and Bulgaria among others. Notably, a country may adopt the combination of the two types especially in different tiers or levels of Government. The historical origin of the legislature of a country usually determine the type of legislature a country operates; other factors may include the constitutional provisions, socio-economic, class structures, religious considerations, cultural diversity and some others. However, the success or survival of democracy depends on how the legislature conducts its affairs and performs its functions.

Other legislative functions of the legislature in Nigeria apart from law making is the responsibilities of appropriation and monitoring its implementation, confirming important appointments made by the executive, initiating constitutional amendments, investigating complaints of public concern, oversight function on Government agencies and impeaching an executive where and when it becomes expedient. Section 88 of the Nigeria 1999 Constitution (as amended), empowers the National Assembly to direct an investigation into the activities of the

executive arm of the Government. For the sustenance of democracy, the executive arm of Government is charged with the implementation of legislative laws and other functions vested on it by the Constitution which includes the maintenance of law and order, initiating Bills for the good of the public, making Government appointments, among others.

On the other hand, the judicial arm of Government is charged with the interpretation of the Constitution and laws passed by the legislature for adjudication, resolving disputes and deciding on appropriate punishment of offenders. Government can therefore be said to sit on a tripod as expressed through law making, execution of law and adjudication.

2.2. Theoretical Review

A theory is a formal idea or set of ideas that is intended to explain facts and events; it is a speculative idea as to how something might be done or can be said to be done. One of the objectives of this study is to assess the role of the Committee System in the 8th Senate of the National Assembly.

Every establishment operates through a system. A system has been simply defined as a collection of elements or components organized for a common purpose. According to Anatol Rapoport, a renowned mathematical philosopher, a system is a set of interrelated entities connected by behavior and history. He specifically, stated that a system must satisfy the criteria that one can specify a set of identifiable elements, among at least some of the elements, one can specify identifiable relations; certain relations will imply others; and a certain complex of relations at a given time implies a certain complex at a later time. Looking at this definition, it can be seen as broad enough to include social systems, including economics and politics. Social systems might be described as a class of entities; this includes individuals, families, and institutions with relations among them through communication channels, influence or obligations.

Usually, systems are classified by the nature of their relation to their environments and the rules guiding the behavior and reaction of each segment. On the systems theory, Fritzsche (2010) postulated that while systems in the physical sciences (like the solar system, chemical reactions, and ecological systems) are extremely rigorous, social systems are less precise. In social systems, the elements and relations are vague and hard to define. As the basic unit of social systems, roles are commonly difficult to identify and classify. However, political roles deal with decision making on behalf of society and with performance of actions that implement the decisions and allocate scarce funds and other vital resources. In analyzing the committee system, it is important to describe the roles and the people performing them.

i. Structural functionalism

Structural Functionalism has been propagated before systems theory; it still presupposes a systems view of the political world. This means that the two are similar, though functionalism is so different significantly. Fisher (2010) describes two distinctive types of functional analysis. They are, traditional and formal. Traditional functional analysis is the most commonly used. It is based on the premise that all social patterns work to maintain the integration and adaptation of the larger system. The doctrine of separation of powers indicates the independency and interrelation of the three arms of Government; therefore, each arm of Government as a system must work to maintain the integration of the society.

Relating to the Legislature, the Legislative Committee System simply carries out the bidding of the whole House as guided by the Standing Orders and the Constitution of the country. The committee eventually reports back to the plenary and its report is either adopted, amended or rejected; rejection of course, is seldom the case. However, there are no known procedure to issue sanctions to committees who fails to submit reports to the Plenary sitting as at when due.

Though sometimes, committee Chairmen comes to the Floor of the Senate requesting for an extension of the expected time of reporting back.

ii. The System Theory

David Easton is the first political thinker to use the system analysis to understand political process; and his System Theory is defined as a set of related units which interact with each other on a continuous basis (Modern Thinkers, 2023). David Easton argued that all political systems are closely connected with other social systems. He further analysed that a regular flow of influence exists from the environment to the system, which he referred to as input; and from the system to the environment, the output.

In his opinion, demand and support are the components of input where demand refers to a set of claims, needs and wants made by a particular group or the general public on the Government. It could also be in form of agitations, appeals, etc., for more or better infrastructure, road and transportation, educational opportunities, equal representation, accountability, communication and security. These demands are expected to be given attention by any of the three arms of Government. Now, when these demands refer to enforcement of laws and provision of infrastructure, security etc., and the executive is expected to take necessary action or actions. Demand may also be for justice and access to judicial remedies; this of course is the duty of the judiciary.

When on the other hand, the agitation is demand for law-making; for instance demand for the establishment of special schools to cater for children with special needs, demand for investigations into alleged corruption in Government agencies, etc., the legislature comes into the picture and the main crux of the job is laid on the relevant legislative committee to ensure speedy legislative interventions.

The conversion process in this theory according to Easton is the point at which the input received is being processed; this ensures that the society functions maximally. The conversion process converts the input into the forms of laws to be enforced and policies to be implemented. The response of the three arms of Government at each point is what the Easton's theory termed as output. The output affects the environment and modifies the input (Modern Thinkers, 2023); because societal needs are revolving.

Support on the other hand is a mechanism that sustains the system which provides legitimacy and allegiance to the system. It refers to political obedience, values, ideologies or belief system that people have toward the system. The Legislative Committees in the 8th Senate for instance collaborated with Civil Societies Organisations (CSOs) in carrying out their legislative activities. This was lauded by the majority of the citizenry as it gave a better avenue for the public to express their desires and aspirations as regards what is expected of the legislature.

Communication process is very essential in any system; therefore, the concept of feedback is not only central to David Easton's System theory but an essential element. Feedback mechanism functions between the inputs and outputs; it completes the cycle of the political system and makes it a dynamic and regenerative operation.

2.3. Empirical Review

The empirical literature on the assessment of the committee system of the 8th Nigerian Senate is limited. However, a few studies have been conducted to evaluate the effectiveness of this system. In a study conducted by Nwosu (2020), the author investigated the effectiveness of the committee system of the 8th Senate in addressing the issues that confront the Nigerian Senate.

The study found that the committee system was largely effective in addressing the issues, but that there were areas where the committee system could be improved upon.

In a similar study conducted by Obasi (2021), the author surveyed Senators and other stakeholders in the Nigerian Senate in order to assess the effectiveness of the committee system. The study found that the committee system was largely effective in providing oversight, transparency, and accountability, but that there were areas where the system could be improved, such as in the area of representation for the various interests of the Nigerian people.

A study conducted by Adeyemi (2022) assessed the effectiveness of the committee system in overseeing the implementation of the Senate's legislative agenda. The study found that the committee system was effective in overseeing the legislative agenda, but that there were issues related to transparency and accountability that could be addressed in order to improve the effectiveness of the Committee System in the Nigerian Senate. Overall, this review found that the committee system of the Nigerian 8th Senate has been successful in improving the legislative process, increasing representation of minority groups, and improving public opinion. The evidence suggests that the committee system has been effective in promoting a more transparent and accountable legislative process and in creating a more informed and engaged public.

This review concluded that the committee system of the Nigerian 8th Senate has been successful in achieving its goals and improving the legislative process. The evidence suggests that the committee system has been effective in promoting increased representation of often neglected feeble groups and in providing a forum for discussing and deciding on issues. Moreover, the review also found that the committee system has been successful in improving public opinion of the Senate and increasing public trust in the legislative process. Therefore, the committee system

of the Nigerian 8th Senate has been an effective tool for promoting a more transparent and accountable legislative process.

2.3.1 Gap in knowledge

The independence of the legislature in the 8th Assembly was threatened as it recorded the highest number of Bills rejected by the executive, thereby questioning the competence of its committee system. Notwithstanding the fact that the 8th Senate and imperatively, the 8th National Assembly passed the highest number of Bills in the history of the Nigerian Legislature since the return to democracy in 1999, most of the laws are weak and failed to meet the required timeframe for its completion and passage (YIAGA-CLE, 2019). This simply indicates that no matter how busy the legislative committees may seem, there is need to look into its compositions, staffing, funding and operations. A lot of work has been done on Parliamentary Committee System and Legislative functions; however this research sought to interrogate the workings of the Committee System and legislative functions in the 8th Senate of the National Assembly in particular. Also, a few works has been carried out on the performance 8th National Assembly but not much has been done on the Committee System which is a unit of the 8th Assembly which seems neglected so far. This research therefore studied the assessment of the Committee System in the legislature, particularly the 8th Senate.

2.2.1 Theoretical framework

Theoretical framework is the structure that can hold or support a theory or theories of a research study. The legislative committee system is a dynamic one as it is operated in a political environment. For this research study, the David Easton's System Theory explanatory tool is used as the intellectual binoculars to help in assessing the committee system and legislative functions of the 8th Assembly, and in particular the 8th Senate.

In this regard, the 8th Senate constituted a special Committee on Legislative Compliance. Aside the usual role of oversight performed by the legislature, this committee is a kind of special committee that monitors the level of compliance to legislative laws and resolutions. Apart from monitoring compliance by Government agencies and some individuals, they also monitor the compliance of other Committees of the Senate and other units of the Senate as regards mandates handed out to them to deliver within a certain time frame. Also, the 8th Senate set up a special committee which took charge of a five-day NASS Open Day to interact with various sector of the society, exhibit the work of all Committees of the 8th Senate and trash out some misconceptions about the Legislature.

Nonetheless, Modern (2023) have criticized the theory as propagated by David Easton. The argument is based on the opinion that the theory is too abstract and too far from empirical reality. It is further stated that the theory does not clearly articulate how conversions or feedback system work or function.

Despite the stated limitations, the David Easton System Theory has a lot of advantages which includes the fact that it offers a framework for scientific analysis of the political process. The Indira Gandhi National Open University (n.d.) mentions that system approach as proponed by Easton and some other scholars has been seen as a set of interrelations and patterned behavior among the individuals and institutions; a set of structures performing their respective functions and one to achieve certain goal and attempts to maintain itself amidst vicissitudes. Furthermore, the system approach is also said to provide a wider scope in understanding and analyzing social behavior and social interaction.

Therefore, the system theory is significant as regards the operations of the Committee System towards more effectiveness in carrying out the legislative functions of the National Assembly.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

This chapter of the study explains the methodology that was adopted in the research. The methodology is grouped into research design, method of data collection, types of data, population of the study, sampling technique and sample size.

Jansen and Warren (2020) defines Research Methodology as a practical ‘how’ of a research study. That is, how a researcher systematically designs a study to ensure valid and reliable results that address the research aims, objectives and questions. It is the methods, procedures or modalities by which the researcher intends to accomplish the objectives of his research project; a way to systematically solve the research problem

This chapter therefore gives a vivid description of the research design used for this research work and the methods adopted.

3.1. Research Design

Research Design is a about organising research activities including the collection of data in a way that is most likely to achieve the research objectives (Brown, 2022). It is a strategy usually used for answering the set research questions. It is a design because it also defines the overall approach of collecting and analyzing data. The research design for this study is both qualitative and quantitative, adopting observation and survey; the researcher utilized primary data obtained from administered questionnaire. Other data were also obtained through secondary data.

3.2. Method of data collection

According to Bhat (2023), data collection is a collection of facts, figures, objects, symbols, and events gathered from different sources. The method of data collection in this study is administration of questionnaire and collation of data from secondary sources.

3.2.1. Types of data

Data can be said to be a systematic record of a particular measure or quantity. Data arranged in an organized form is referred to as information. Data can further be typified as primary and secondary data.

3.2.2. Primary data

Primary data is that which is directly collected by the researcher and was not available before (Solanki, 2022). Primary data are usually obtained through surveys, observations, interviews, questionnaires, focused group and experiments. This research utilized the benefit of questionnaire, surveys and observation as its primary source of data as well as secondary data from reports.

3.2.3. Questionnaire

A questionnaire is a primary research instrument that consists of a set of questions that aims to collect information from a respondent. Taherdoost (2022), describe a questionnaire as a heart of the survey which is based on a set of questions to gather data from respondents. The data collected from questionnaire can be both qualitative as well as quantitative in nature. Interestingly, administration and collation of questionnaire has evolved over time with the advancement of ICT; questionnaires can now be sent, filled and collated on line using the internet network. This is really time saving as it enables the researcher to administer the

questionnaires without necessarily having to meet the respondents in person and this fortunately add to objectiveness in the final data collation and analysis.

3.2.4. Personal observation

The researcher had the privilege of observing the workings of some legislative Committees of the 8th Senate. Some conclusions were also drawn from the observations.

3.3. Secondary Data

For this research, secondary data were also obtained from Senate Committee on Rules and Business, books, journals and online materials. The Senate Committee on Rules and Business is one of the Special Committees of the National Assembly; one of its duties is to keep record of Bills, Motions and Petitions presented in the Chambers. Therefore, the data they keep was of utmost help in carrying out this research. Also, many books and journals written by various scholars regarding the Legislature and the importance of the Legislative Committee System were also very useful.

3.4. Population of the Study

The study population of this study is made up of Senate Committee Clerks and other staff of Committee Secretariats. The Senate consist of 69 Standing Committees; therefore there are 69 Committee Clerks and other staff members who belong to one committee secretariat or the other. Record from the Senate Management Office revealed that a total number of 697 staff work with various committees including the Committee Clerks. Therefore, the total population for this research is 697 committee staff.

3.5. Sampling Technique

In an attempt to draw valid conclusions for this research, a careful decision was made on a sample which represents the population of the study. A non-probability sampling technic was therefore adopted.

3.6. Sample size

The population size of this research consists of Senate Committee Clerks and other staff of the committees' secretariat. A total number of 32 Committees were assessed; 260 questionnaires were administered while 205 were returned. Out of the 55 remaining, 10 were filled half-way because the respondents says they do not have access to some of the data required by the questionnaire, while the remaining 40 people were either too busy or unavailable to return the questionnaire.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSIONS

This chapter presents the data, analysis and discussions of findings.

4.0. Data Presentation

The questionnaires administered were used to analyze the responses of the respondents as shown in the different sections below.

Section A

(Question 1: What is the name of your Committee?)

Table 1: Distribution of Questionnaires to Committees

S/No.	Name of Committee	Copies of Questionnaires Administered	Copies of Questionnaires Returned	% over Total
1	Agriculture and Rural Development	10	7	70.00
2	Appropriation	10	8	80.00
3	Air Force	6	4	66.67
4	Aviation	10	8	80.00
5	Banking, Insurance and Other Financial Institutions	10	7	70.00
6	Communications	10	6	60.00
7	Defence and Army	8	5	62.50
8	Education	12	9	75.00
9	Employment, Labour and Productivity	10	8	80.00
10	Environment and Ecology	8	7	87.50
11	Establishment and Public Service	6	5	83.33
12	Finance	6	5	83.33
13	Ethics, Code of Conduct and Public Petitions	8	7	87.50
14	Federal Character and Inter-Government Affairs	8	7	87.50
15	Gas	8	7	87.50
16	Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC)	10	9	90.00
17	Industry	9	8	88.89
18	Inter-Parliamentary Affairs	10	8	80.00
19	Information, Media and Public Affairs	6	5	83.33
20	National Identity Card and National Population	8	6	75.00
21	Navy	8	6	75.00

22	Niger Delta	10	9	90.00
23	Police Affairs	6	4	66.67
24	Public Accounts	10	7	70.00
25	Petroleum (Upstream)	8	6	75.00
26	Power, Steel Development and Metallurgy	6	5	83.33
27	Legislative Compliance	6	5	83.33
28	Science and Technology	5	3	60.00
29	Solis Minerals	8	7	87.50
30	Senate Services	6	5	83.33
31	Climate Change	6	5	83.33
32	Drugs and Narcotics	8	7	87.50
	Total	260	205	78.85

Source: Data from field survey

Table 1 above shows the Distribution of 260 Questionnaires Administered among 32 Selected Senate Committees in the 8th National Assembly, 2015 – 2019. The Table depicts that out of 260 questionnaires administered among these Senate Committees, 205 questionnaires were returned for analysis, amounting to 78.85%.

Personal Data Socio-Demographic Characteristics of the Respondents

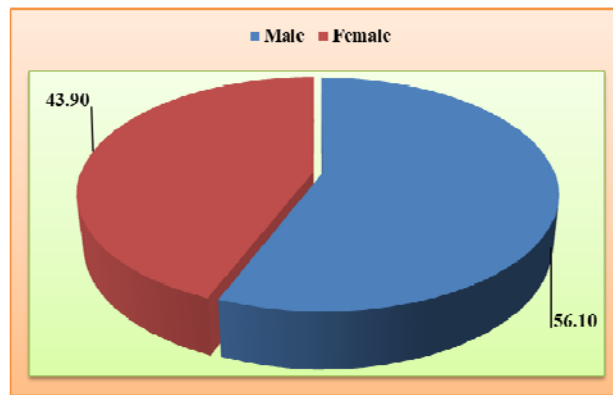


Figure 1: Distribution of Respondents by Gender

Figure 1 above shows that 115 (56.10%) out of 205 respondents are male while the remaining 90 (43.90%) are female. Thus the male constitute the majority of the total respondents.

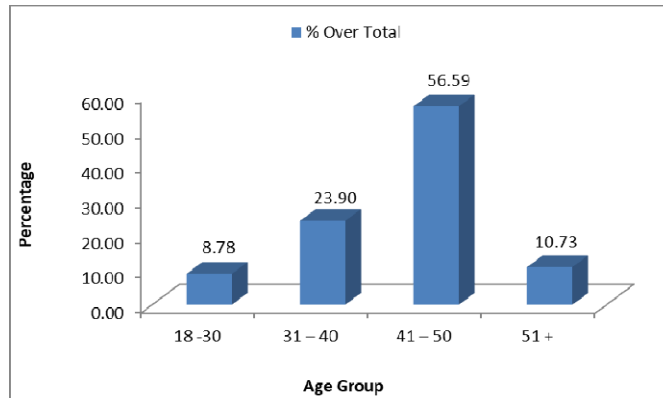


Figure 2: Distribution of Respondents by Age

Figure 2 presented above shows the age distribution of the respondents. It depicts that only 18 (8.78%) out of 205 respondents fall between the age of 18 and 30 years. However, the number of respondents between the age of 41 and 50 years stand at 116 (56.59%) while, only 22 (10.73%) respondents are between the age of 51 years and above. It is clear that 91.22% of the respondents were between the age of 31 years and above. This is highly commendable and helpful for this study as it affords the researcher to gather very useful information since most individuals in these age groups are experienced and all things being equal, are expected to have substantial knowledge about the field of study.

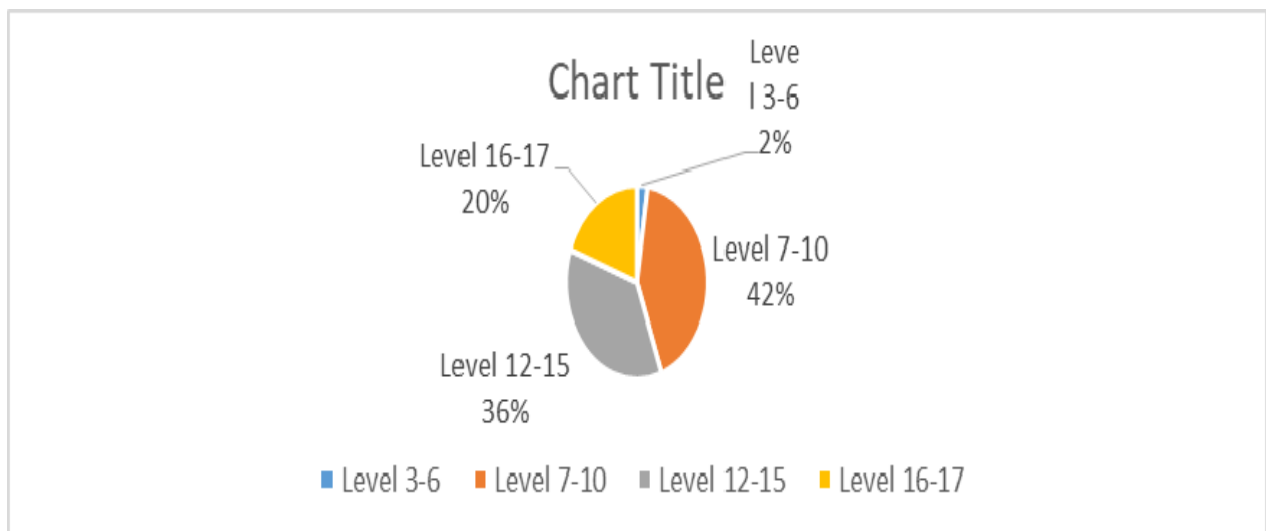


Figure 3: Distribution of Respondents by Grade Levels

The Figure 3 above illustrates distribution of the respondents by their grade levels. The analysis on the Figure depicts that most of the respondents are of the middle-levels with 86 (42 %) and 74 (36.00%) are committee staff between grade level 7-10 and 12-15, respectively. While only 5 (1.9%) are on salary grade level 3-6. Interestingly, there are Committee Clerks who are really very senior officers of levels 16 and 17 (Deputy Directors and Directors). This indicates that the committee systems is consist more of those in the higher grade levels which is good for the effectiveness of the committee system.

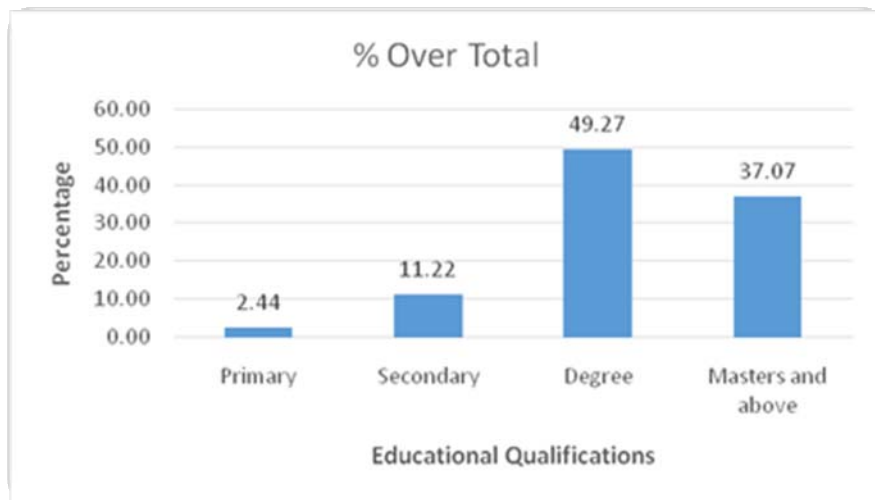


Figure 4: Distribution of respondents by highest educational qualifications.

Figure 4 above shows the educational qualifications of the respondents. The analysis indicates a high level of literacy among the respondents. 177 representing 86.34% of the respondents have education up to tertiary level; the respondent who have tertiary level of education include 101 (49.27%) with first degree and 76 (37.07%) respondents with master degrees and above. The high level of education among the respondents enabled them answer the questions responsibly; this also indicates the high level of education of legislative staff, especially the Committee staff.

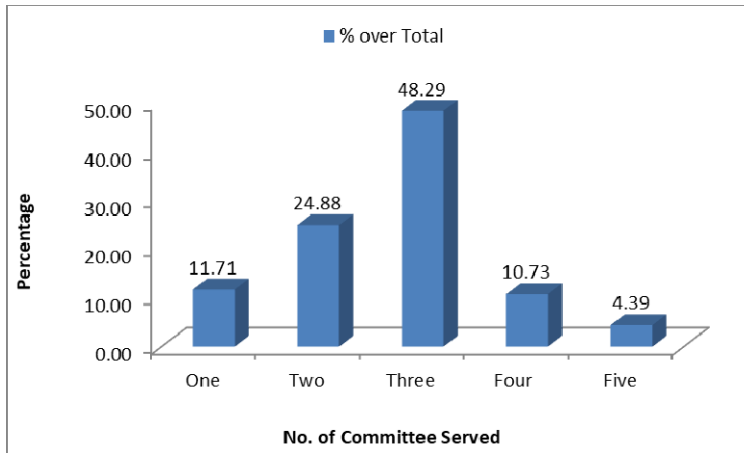


Figure 5: Distribution of responses of respondents by number of committees he/she have served

Figure 5 above presents the distribution of responses of the respondents by number of Committees he/she have served in the National Assembly. It could be observed that 99 (48.29%) out of 205 respondents indicated that they have served in three different Committees, followed by 51 (24.88%) respondents that have served in only two different Committees. Only 9 (4.39%) respondents indicated that they have serve in five different Committees.

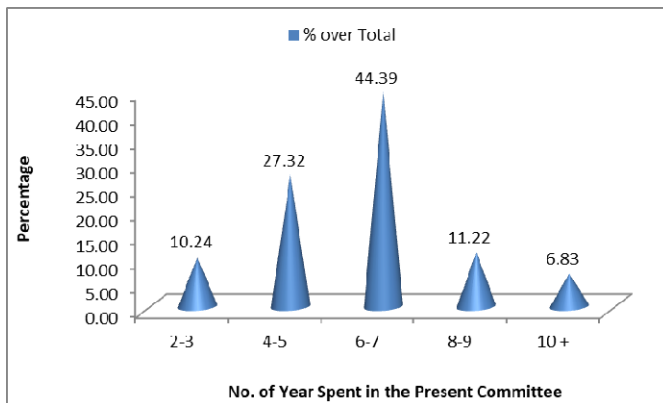


Figure 6: Distribution of Respondents by the number of years spent in their present Committee

Figure 6 above presents the distribution of responses of the respondents by the number of years spent in their present Committee. It is observed that 91 (44.39%) out of 205 respondents

indicated that they have served between 6-7 years in their present Committees, followed by 56 respondents with 4-5 years in their present Committees. This interprets to the fact that an average number of respondents is expected to have a degree of expertise in the particular committee where they serve as a result of long years of stay in the committee.

Section B (Legislative Functions)

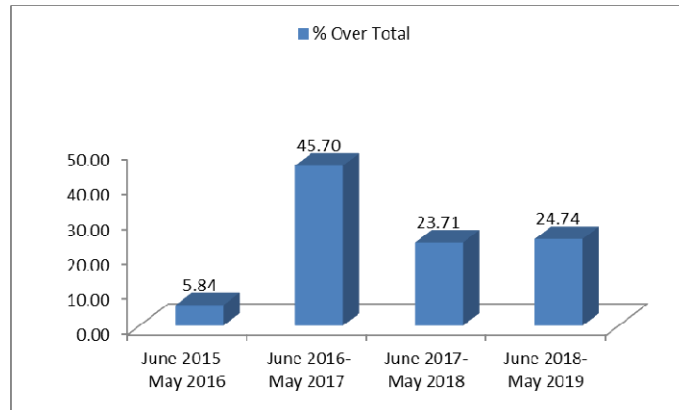


Figure 7: Distribution of Bills referred to Committees in the 8th Senate of Nigerian National Assembly, 2015 - 2019

Collating the number of Bills referred to individual Committees was a herculean task, however, the Committee on Rules and Business came to the rescue by giving a statistics of the referrals. The above Figure 7 presents the distribution of Bills Referred to Committees in the 8th Senate of Nigerian National Assembly between June, 2015 and May, 2019. It could be observed from the analysis on the Table and Figure that during the period under review, a total of 291 Bills were referred to Committees out of which only 17 (5.84%) were referred to Committees in the first session i.e. June, 2015 to May, 2016. In the second session, there was a sharp increase in the number of Bills referred to Committees from 17 Bills in first session to 133 Bills in the second session of 8th Senate.

Motion Moved in the 8th Senate, June, 2015 – May, 2019

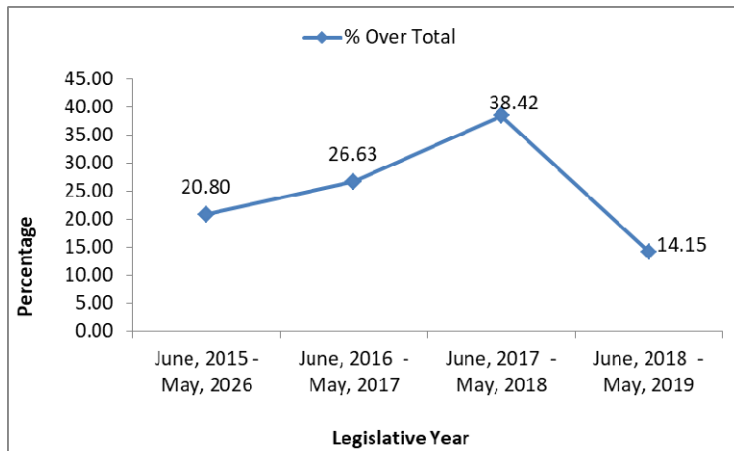


Figure 8: Distribution of Motions moved in the 8th Senate in Nigerian National Assembly, (2015 - 2019) by Legislative Year

Figure 8 above shows the distribution of motions moved in the 8th Senate from June 2015 to May, 2019. This data is as obtained from the Senate Committee on Rules and Business.

It can be observed that the Senate treated 150 Motions during the 1st session which commenced June, 2015 and ended May, 2016. In the session, 192 Motions were received between June 2016 and May, 2017. During the third session which spanned through June, 2017 and May, 2018 it recorded the highest number of Motions for the 8th Senate numbered 277. In the 4th session which was the last session of the Assembly; June 2018 to May, 2019, it recorded only 102 motions which was the lowest. This therefore, brings the total number of motions received by the Senate to 721 motions. It could be deduced from the above figure that the proportion of the motions increased from 20.80% in the 1st session to 38.42% in the 3rd session and then drop significantly to 14.15% in the 4th session, may be due to the fact that it was the election/re-election year and most Senators were busy with the elections activities.

Petitions Received by the 8th Senate

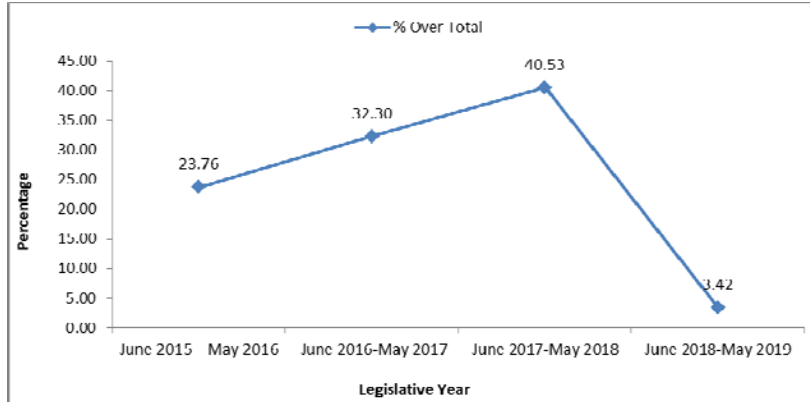


Figure 9: Distribution of Petitions received by the 8th Senate in Nigerian National Assembly, (2015 - 2019) by Legislative Year

Figure 9 above indicates that the Senate Committee on Ethics, Privileges, and Public Petition received 153 petitions during the 1st session (June 2015 - May 2016) 208 petitions were received in the 2nd session which also commenced June, 2016 and ended on May, 2017. During the third session which commenced June, 2017 and ended May, 2018, the Committee received 261 petitions.

However, the last session which was the 4th session of the Assembly, recorded only the reception of 22 petitions from June, 2018 to May, 2019. This therefore, brings the total petitions referred to the Committee by the Senate from the members of the public to 644 petitions. I could be deduce from the above figure that the proportion of the petitions increased from 23.76% in the 1st session to 40.53% in the 3rd session and later drop significantly to 3.42% in the 4th session.

Table 2: Summary of the Status of the Petitions Received by the 8th Senate in Nigerian National Assembly, (2015 - 2019)

Status	No. of Petition	% Over Total
Report laid and Considered in 1st, 2nd, 3rd and 4th Sessions (Concluded Cases)	151	23.45
Report whose consideration was suspended in 1st, 2nd, 3rd and 4th sessions	1	0.16
Report considered but not laid	0	0.00
Report concluded but later withdrawn (2 Political cases)	2	0.31
Case being later treated	119	18.48
Cases yet to be treated	344	53.42
Cases in Court then	4	0.62
Cases drop due to lack of merit or petitioners' inability to show up after several invitations	12	1.86
Withdrawn petitions by the petitioners	11	1.71
Total	644	100.00

Source: Data from Committee on Ethics, Privileges, and Public Petition Report (2019)

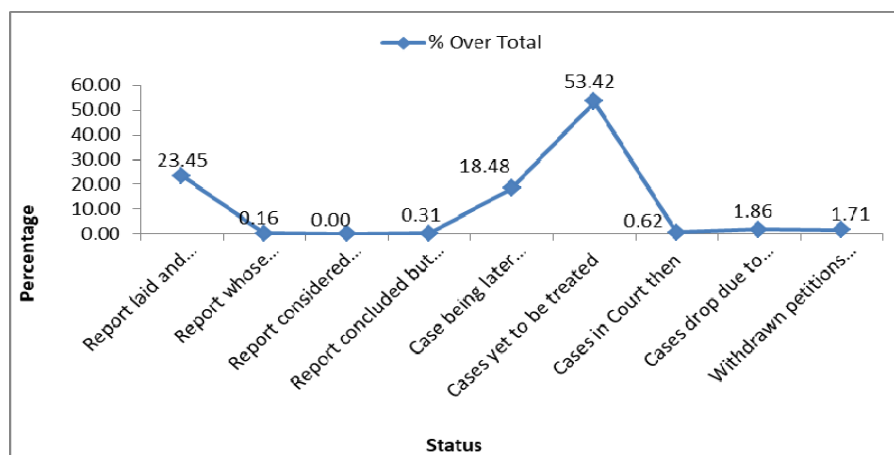


Figure 10: Distribution of the status of the Petitions received by the 8th Senate in Nigerian National Assembly, (2015 - 2019)

The Figure 10 above shows that 151 petitions cases were laid, concluded and considered, one (1) petition was concluded but the consideration of the report was suspended. All concluded reports

were laid and only two (2) concluded reports were withdrawn for ‘political reasons’. The analysis also revealed that the unattended cases were 344 petitions which were the highest and even above average representing 53.42% of the total petitions received. These petitions did not receive the attention of the Committee which may be due to the following reasons:

- i. Inability to meet up to the standards of the petition acceptable by the Senate;
- ii. Insufficient personnel in the Committee capable of handling reports without supervision as it slow the rate of Committee activities.

In over all, the cases considered and concluded were 151 which represents 23.45% of the total petitions received. It also prove that despite the fact as seen from the above explanation that 8th Senate Committee on Ethics, Privileges, and Public Petition performed well, though, their performance was not up to 50% of the petitions received during the period under review. The Figure equally depicts that cases undergoing the process of resolution were 119 or 18.48% of all the petitions received.

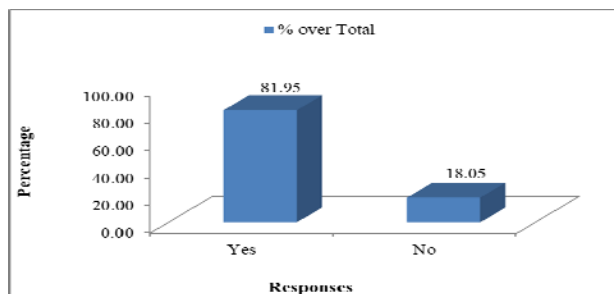


Figure 11: Distribution of Responses of the Respondents on whether their Committees meet up with the specified date to report back to the Chamber

The Figure 11 above shows the distribution of responses of the respondents on whether their Committees meet up with the specified date to report back to the Chamber. The analysis depicts that majority of the respondents agreed by signified **Yes**, that their Committees met up with the

specified date to report back to the chamber with 168 or 81.95% while 18.05 of the respondents indicates that the committee did not meet up with the date for submission of their report.

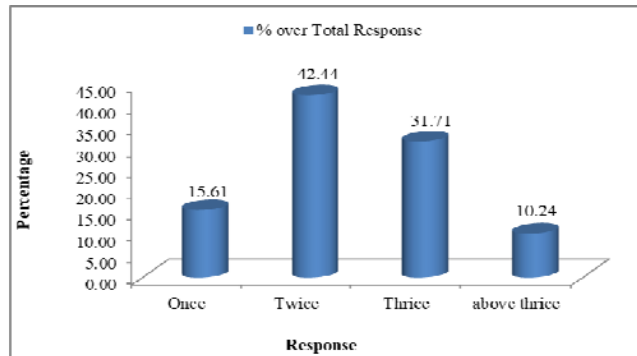


Figure 12: Distribution of Responses on the Number of Time the Committee staff attended professional training during the 8th Assembly.

Figure 12 above presents the actual and percentage distribution of responses on the number of time the Committee staff attended professional training during the 8th Assembly. Going by the analysis on the Figure, it could be deduce that 87 or 42.44% respondents out of 205 respondents indicated that they attended training twice in 8th Senate, followed by 65 or 31.71% respondents who signified that they attended training thrice. Only 21 or 10.24% respondent indicated that they attended training more than three times during the legislative assembly under review; this added some more knowledge on how best to discharge their duties in the Senate Committees.

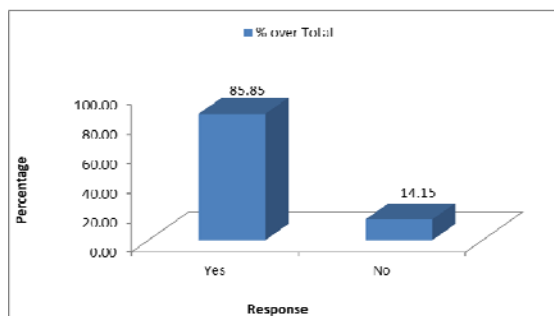


Figure 13: Percentage Distribution of Responses on the Relevancy of the trainings attended to the Committee Staff jobs

The above Figure 13 illustrates the actual and percentage distribution of responses on the relevancy of the trainings attended to the Committee Staff jobs. It could be deduced from the analysis on the Figure that 176 or 85.85% out of 205 respondents signified that the trainings attended were relevant to the Committee Staff jobs, while only 29 or 14.15% of the respondents were indifferent.

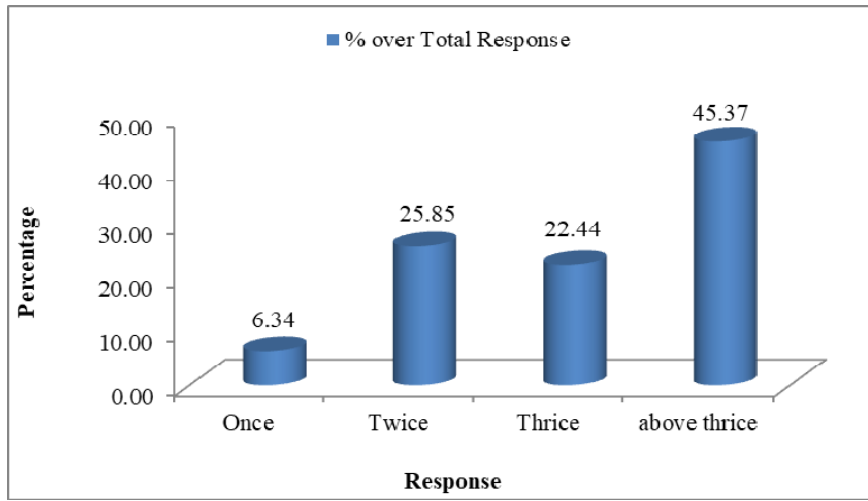


Figure 14: Distribution of Responses by the respondents on the Number of Time the Chairmen and members of the Committee attended training/seminar/workshop during the 8th Senate.

The illustration on Figure 14 above show the actual and percentage distribution of responses by the respondents on the number of time the Chairmen and members of the Committee attended training/seminar/workshop during the 8th Senate. It could be deduced that 93 or 45.37% respondents out of 205 respondents indicated that in 8th Senate, Chairmen and members of the Committees attended training more than three times, while only 13 or 6.34% indicated that the Chairmen and members of the Committees attended training once. This is an indication that the Chairmen and the members of the Committees attended training workshop regularly in the 8th Senate.

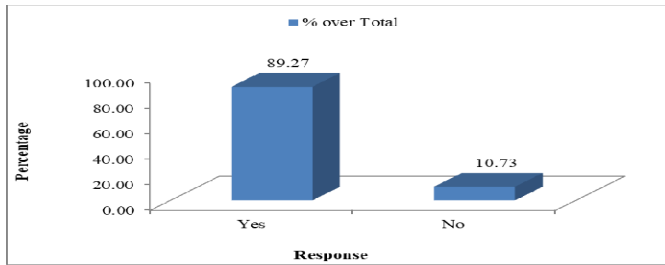


Figure 15: Distribution of Responses on whether all members of the Committees attended training/seminar/workshop in the 8th Senate

Figure 15 here reveals the distribution of responses on whether all members of the Committees attended training/seminar/workshop in the 8th Senate. It could be observed that 183 or 89.27% indicated that all members of the Committees attended training/seminar/workshop in the 8th Senate, indicating that all members of the Committees attended training/seminar/workshop during the period under review. This is good because it meant that a larger number of Committee Staff availed themselves the opportunity to be trained and improve their performance as Staff of Committee Secretariats.

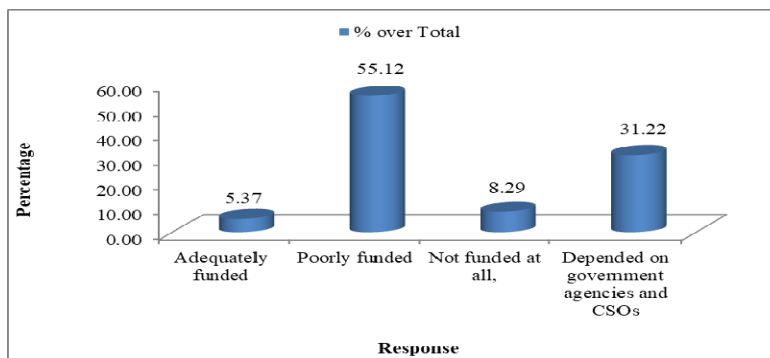


Figure 16: Distribution of responses on whether committees are well-funded in the 8th Senate.

As shown on Figure 16 above, the response of the respondents on whether the Committees were well-funded in the 8th Senate stands as follows: poorly funded constituted 55.12%; depended on government agencies and CSOs amounting to 31,22%; not funded at all was 8.29% and only 5.37% for adequately funded. This indicates that more funding is actually required to make the Legislative Committees more viable.

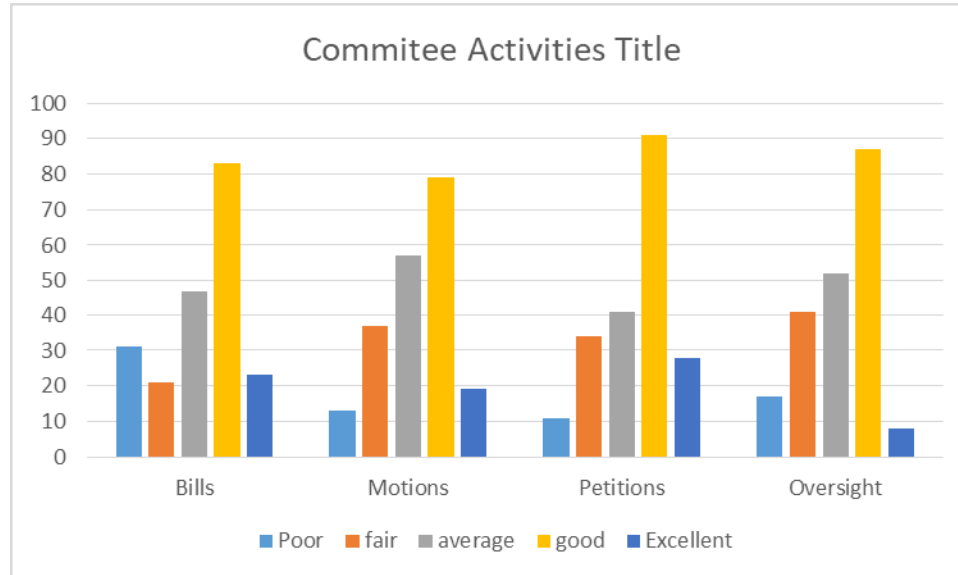


Figure 17: Distribution of responses on the assessment of the Committees' activities in the 8th Senate

The analysis on Figure 17 above reveals the summary of responses of the respondents on the assessment of the Committees' activities in the 8th Senate. The analysis illustrates that 91 out of 205 respondents agreed that the number of petitions received in the 8th Senate, while on the part of oversight visits in the 8th Senate, 87 respondents agreed that it was good. The analysis also indicates that 83 and 79 respondents admitted that the number of Bills and motions received in the 8th Senate were good, respectively.

More so, in respect of Bills, oversight, motions and petitions received in the 8th Senate, 31, 17, 13 and 11 respondents were of the opinion that it was poor. Only 8 respondents agreed that oversight visits were excellently done in the 8th Senate.

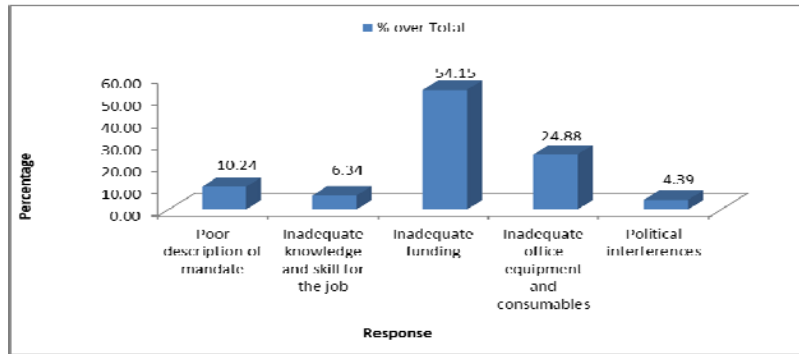


Figure 18: Distribution of Responses of the Respondents on the major constraints experienced by the Committee in the 8th Senate

Looking at Figure 18 above, out of 205 respondents 111 or 54.15% admitted that the major constraint experienced by Committees were inadequate funding in the 8th Senate, followed by 51 or 24.88% respondents who indicated that the major constraints experienced by Committees was inadequate office equipment and consumables. Only 9 respondents indicated that the major constraint experienced by the Committees in the 8th Senate was political interferences. This is in tandem with the view expressed by the greater number of respondents in Figure 16; therefore, funding clearly is the main challenge of most Legislative Committees.

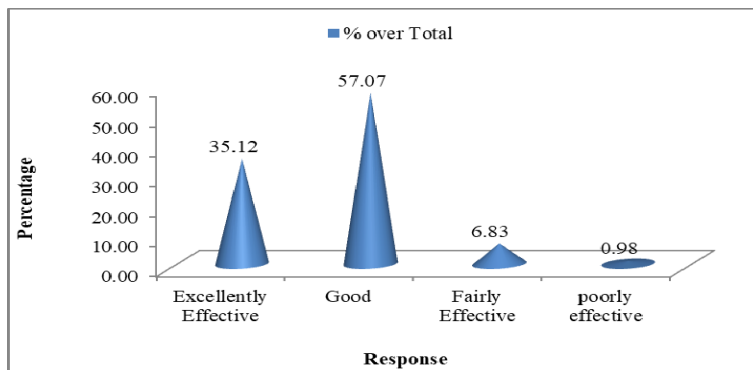


Figure 19: Distribution of Responses of the Respondents on the Assessment of the Committee System in the 8th Senate.

Figure 19 above illustrate distribution of responses of the respondents on the Assessment of the Committee System in the 8th Senate. The analysis on the Figure depicts that 117(57.07%) respondents assessed the Committee system as good, while 72(35.12%), 14 (6.83%) and 2 (0.98%) respondents rated the Committee system as excellently effective, fairly effective and poorly effective, respectively. This indicates that the greater number of respondents are of the view that their committees actually performed well.

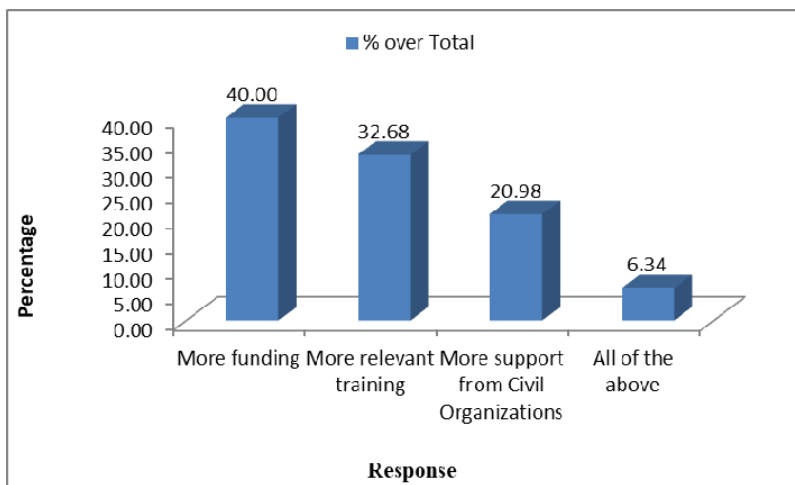


Figure 20: Distribution of Responses of the Respondents on what should be done to make the Committee System more effective than it was in the 8th Assembly

Figure 20 above illustrate distribution of the responses of the respondents on what should be done to make the Committee System more effective than it was in the 8th Assembly. The analysis on the Figure depicts that 82(40.00%) respondents indicated that there is need for adequate funding to make the Committee system more effective than it was in the 8th Senate, followed by 67 or 32.68% respondents indicating that more relevant training should be organized for more effective Committee system. While only 13 or 6.34% respondents indicated that all the options above should be done for effective Committee system than in the 8th Senate.

4.1. Research Findings and Discussions

The research findings reveals that the Senate Committees played very significant roles in the 8th Assembly considering the high number of Bills passed during the four-years of the Assembly. Looking at the responses from the questionnaire and most especially the records from the Senate Committee on Rules and business, most committees of the Senate during the 8th Assembly received several referrals for further legislative inputs into so many Bills. The finding also reveals that a number of ad-hoc committees were setup as a result of motions. Although some resolutions from motions were referred to relevant standing committees; some motions which raised very sensitive issues were referred to ad-hoc committees for investigative hearings. For instance, motion raised on 2nd May 2017 by Senator Binta Masi-Garba on the Poor Infrastructure in Queens College, Lagos (SD 02/05/2017) that led to the death of three girls who were students in the school was immediately referred to the Senate Committee on Basic Education and Health to carry out a thorough investigation into the matter. Also, committees also got busy with various referrals as a result of motions relating to corrupt practices in the Government. Furthermore, the Senate committee on Ethics and Privileges got so busy with as much as 644 petitions received and concluded and submitted reports on 151 of the petitions. This indicates that the Committees worked so hard to attend to all petitions referred to it.

Therefore, the Senate Committees in the 8th Senate did not only play very significant roles, the 8th Senate also used the Committee system maximally. To ensure that its laws and resolution are significantly adhered, it set up a new committee, the Committee on Legislative compliance (SD 01-12-2016).

However, findings shows that there is need for more training for Chairmen, members and staff of the Committees. The inadequacy of training has necessitated the need for consultants to be

drafted in especially in Bill processes. Although a few trainings were organized for members and staff of the Committees by the National Institute for Legislative and Democratic Studies (NILDS) for all Committee Clerks, also, the National Assembly Management also organized workshops for a number of committee staff who were nominated by the Senate Management, the frequency in a four-years assembly is inadequate. Notably also is the contributions of Civil Society Organisation in collaborating with the Committee System in the 8th Assembly. The Policy and Legal Advocacy Centre (PLAC) is one organization that collaborated enormously with the 8th National Assembly, especially the 8th Senate. They offered a number of training for various categories of staff during the 8th Senate. Nonetheless, the National Assembly bureaucracy needs to create more opportunities for regular and relevant training for legislative staff and indeed, all staff of the National Assembly.

More findings reveals that most committees were inadequately funded as some committees had to collaborate with Civil Society Organisations in order to adequately finance their activities. Apart from few committees like the Public Accounts Committee, the Committee on Appropriation and the Committee on Rules and Business, there are indications that most committees had to rely on Government ministries, agencies, donor agencies and NGOs in order to sufficiently fund their activities, for instance, public hearings and training because the finance provided by the National Assembly for the Committees' activities is grossly inadequate.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The legislature is primarily the arm of Government with the responsibility of representing the people of a country and ensuring that there is accountability in governance. The Committee System is an indispensable tool used in carrying out the numerous responsibilities of the law-making body. Accordingly, this study has undertaken a rigorous and evidence-based assessment of the Committee System and legislative functions of the 8th Senate of the Nigerian National Assembly. The 8th Senate came up with a legislative agenda as a guide to what it intends to achieve in the lifetime of the Assembly; this undoubtedly gets the committees busy in a vigorous attempt to fulfill its mandate. There were however a number of challenges and set back that affected the workings of the Committee System which needs to be looked into.

5.1. Summary of findings

A number of the Committees in the 8th National Assembly conducted public hearings in respect of Bills and Motions, attended to petitions, screened nominees and conducted oversight functions, with positive and impactful results on good governance. Good governance, of course, was one of the objectives of the 8th Assembly as enunciated in its legislative agenda. The system theory adopted in this research is for the fact that the 8th Senate and by implication, the 8th National Assembly responds to the agitations and desires of the citizenry. Many of these agitations were presented through petitions and Motions on the Floor of the Senate; the Committee System has therefore been a veritable tool in carrying out legislative interventions towards resolving most societal issues on behalf of the National Assembly. Thus, the separation of powers ensures that apart from the roles played by the executive and judiciary, the legislature also stands out courtesy the relevance of its Committee System. Effective and efficient

discharge of the core mandate of the legislative committees seems to have been hampered by unnecessary posting of Chairmen and Committee Staff in and out of committees without any significant reason; this of course is often politically motivated. Also, inadequacy of resources, relative underfunding of some essential Committee work as well as lack of regular capacity training which hampered professionalism of legislators and Committees staff.

5.2. Conclusion

The study draw its conclusion from the various primary and secondary data collected during the course of this research. Considering interactions with various committee staff especially as it regards to the 8th Senate, it is imperative to conclude that the Committee System is a vibrant tool of the legislature.

Aside the fact that the 8th Assembly passed a record number of laws, a lot of these were record-breaking. For instance, the ‘Not Too Young To Rule Bill’ which reduced the age for those seeking elective seats in the National and State Houses of Assembly, offices of President and vice President, Governor and Deputy Governor. This epoch-making piece of legislation opens an avenue for young people between the ages of 25 and 30 years to participate actively in the 2019 elections. This is apart from the numerous Motions and petitions adequately worked on by the Committees in the 8th Senate. The Committee Secretariat usually headed by a Committee Clerk is a team that serves as a support system for the Legislative Committees and carry out all the administrative and logistic duties. There is therefore the need to pay great attention to its composition and effectiveness, also to take deliberate interest in its challenges and deal with them as much as possible.

Although, the Nigerian National Assembly has been working hard to measure up with other advanced legislature around the world, there is a lot to learn from the leadership of the 8th Senate and how it worked assiduously utilizing the advantages of the Committee System. The 9th Assembly ought to build on the legacy and achievements of the Committee System of the 8th Assembly. Subsequent Assemblies will do well to refer to the vigorosity of the Committee System of the 8th Assembly and improve on it.

5.3. Recommendations

The Legislature is the beauty of every democratic Government because its composition is a representation of every part of the country. Therefore, it is expected that the Legislators strive to ensure inclusiveness by representing the people well. The leadership of the legislature often refer its major works to the Committees and only come together to debate, consider, review and make resolutions on the job done. Therefore a working assembly is determined by how well its Committee System work.

It is therefore recommended that:

- i. There should be provision of sufficient and adequate office equipment and consumable to aid the work of the committees. The largest percent of respondents believe this should be a priority.
- ii. There is need for clarity in mandates given to committees in order to allow for expedite action on all legislative activities.
- iii. Regular, specific and relevant training be organized for committee leadership, membership and committee staff by the National Assembly Bureaucracy. The National Institute for Legislative and Democratic Studies is one institutes which has been offering

relevant training, both workshops/seminars and regular post-graduate courses. This, the National Assembly can maximally take advantage of in order to raise the quality of services rendered in the Committee System. Therefore, regular and continuous training and re-training for capacity building of both the legislators and committees' staff is of utmost importance.

- iv. In addition, international training is highly recommended so as to have first-hand experience with other legislatures around the world.
- v. Also, there is need for the National Assembly bureaucracy to invest in stocking its library with relevant resource materials for referrals, especially in the processes of passing of Bills as well as high-tech infrastructure. These infrastructure includes modern top-notch desktop computers, personal lap-tops, uninterrupted internet connections and conducive working environment.
- vi. There is need for increased but transparently accountable budgetary allocations to the Committees by the National Assembly as well as by the political leadership of the National Assembly. This will reduce reliance of Committees on Government Ministries and Agencies as well as some NGOs for funding in carrying out legislative duties.

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Appendix 1

APPENDICES

Request to administer questionnaire

Introduction

This questionnaire is intended to collect data for a dissertation titled **Assessment of the Committee System and Legislative Functions of the 8th Senate of the Nigerian National Assembly**; this is towards achieving the partial fulfilment for the successful completion and award for a Masters Degree in Parliamentary Administration from the **National Institute for Legislative and Democratic Studies/University of Benin**. Honest and sincere response to the questions is highly solicited as it will enable me to generate authentic data for this research work. You are assured that the data gathered from this questionnaire is purely for academic purposes and will be treated in confidence.

Thank you.

Toyin Joy SHOLADEMI

Appendix 2

QUESTIONNAIRE

SECTION A (Personal Data)

1. What is the name of your Committee.....
2. Gender: (a) Male (b) Female
3. Age group: (a) 18 – 30 years (b) 31 – 40 years (c) 42- 50 years (d) 51 & above
4. Present Grade Level
5. Highest Educational Qualification:
 - (a) Primary []
 - (b) Secondary []
 - (c) Degree []
 - (d) Master Degree & Above []
6. How many committees have you served with?.....
7. How long have served in your present committee?.....

SECTION B (Legislative Functions)

8. How many referrals did your committee get during the 8th Assembly in terms of:
 - (a) Bills?.....
 - (b) Motions?.....
 - (c) Petitions?.....
9. Did your committee meet up with the specified date to report back to the Chamber?
 - (a) (Yes).....
 - (b) No.....

SECTION C (Capacity Building)

10. How many professional training did you attend during the 8th Assembly? (a) Once (b) Twice (c) Thrice (d) More than thrice
11. Were the trainings relevant to the job you do? (Yes) (No)
12. How many training/seminar/workshop did the Chairman and members of your committee attend during the 8th Assembly? (a) Once (b) Twice (c) Thrice (d) More than thrice
13. Did they all attend? (Yes) (No)

SECTION D (Assessment of Committee Activities)

14. How well was your committee funded in the 8th Assembly? (a) Adequately funded (b) poorly funded (c) Not funded at all, depended on government agencies and CSOs

15. How can you assess your committee in these areas?

S/No	Variables	Poor	Fair	Average	Good	Excellent
1	Bills					
2	Motions					
3	Petitions					
4	Oversight					

16. What are the major constraints experienced by your committee in the 8th Assembly?

- (i) Poor description of mandate
- (ii) Inadequate knowledge and skill for the job
- (iii) Inadequate funding
- (iv) Inadequate office equipment and consumables
- (v) Political interferences

17. How do you assess the Committee System in the 8th Senate?

- (a) Excellently Effective
- (b) Fairly Effective
- (c) poorly effective

18. What do you think should be done to make the Committee System more effective than it was in the 8th Assembly?

- (a) More funding
- (b) More relevant training
- (c) More support from Civil Organizations
- (d) All of the above