

**AN ASSESSMENT OF THE PERFORMANCE OF RULES AND BUSINESS
COMMITTEE IN THE 9TH HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES (2019 – 2023)**

BY

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CERTIFICATION

This Project titled: **An Assessment of the Performance of Rules and Business Committee in the 9th House of Representatives (2019-2023)**: by JEKELI Edwin Usman Matric No. PG/NLS 2215147 meets the regulations governing the award of degree of Masters in Legislative Studies of the National Institute for Legislative and Democratic Studies/University of Benin.

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I declare that this project is wholly that of the author and does not form part of my presentation for any other qualifications.

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APPROVAL PAGE

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DEDICATION

This Research is dedicated to the Almighty God who has strengthened me throughout this programme and also to all my well-wishers in the course of this study.

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ABSTRACT

The House Committee on Rules and Business is an engine room of the House of Representatives. It ensures the smooth conduct of the business of the House in the law making process in compliance with the provisions of Order 1(1) of the Standing Orders of the 9th House of Representatives. Despite the relative importance of the Committee, some factors such as inadequate funding, shortage of technical expertise, leadership challenges, lack of office space as well as the limitations of the Committee by the Provisions of the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, 1999 (as altered) amongst others affected the committee's performance. As a result, the research assessed the performance of the 9th House of Representatives Committee on Rules and Business in order to ascertain the level of performance in the process of lawmaking in Nigeria's 9th House of Representatives in accordance to its statutory roles as mandated in the Standing Orders of the House. The second specific objective of this research is to ascertain the level of compliance of the Committee to the provisions of the Standing Orders of the House and thirdly to identify the challenges faced by the Committee in the course of performing its roles as mandated by the Standing Orders and the Constitution.

This study adopted the mixed research design using quantitative and qualitative data. The target population of this research was 100 and purpose sampling procedure which emphasizes the choice of respondents based on set criteria was adopted for the selection of respondents from the sample size of 100 and 8 for the administration of the questionnaire and conduct of the key informant interviews respectively. Data were taken from primary (questionnaire) and secondary (that is, House Committee on Rules and Business (2019-2023) journals, Reports and magazines, internet, etc.) sources. Content analysis was used in analyzing qualitative data while descriptive statistics were adopted to analyze quantitative

data. Quantitative data were presented in tables whereas qualitative data were outlined in essay format.

This study found that the criteria of performance of legislative role of the House Committee on Rules and Business was provided for in the Standing Orders of the House of Representatives, (Order 20(Rule 3 (2) backed by the provisions of the constitution in Section 62, CFRN 1999 (as altered) for the powers of the National Assembly to appoint and regulate its committees through resolutions and the jurisdiction of the Committee is also clearly outlined.). Therefore, a measure of the level of the performance of the legislative mandate of the Committee is through the number of Bills scrutinized, processed and passed, Motions, Petitions and Resolutions passed.

Overall, this study concludes that the House Committee on Rules and Business was central in the operations of the House of Representatives of the Federal Republic of Nigeria and enhanced the prospects of good governance. Without doubt, the House Committee on Rules and Business was among the special committees of the House inaugurated, thirty days (30 days) after the proclamation of the Assembly at the beginning of a new session of the legislature, complied with the mandates provided in the Standing Orders of the House. This special committees had a critical role of ensuring that the Legislative activities for the new session does not suffer setbacks that will hinder legislation for good governance.

Word count: 465

Keywords: Performance Assessment, 9th House Rules & Business Committee.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1. 1 Background to the Study

The Committee System play a critical role in the performance of legislature all over the world. In the words of Woodrow Wilson, 1885, the use of legislative committees was historical mainly in the United States Congress: Woodrow Wilson, the 28th President of the United States was quoted as saying in 1885 that “Congress in its committee rooms is at work” (Walier, 2010). This is because most of the work of Congress was referred to Committees for a detailed review to informed debates on the floor of the House.

Like other modern democracies in the world, Nigeria’s Legislature is characterized by decision making through legislation, Section 4, Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, (CFRN, 1999) (as amended) empowers the Legislature with lawmaking, Representation and Oversight of the Executive agencies. The constitution of the individual countries formally structures these functions, allocating political powers and the relative influence that each arm of government has over policy making (National Democratic Institute, 2000).

While many studies like that of Musa Aliyu(2022) and Uche Anene (2022) whose works have examined the roles of Committees in enhancing performance of Legislative performance and the Assessment of the Rules and Business Committees in the Senate, not many have focused on assessing the performance of the Rules and Business Committee in the 9TH House of Representatives.. The Rules and Business Committee is statutorily provided for in Order XVII Rule 119, Tenth Edition of the Standing Orders of the House of Representatives, for the establishment of the Committee with specific functions. In Order 20 Rule 3 of the same edition.

In performing these tasks, the Rules and Business Committee in cooperation with other Committees and the team of personnel in the Secretariat maintained stability in operations of the 9th Assembly for good governance. The House passes 510 Bills, over 200 petitions considered and 776 motions considered. (Sessional Report: House Rules and Business Committee, 2020).

This contribution of the committee led to the success of the leadership in the 9th House of Representatives to showcase the extent to which the Committees can impact on legislative activities.

The Rules and Business Committee coordinated the activities of the House in planning the business, organizing the activities, of other committees to conform to the rules of procedure in the House.

Provided procedural guide to the Speaker or Leadership and act as floor managers of the Chamber.

The Committee's level of performance of its functions as provided in the standing Orders of the House impacted on the peaceful sessions of the 9th House of Representatives and this was why there was no rancor in the period under review like the previous assemblies.

The Legislative arm occupies the central position in the organs of government in the machinery of governance as it is traditionally vested with the lawmaking powers Section 4, CFRN 1999 (as Amended), giving it some capacity to shape or at least influence public policy.

In as much as the legislature derives its powers from the constitution which might have expressly or by implication authorized it to set up committees to aid its work, Section 62(1) of the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria 1999 (as

amended) Provides for the two Houses of the National Assembly, the Senate and House of Representatives to establish committees 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 (CFRN, 1999, as amended). This is so because the legislative success or effective performance is a function of vibrant committee system.

Studies conducted by Musa Aliyu (2022) and Uche Anene (2022) emphasized the importance and functions of Committees in the Legislature but did not explore the specific roles of the Rules and Business Committee in the performance of the Business of the House of Representatives as prescribed by the Constitution and the Standing Orders of the House of Representatives. This deficit forms part of the problem this research attempts to explore to add to knowledge of scholars.

While Section 62(1) empowers the National Assembly to appoint committee of its members to carry out tasks of legislation, representation and oversight. Section 60 of the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria empowers the National Assembly to regulate by resolution the activities of the Committee. This provision has limited the Committee only making recommendations and no authority to decide which bills become law. This is another problem this research aims to study titled: An Assessment of the Performance of the Rules and Business Committee in the 9th House of Representatives.

This study aims to assess the level of performance of the Rules and Business as a Legislative Committee in the 9th House of Representatives of Nigerian National Assembly in the accomplishment of its functions as outlined in the Standing Orders

of the House of Representatives. These roles are to assist the House in making laws for good governance.

Pursuant to Section 62 (1) and (2) of CFRN 1999 (as amended) provided for the appointment of the committees by the respective houses of the National Assembly to carry out the statutory functions as may be prescribed, and the mandate of Committees as contained in the House Standing Orders. The collective work of the Committee(s) which is coordinated by Rules and Business Committee is expected to form bulk of legislation based on the level of research carried out before turning in reports for consideration but this is not the case with Rules and Business.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

The Committee system provides a bridge between the government and the people, especially through investigative roles (Fasugba, 2009, p.435). According to Cummings and Wise (1997), while committees basically process legislation, they combine this with other responsibilities such as educating the general public on issues of importance through investigative and public hearings. In policy formulation, committees hold an unrivalled role of foremost player in governance (Van Gestel, 2014). Within the dictates of Nigerian constitutional democracy, National Assembly performs the functions of lawmaking (Section 4 CFRN, 1999) as amended representation (Section 58 and 59 CFRN, 1999) as amended and oversight (Section 88).

These roles fall within the traditional functions of the legislature and to perform these functions, the constitution allows the National Assembly to appoint committees (Section 62) (CFRN, 1999) for any purpose it deems fit as well as

regulate its procedures (Section 60). This provisions of the Constitution is the basis for Committee System in the National Assembly.

The performance of committees in the work of the legislature all over the world is determined by the limit of their mandate as outlined by the institution establishing them. Section 4 of the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, 1999, (as amended) stipulated the roles to be performed by the Committees which are established to carry out the work of the legislature in small units. In carrying out the respective responsibilities, the legislature receives report of committees in their legislation, Bills passed, Representations and Oversight of Executive agencies. In Order 18(10a), the powers of Committees are limited to make recommendations not making laws. This section stipulates that “The House shall not delegate to any Committee the power to decide whether a Bill shall be passed into law or determine by resolution under these Rules”. This Provision forms part of the problem this research aims to explore.

1.3 Research Question

This research raises these questions:

1. How successfully did the Committee perform its designated roles in the 9th House of Representatives?
2. How did Committees performances comply with rules and influence legislation procedures to stabilize the activities of the 9th House of Representatives?
3. What challenges did the committee encounter in the performance of its roles in the 9th House of Representatives?

1.4 Objective of the Study

The aim is to ascertain the level of accomplishment of the committee as regards the performance of its roles and compliance to the rules and procedure of the House pursuant to the standing orders of the House.

1. Assess level of performance of the committee in carrying out its statutory functions in the 9th House of Representatives
2. To ascertain the level of committees compliance and conformity with the Rules and procedure in the 9th House of Representatives to influence legislation and stability in the 9th House of Representatives.
3. To identify the challenges encountered by the committee in performing its functions during the 9th House of Representatives.

1.5 Significance of Study

This study has several significance, for example, it will bridge the knowledge gap in the process of lawmaking. On this note, the study will strengthen the process of legislation in Nigeria as well as improve quality of laws made. Consequent upon this, the report served as a springboard for future studies in this area of study.

This study also sought to assess the performance of rules and Business committee in the accomplishment of its roles in lawmaking in the 9th House of Representatives in comparison with the practices in United Kingdom Parliament and The American Congress. Findings from this study will be beneficial to Researchers, who will find addition to the knowledge of previous scholars;

The Government will find this study useful as an institutional memory of Nigeria parliament.

Legislature will find this study an important documentary of the legislative processes and procedures in the democratic governments for future reference.

It will also contribute to academic knowledge and promote the Rules and Business Committee in the National Assembly and parliaments in the democratic world.

1.6 Scope of Study

The Study covers National Assembly of Nigeria, Rules and Business Committee of the 9th House of Representatives. (2019 - 2023). The activities of Rules and Business as regards Bill scrutiny, Motions and Reports of Committees in respect of assignments referred by the plenary in the House of Representatives is the geographical scope of this research.

The period covered by this research is the 9th House of Representatives from 2019 to 2023. The study assessed the committee in the areas of performances in the management of the Chamber activities, consideration of Bills Motions and Resolutions adopted during the period under review.

The findings showed how the Rules and Business Committee of Nigeria's House of Representatives carried out its statutory roles in stabilizing the House, guided the leadership and ensured that committee comply with the provisions of the Legislative Houses Rules of procedure in the House of Representatives. Produced necessary documents for the legislative business of the House as well as identified the major challenges in performing these roles.

1.7 Limitations of the Study

In the course of carrying out this research, the major limitations encountered are as follows:

Time constraint: this was a Major limitation because the time frame within which to accomplish the research work was very short hence the researcher was unable to accomplish some necessary features.

Financial constraint: This limitation of insufficient fund tends to impede the efficiency of the researcher in sourcing for relevant materials, literatures or information and in the process of data collection (Internet, Questionnaire and Interview).

Lack of cooperation of Respondents: A greater part of limitation of this work came as a result of respondents refusal to offer their cooperation at the initial time they were contact. This contributed in making the success of the research study difficult.

1.8 Conceptualization of Terms:

This study attempted to use familiar legislative terminologies that are interchangeably used in the democratic world with special attention to the terms used in parliamentary and presidential democracies.

- i. Legislative Committee: This is a select number of legislators constituted into small units to carry out the functions of the legislature as a small unit, it is a microcosm of the larger legislature- G,B Galloway, Congress at the Cross Roads. Rules and Business Committee is a composition of legislators from different political parties with the majority from the Ruling party assigned with the task of managing the Business of the Chambers of the House of Representatives.
- ii. Parliamentary Committees: According to Dan-Azumi (2019), parliaments the world over divide their ever-increasing businesses among smaller units called committees. In Nigeria, legislative committees are a creation of the

constitution with assigned duties clearly spelt out in Standing Orders of the House and Senate (Section 60 and 62(1). Parliamentary Committees refer to the subunit of the legislative assembly. These subdivision of legislative assembly are designed to undertake tasks in a manageable manner than could the House in its entirety. Specifically, the 9th House Rules and Business Committee was constituted to carry out the tasks as in Order 20(3)

Rules and Business: This is the set of steps and procedures for carrying out the work of the legislature and the activities involved in the legislative process in Nigeria and other parliaments.

- iii. Assessment: A process of evaluating or collecting data to measure the level of performance or quality or quantity of something. In this case the use of interview and questionnaires to make an informed decision. Furthermore, Assessment refers to the process of evaluating or measuring performance of something or someone. It involves gathering information, data, or evidence to determine the level of achievement, proficiency, or effectiveness in a particular context.

In this case, Rules and Business Committee is being evaluated and measured against the criteria of its jurisdiction and impact on the House of Representatives in the 9th House of Representatives in terms of Bills passed, Motions Considered, Resolutions adopted and Reports received..

- iv. Performance: Refer to accomplishment or execution of a function or task or role to a certain standard. Performance can relate to different domains, for example, job performance. The Rules and Business performed the tasks assigned to it by the House in the 9th House of Representatives excellently by the ratio of Bills passed, Motions considered and Resolutions adopted.

The performance of these committees during the period under review was commendable,

- v. Role: Refers to the specific responsibilities and functions assigned to the committee, such as: Setting the legislative agenda, scrutinizing bills, preparing the House for the Day or Weekly notice of business.
- vi. Coordinating committee work by way of scheduling and allocation of time for consideration
- vii. Impact: Refers to the effects or consequences of the committee's work on the legislative process, such as: Shaping policy decisions, Influencing legislation, Ensuring accountability, Enhancing transparency and Measures the committee's effectiveness and influence on the legislative outcome.
- viii. Principal-Agent theory: A concept where the sovereignty of the people is delegated to their representatives who acts as the agents while they are the principals on whose authority they exercise their role of representation, legislation and oversight.
- ix. Principal – The person or entity who delegates authority or task to another party in a relationship as in the Principal – Agent theory.
- x. Agent:- The person or entity that acts on behalf of the principal carrying out the assigned tasks or making decisions on behalf of or on the authority of principal.
- xi. Rules and procedure: This refers to the body of rules, ethics and customs governing the legislative bodies and how the Committee performed its functions in the legislature. It is part of the common law originating primarily in the practice of the House of Commons of the Parliament of the United Kingdom.

1.9 Organization of the Study:

This study was divided into 5 chapters as follows:

Chapter one has the background to the study followed by the Statement of study problem, the objectives of the study, the research questions. Other correspondents of the chapter include the scope, significance, the definition of key concepts (terms), and organization of the study.

Chapter two reviews literatures relevant to the variables being studied as well as a theoretical framework, sources of data analysis for this study.

Chapter three discusses the research methodology ranging from the research design, research instruments, sources of data, the method of data analysis, limitations to the methodology, and expectations based on existing theory.

Chapter four is the presentation of results and the analysis of data.

Chapter Five summarizes the study, concludes and makes recommendations on the basis of findings in chapter four. This study adds knowledge to the body of researchers and creates room for further studies.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This Chapter focuses on the review of related literatures that deals with the variables on this topic as it relates to the performance of the Legislative committees. This review of the literature was presented thematically, thereafter, the principal-agent theory was used and the framework for conceptualizing the research. Emphasis on roles of legislative Committees with the Rules and Business Committee of the 9th House of Representatives as focus. The Committee system in the United Kingdom originated from the British Parliament. It is often regarded as the mother of all parliaments (Robert A. et al) while explaining the historical background of Committee System as a major organizational factor in the legislature noted that it evolved from the British parliament and was transmitted to the New World by the way of the colonial legislatures.

2.1. Conceptual Review

This section explains the relevant literatures that are related to the variables on this topic thematically and thereafter, the Principal-Agent theory as the framework for this study.

The Principle of Separation of powers aimed at avoiding absolutism in the government where powers may be concentrated in one single person or arm and the masses may be oppressed hence the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, 1999 (as amended) provided in *Section 62(1)* that *the House or Senate of the National Assembly 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, in this case the Rules and Business, and may by resolution or*

regulation or otherwise, as it think fit, delegate any functions exercisable by it to any such committee.

In the performance of its statutory functions, Section 62(4) in its Provisions limited the powers of the Committee to making Recommendations and not authorized to make laws. In other words, the Constitution states *that nothing in this* section shall be construed as authorizing such House to delegate to a committee the power to decide whether a Bill shall be passed into law or to determine any matter which it is empowered to determine by resolution under the provisions of this constitution, but the Committee may be authorized to make recommendations to the House on any matter.

In assessing the performance of the critical role of facilitating the Legislative process and ensuring the smooth operation of the House, in scrutinizing Bills, Motions and Resolutions as well as stabilizing the Chambers, the Rules and Business committee in the 9th House of Representatives have faced challenges which shall be elucidated in the course of this research, the roles performed by this committee in influencing legislation in the 9th House of Representatives are also highlighted.

2.1.1 The Legislature

According to Ladan (2019) the legislature is the most visible manifestation of democracy. It is the arm of government that is composed of elected representatives or continent assembly of people whose primary or traditional role is to make, review and repeal laws for the wellbeing and development of the people, as security and watchdog over the executive arm of government activities. The legislature of any democratic nation occupies a central position in the system of government. Traditionally, the legislature is responsible for making laws to guide the

administration on how to rule and check the conduct of the people. On this basis, Ladan (2019) concluded that the Legislature is the chief source of law. Its lawmaking powers give legislators the authority to shape or at least influence governance, Public policy and stems from the fact that lawmaking precedes every activity of governance. This view was stressed by Heywood (2003) to the effect that parliaments are accorded a pride of place, being recognized before the executive and Judiciary. They are respected because they are composed of lay politicians representing the people, hence legislatures are a symbol of popular representation in ideal settings. As representatives of the people, they reflect the sentiments and opinions of the citizens. Therefore, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP 2003) alluded that it is the legislature that formulates the will of the people and the state into laws and gives it a legal character.

In this section, a brief definition of legislature and its committee types was briefly discussed. In this discussion, the word parliament will be interchangeably used to mean legislature. The term denotes assembly of legislators.

2.1.2 Meaning of Legislature

Parliament is a popularly elected representatives, political assembly that ensures that responsiveness and accountability of government to citizens (in a parliament that work,) In what seems to be an agreement to the position of parliament that work, Remini (2007), Franchino and Holland (2008) and Johnson (2005) all argued that some of their functions are representing the needs and aspirations of citizens and groups showing and bringing their needs to realization.

2.1.3 Conceptual Framework

Around the world, there is a trend to move toward more reliance on committees to conduct the work of parliament, and the greatest reason for this trend is a concern for efficiency. The demands on modern parliament are numerous and it is not possible for the whole house to consider all the details necessary for performing the proper function of a legislature - Former U.S. Representative, James Shannon.

According to (World Bank Institute, 2010) - WBI Committee Module, the concept, Parliamentary Committees are small units or groups of members of parliament set up within the parliamentary System. This also applies to the presidential legislative system where a small group of legislators are assigned tasks in small units for greater scrutiny.

They allow Parliament to perform several functions simultaneously, and also provide the opportunity for more investigation and discussions before findings and outcomes of these Committee meetings are presented as committee reports to the broader group for debate and conclusion.

All Parliaments work to a greater or lesser extent through committees - P. Laundy, (Gower, 1989), p.96. Parliamentary committees are widely recognised to be important arenas of legislative deliberation - Mattson and Strom, 'Parliamentary Committees', in H. Döring (ed.), (1995).

The concept of the performance of the Committee system in any legislature determines the effectiveness or otherwise of that legislature. To achieve the objective of the principles of separation of powers as propounded by Prof Montesquieu Baronde, a French Scholar which gave rise to the creation of the three

arms of government viz, the Legislature, the executive and the Judiciary the place of the Committee cannot be over-emphasized.

The Principle aimed at avoiding absolutism in the government where powers may be concentrated in one single person or arm and the masses may be oppressed hence the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, 1999 (as amended) provided in *Section 4, powers of the legislature and Section 62(1) that the House or Senate of the National Assembly 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, in this case the Rules and Business, and may by resolution or regulation or otherwise, as it thinks fit, delegate any functions exercisable by it to any such committee.*

The role of the Legislature all over the world varies from country to country and from system to system. In whatever case, they perform a complex set of functions. Heywood (2003:316) identified the following as the principal functions of the legislature: *Representation. Legislation scrutiny and Oversight*, political recruitment and leadership development. In the performance of quasi-judicial and administrative functions, legislatures discipline: and punish members of the parliament/public suspend members of the executive and ratify executive actions the Chambers rely on Committees to carry out detailed scrutiny of the tasks delegated to them..

All over the world, the legislature perform their function of Representation, Legislation and Oversight through mechanisms including the Committee System. This study assesses the level of performance of committees in the National Assembly House of Representatives using the Rules and Business Committee as a case study. The various means through which the legislature carry out its functions are specified in the Standing Orders/Rules of the Chambers that established them.

According to the National Democratic Institute (NDI) (2006) Legislative Committee is 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 House and are limited in their powers by the authority delegated to them. The work delegated by the Parliament to committees usually relates to the examination of Bills, the scrutiny of the operations of the executive or the investigation of some issues of public concern.

Parliamentary Committees are widely recognized to be important arenas of legislative deliberation – Mattson and Strom (1995) the performance of the Committee system in any legislature determines the effectiveness or otherwise of that legislature. To achieve the objective of the principles of separation of powers as propounded by Prof Montesquieu Baronde, a French Scholar which gave rise to the creation of the three arms of government viz, the Legislature, the executive and the Judiciary the place of the Committee cannot be over-emphasized.

The concept of separation of powers aimed at avoiding absolutism in the government where powers may be concentrated in one single person or arm and the masses may be oppressed hence the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, 1999 (as amended) provided in *Section 62(1) that the House or Senate of the National Assembly 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, in this case the Rules and Business, and may by resolution or regulation or otherwise, as it thinks fit, delegate any functions exercisable by it to any such committee.* This is how the theory of Principal Agent came to play in the relationship of the House and the Committees in carrying out its diverse functions. Following this principle, governance is divided into three major divisions,

Legislative, Executive and Judiciary with each arm carrying out its roles in government through one mechanism or the other to accomplish the set goals.

2.1.4 Principal-Agent Theory

A concept where the sovereignty of the people is delegated to their representatives who acts as the agents while they are the principals on whose authority they exercise their role of representation, legislation and oversight. The Legislature acts as agents to the citizens or voters who delegated their sovereignty to the legislators. The Legislators on the other hand delegated their authority to committees by the provisions of the Constitution in Section 62(1).

Principal – The person or entity who delegates authority or task to another party in a relationship as in the Principal – Agent theory. In this concept, the Principal is the Legislature and the Committees are the agents of the Legislature representing the public interest.

Agent:- The person or entity that acts on behalf of the principal carrying out the assigned tasks or making decisions on behalf of or on the authority of the principal.

2.1.5 Theory of Division of Labour:

The work of the parliament is broken down into units with a group of legislators assigned the responsibility of examining in details the tasks so assigned.

A division of labour, such as a committee system permits, creates opportunities for legislative efficiencies. Scholarly works have shown that committee systems have a significant impact on the legislative process itself as well as the public policies formed via this process (Martorano, 2008, p.1) Hence, Heitshusen (2011) argued that:

Congress divides its legislative, oversight and internal administrative tasks among more than 200 committees and subcommittees. It is important to state that assigned areas, these submits gather information, compare and evaluate legislative alternatives, identify policy problems and propose solutions, select, determine and report measures for full chamber consideration, monitor executive branch performance (oversight), and investigate allegations of wrongdoing (Heitshusen, 2011:1).

The description of the committee as above as subunits agrees with the position of Francis (1989) as he likened the committee system to a legislative house in its entirety.

In the course of this review, discussions on types of legislative committees shall be elucidated in line with Heitshusen and other scholars in addition to Standing Orders outlined other types of Legislative Committees.

2.2 Empirical Review

Legislative or Parliamentary Committees

In all legislatures all over the world, there existed the Principal –Agent relationship between the Houses and the Committees who are delegated to carry out specific tasks on behalf of the whole House for a detailed scrutiny of Bills, examination of witnesses and operate in a less adversarial atmosphere. According to the Section 4, Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, Legislative powers are conferred on the National Assembly Section 60 (CFRN) empowers National Assembly to regulate its activities through Resolutions and these powers are delegated to committees for effective performance (S. 4(1,2, 4.5) CFRN) Section 80 CFRN, powers to investigate are conferred on National Assembly and delegated to the Committees by

the Principal, National Assembly. They allow the House to attend to more crucial tasks of general nature than in the Committees. In this context, the Committees including Rules and Business Committee serves as agent to the House or Chamber that sets it up for specific reasons and for a specified period in the life of the parliament.

These tasks of the committees vary from legislature to legislature and from country to country. The roles of these committees also varies according to the systems in practice, parliamentary or presidential system.

Referring to the definition by National Democratic Institute (NDI) (2006) Legislative Committee is 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 House and are limited in their powers by the authority delegated to them.

According to (World Bank Institute 2010) - WBI Committee Module, the concept Parliamentary Committees are small units or groups of members of parliament set up within the parliamentary System.

They allow Parliament to perform several functions simultaneously, and also provide the opportunity for more investigation and discussions before findings and outcomes of these Committee meetings are presented as committee reports to the broader group for debate and conclusion.

Parliamentary Committees are widely recognized to be important arenas of legislative deliberation –Mattson and K. Strom (1995,) system permits, creates opportunities for legislative efficiencies. Hence Mezey (1979) has stressed this incentive towards an internal division of labour. The work of the parliament is

broken down into units with a group of legislators assigned the responsibility of examining in details the tasks so assigned.

A division of labour, such as a committee system permits, creates opportunities for legislative efficiencies. Around the World there is a trend to move toward more reliance on committees to conduct the work of the parliament, and the greatest reason for this trend is a concern for efficiency. The demands on a modern parliament, are numerous and it is not possible for the whole house to consider all the details necessary for performing the proper function of a legislature – Former U. S Representative, James Shanon.

The concept of Legislative Committee is a small unit of members of parliament appointed to examine closely the specific tasks or Bills referred to them for thorough scrutiny before consideration by the House in plenary. The performance of the Committee system in any legislature determines the effectiveness or otherwise of that legislature. To achieve the objective of the principles of separation of powers as propounded by Prof Montesquieu Baronde, a French Scholar which gave rise to the creation of the three arms of government viz, the Legislature, the executive and the Judiciary, the place of the Committee cannot be over-emphasized.

The Principle aimed at avoiding absolutism in the government where powers may be concentrated in one single person or arm and the masses may be oppressed hence the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, 1999 (as amended) provided in *Section 62(1)* that the House or Senate of the National Assembly 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, in this case the

Rules and Business, and may by resolution or regulation or otherwise, as it thinks fit, delegate any functions exercisable by it to any such committee.

May (1976) noted that in both Houses of Parliament in Great Britain, the practice of delegating to small bodies of Members (committees) regarded as representing the House itself, the consideration of questions, which is involving points of details or questions of technical nature, unsuited to the House as a whole is as old as any part of their settled procedure. This means that use of Committee System by parliaments is as old as the parliament itself. (Jennings, 1970) noted that the institution of Select Committees consisting of few members nominated for some specific purpose.

Study Gap:

In this studies the research seeks to explore the missing link between the work of previous scholars and this researcher which centres on stressing the roles of Rules and Business Committee in the 9th House of Representatives which makes her position distinct from general Committees of the House as enumerated in the literatures on Committee system reviewed. These authors concentrated efforts on the basic functions of legislative committees in general without x-raying the specific roles of Rules and Business in enhancing legislative effectiveness. Hence a gap was created and this deficiency is part of the problem that this study attempt to resolve.

In discussing these gaps, while the previous studies concentrated efforts in areas of the basic Roles of Committees in Enhancing Legislative process, Representation and Oversight of Ministries, Departments and Agencies, this study emphasizes on *how I*

This study places emphasis on the roles of the Committee on Rules and Business in the process of lawmaking, pursuant to Order 1 Rule 1 Order 20, Rule 3(1) (2) of House Standing Orders. Here the functions of the Committee are itemized with emphasis on how the committee helps the House of Representatives to accomplish its statutory roles of law making, representation and Oversight effectively and maintained stability in the chamber.

From the House Standing Orders 20(3), (2a -f) the statutory functions of the Committee on Rules and Business were outlined showing the distinct functions of the Committee in legislation. It was regarded as the engine room of the House of Representatives and it remains so till today.

The work of the Rules and Business Committee in the House of Representatives of the National Assembly of Nigeria as regards the exercise of its functions in perusal and scrutiny of Bills, Motions and Committee Reports as well as ensuring compliance to the Rules and Procedure as a fulcrum of the House of Representatives legislative process was not given prominence in the previous authors work, hence this research problem is another gap that this study stands to solve. The Committee has the mandate to exercise the powers conferred on the Legislature by Section 4(1, 2) and Section 62 of the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria 1999 (as amended) in the 9th House of Representatives. The Constitution empowers the legislature to create and delegate by resolution, roles to committee of its Members and regulate its activities but a clause that limits the Committees from having the authority to make laws or determine which Bills become laws constituted a gap that this study seeks to explore.

It should be noted that both British Parliamentary system and the American Presidential System depend extensively on the committee system. The difference between the American and British models has to do with the use which is made of the committee. Clem(1989:142-143) noted thus:

Congressional committees are notably more significant in the American legislative process than are the committees in the British House of Commons. In London, legislative committees are more transient and short-lived. Bills are referred to committees only after the House has voted on the general agreement with their major features, and the work of the Committee is to merely write the perfecting details. In Nigeria, the Rules and Business Committee does more than this and continues beyond its statutory functions to managing the floor of the chambers.

This limitation is the core problem that this research has identified. It tends to bring out why Reports of Committees are not considered in proportion to lawmaking, how the Committee managed the activities of the House and the challenges encountered in the course of carrying out these roles.

In the United States Congress, UK Parliament and the South African Parliaments, this committee which are regarded as *Small Congress*, *Engine Room* and *Eyes and Ears of the legislature* Woodrow Wilson (1956) respectively plays a pivotal role in performing legislative activities such as those duties performed by Rules and Business in Nigeria.

Despite these critical roles that Rules and Business performs in facilitating the Legislative process and ensuring the smooth operation of the House, the Rules and Business committee in the 9th House of Representatives was not given prominence

by the previous authors rather have suffered public criticisms of claims of inefficiency partisanship and lack of transparency rather than commendation for maintaining a stable and seamless 9th House of Representatives compared to the previous Assemblies that were characterized by rancor and instability. This led to delays in the passage of important Bills, inadequate scrutiny of executive actions and diminish public trust in the Legislative arm of government.

The effectiveness of this committee in performing its statutory functions and contributing to the overall performance of the House of Representatives shall be determined by the assessment of performance as shown in the tables bellow in the course of the research.

This study seek to assess the performance of the Rules and Business committee in influencing the general performance of the House of Representatives of the 9th House of Representatives in performing her constitutional roles of lawmaking, representation and oversight of executive agencies.. This assessment exposed the level of efficient performance of the House of Representatives using the specialist skills of the Members and staff of the Rules and Business Committee in the conduct of the business of the House of Representatives in the 9th House of Representatives of the National Assembly of Nigeria.

2.3 Theoretical Review

Almost all democratic legislatures depend on committees to conduct their business (National Democratic Institute for International Affairs, 1996, page 3: Asimiyu, 2018a slide 5). They also added that committees are sometimes called commissions. Committees or commission are small groups of legislators who are assigned on

either a temporary or a permanent basis to examine matters closely than could the full Chamber (Asimiyu, 2018), M Aliyu 2022 (The role of legislative Committees in enhancing legislative process in the National Assembly.

“They are aptly regarded as the eyes, ears and hands of the Congress and Parliament”
–Woodrow Wilson (1956).

According Mezey, (1979), a division of labour, such as a committee system permits, creates opportunities for legislative efficiencies. He stressed this incentive toward an internal division of labour – M. L Mezey, Comparative Legislatures (1979).

The Parliamentary and Presidential systems of government: The various kinds of committees include: Standing Committee, Special Select Committees, Sub-committees, Joint Committees, and Committees of the Whole House. The classification of committees differs greatly from country to country even to the extent that the same term may have different meanings in different legislatures. Nevertheless, two descriptions most commonly applied to committees are “Standing” and “Select”. Hamalai (PARP 2010) - Committees of the National Assembly.

According to scholars, for example, Musa Aliyu (2022) and Uche Anene, 2022) who worked on the theories of Legislative Committees and assessment of performance of Rules and Business Committee of the Senate, it was stressed that though committees perform diverse roles in parliaments, similar committees perform different functions based on the parliamentary system establishing them and the purpose for which they were established. This could be temporary or permanent in the life of the parliament that established them. However, in the case of Rules and Business Committee in Nigeria, the functions vary between the functions of the

similar committee in Ghana, Britain and South Africa as well as United State Congress.

The Rules and Business Committee in the U. S. Congress plays a crucial role in shaping legislation and the legislative process. Some of the key functions of the Rules and Business as obtainable in Nigeria compared to the U.S. Congress includes the following:

- i. Setting the rules for floor consideration: the committee sets the rules for how a bill will be considered on the floor, including the length of time for debate and the types of amendments that can be offered.
- ii. Setting terms of Debate: The Committee determines how long a bill will be debated on the floor of the House and what amendments will be allowed; considered on the floor, including the length of time for debate and the types of amendments that can be offered;
- iii. Screening Bills for constitutional concerns: The Committee resolves disputes over whether amendments are constitutional and does not violate the rules;
- iv. Resolving Disputes over Relevance: The Committee resolves disputes over whether amendments are germane (relevant) to the underlying bill, This is how Rules and Business in Nigeria ensures compliance of committees to the Rules and does not violate House Rules;
- v. Providing a structured process for considering major legislation: The committee helps ensure that major bills are considered in a fair and orderly manner following due procedures

- vi. Assist in the management of legislative schedule: The committee helps the House leadership manage the flow of legislation and ensure that Bills are considered as scheduled do not violate budget rules.
- vii. Reviewing Bills for Budgetary concerns: The committee reviews bills to ensure they are consistent with the House budget resolutions.

The Rules and Business Committee is often referred to as the “traffic Cop” of the House, as it plays a crucial role in directing the flow of legislation and ensuring that the legislative process runs smoothly as outlined in the Standing Orders. This is an uneasy task therefore, Members of the committee are not chosen from back benchers as it is in the Nigerian and Ghanaian parliaments.

Legislative committees in the United States congress and the American state legislatures were formed to divide an ever-increasing workload among smaller sub-units (Wilson, 1885, Mc Conachie, 1898). This view is in agreement with that expressed by Mackintosh (1985, p.15) wherein he averred that committees are microcosm of the legislature. Scholarly works have also shown that committee systems have a significant impact on the legislative process itself as well as public policies formed through this process (Matorano, 2008,p.1) Hence, Heinsteins (2011)

Congress divides its legislative, oversight, and internal administrative tasks among more than 200 committees and subcommittees. It is important to state that within assigned areas, these subunits gather information, compare and evaluate legislative alternatives, identify policy problems and propose solutions, select, determine and report measures for full chamber consideration, monitor executive branch performance (oversight) and investigate allegations of wrongdoing (Heitshusen, 2011).

2.3.1 Committee System

Almost all democratic legislatures depend on committees to conduct their business (National Democratic Institute for International Affairs, 1996, page 3: Asimiyu, 2018 a slide 5). They also added that committees are sometimes called commissions. Committees or commission are small groups of legislators who are assigned on either a temporary or a permanent basis to examine matters closely than could the full Chamber (Asimiyu, 2018), M Aliyu 2022 (The role of legislative Committees in enhancing legislatures process in the National Assembly).

The widespread use of legislative committees is seen as a very recent development. The use of parliamentary committees was historical mainly in the United States Congress: Wilson Woodrow, the 28th president of the United States was quoted as saying in 1885 that ‘Congress in its committee rooms is at work’ (Walier, 2010) This is because most of the work of Congress was referred to Committees for a detailed review to informed debates on the floor of the Chamber of the House.

A Committee Secretariat is made up of the following officials: Research Officers, Legal Officers, Computer Programmers and Budget Officers. Staff of the Secretariat are career civil servants who offer support for effective performance of Committees. They constitute the unit of bureaucrats who facilitate the effective performance of the legislators.

2.3.2 Functions of Committees in the Legislature

The basic functions of legislative Committees in Nigeria like any legislature around the world are multifaceted and they play vital roles in the governance of the country. The basic functions that is common to most standing committees are as follows:

1. Legislative (lawmaking) function: Committees conduct crucial roles in the process of legislation by thorough examination of existing laws, make amendments to existing laws and repeal laws that no longer serve its purport and intent. In the course of examination of the bills they ensure that the intended laws does not conflict with extant laws, that they are coherent, feasible and in the best interest of the country. They engage with the public and general stakeholders and subject matter experts to gather insight and feedbacks that inform their decisions and recommendation.
2. Representation is the third basic function of committees as the legislature's major roles are these three key functions which are by the provisions of Section 62 of the constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria provided for the National Assembly to delegate these powers to its committees for detailed examination and scrutiny.

According to House Standing Orders,(10th Edition, December, 2020) Order 20(3)(2a-f) provides the peculiar jurisdiction of the rules and Business Committee in the 9th House of Representatives. These functions of Rules and Business which makes its roles distinct from other committees are as listed below:

- a) Scheduling of the business of the House and causing them to be printed in the Order Paper;
- b) Allocation of time for the business of the House;
- c) Organizing the House relative to Rules , Business and Procedures of the House;

- d) Scrutinizing all Bills, Motions and other measures to ensure their conformity with the Constitution and extant laws Rules and Laws before presentation to the House for consideration;
- e) Liaising with the Management and relevant Departments of the National Assembly to ensure daily and quarterly production and distribution of Hansard, and
- f) Promptly informing the House of the status of Bills passed by the National Assembly and transmitted to the President for assent and for which Assent was withheld to allow the House determine the next legislative action.

3.Oversight Functions: The Legislative Committees have the responsibility of overseeing the activities of the ministries and agencies of the executive arm of government. The Committees in the performance of these functions ensures that the Executive agencies comply with the laws in public interest. In carrying out these function, they conduct investigations, hold public hearings, they obtain records, call for witness to testify on key issues such as national security and public expenditure. This function ensures transparency and accountability.

2.3.3 Types of Legislative Committees

The Parliamentary and Presidential systems of government: The various kinds of committees include: Standing Committee, Special Select Committees, Sub-committees, Joint Committees, and Committees of the Whole House.

The classification of committees differs greatly from country to country even to the extent that the same term may have different meanings in different legislatures. Nevertheless, two descriptions most commonly applied to committees are

“Standing” and “Select”. Hamalai (PARP 2010) - Committees of the National Assembly.

The legislature has three basic categories of Committees. In Nigeria, the following are common types of legislative committees:

- i.) **Standing Committees:** These are permanent Committees created to focus on specific policy areas, for example, Education, Health, Security and Agriculture.
- ii.) **Ad-Hoc Committees:** These are committees formed to carry out temporary functions like investigations, inquiries and at the end of each task they cease to exist.

Oyediran and Ezeani, (1990), Musa Aliyu, (2022) in their literatures wrote extensively on the importance of Legislative Committees in enhancing effective performance of legislature and impact on governance in Nigeria. The roles of these committees in enhancing effectiveness of the legislature can be drawn home with the special committees like Rules and Business whose functions coordinates and harmonizes the activities of other committees for overall effectiveness of the Legislature.

2.3.4 Joint Committees: These are permanent panels that include members from both chambers who deal with matters of mutual jurisdiction and oversight. Such committees generally conduct studies or perform housekeeping tasks rather than consider measures. They typically have an oversight or policy role but no legislative duties. The chairmanship of joint committees usually alternates between the House and Senate. Examples of joint Committees are follows:

- i. Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe;

- ii. Joint Committee on Printing
- iii. Joint Committee on Taxation
- iv. Joint Committee on the Library;
- v. Joint Economic Committee

The joint Committee of the Senate and House of representatives consists of selected Legislators of both Chambers who are empowered to meet and approve legislative decisions for and on behalf of both Houses at a joint Sitting. Finance committee is an example of Joint Committee of the National Assembly. (National Assembly Committee Handbook, 2011.)

According to GovTrack.us (2014) while the joint committee on printing and the Library have nominal responsibility for oversight of the Government Printing Office and the Library of Congress, respectively, the Committees are essentially defunct and oversight takes place within the majority party leadership of each chamber.

Another type of joint committee is Conference committee. This committee is a joint committee that is ad-hoc or short-lived and created to resolve differences between competing House and Senate versions of a measure. This committee drafts the compromises between the positions of the two chambers which are then submitted to the full House and Senate for approval.

2.3.5 Legal Basis /Constitutional Framework of Committees

Section 62(1) of the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria (1999) as amended provides that the Senate or the House of Representatives may appoint a committee of its members for such special or general purpose as in its opinion could 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. This pertains to the National Assembly.

According to Policy and Legal Advocacy Centre, (2007), the legislature, pursuant to Section 4 of the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria 1999 (as amended) has the legislative powers of the Federation vested in the National Assembly. Section 62(1) empowers the two houses of the National Assembly to establish Committees and Section 103(3) also empowers the State Assembly to appoint Committees and assign or delegate tasks to these Committees as they consider appropriate for effective legislation.

The performance of these functions by the Committees depends on the jurisdiction of the powers of the committee as mandated by the Standing Orders of the House(s) respectively. The key functions of the National Assembly according to Section 4 of the CFRN are broadly grouped into Lawmaking, representation and Oversight.

Following the above, the responsibility of processes of law making and coordination of other committee activities according to Order 20 Section 3(2) Standing Orders of the House of Representatives (10th Edition, 9th Assembly) outlines the roles of the Rules and Business committee and placed upon it the functions of coordination and planning of the House Business, allocating time for debate on the Bills and motions as well as printing the documents for the day's business such as Order Paper, Notice Paper, Votes and Proceedings and the Hansards.

Historical Perspective of Rules and Procedure of Legislative Process: Rules and procedure refer to the body of rules, ethics and customs governing the legislative bodies and how the Committee performed its functions in the legislature. It is part

of the common law originating primarily in the practice of the House of Commons of the Parliament of the United Kingdom, from which it derives its name.

In the United States, Parliamentary procedure is also referred to as legislative procedure or rules of order. Rules and business Committee in the U.S. Congress plays a crucial role in shaping legislation and the legislative process. Some of the key functions of the Rules Committee as obtainable in Nigeria compared to the U.S Congress includes Providing a structured process for considering major legislation: The committee helps ensure that major bills are considered in a fair and orderly manner following due procedures

According to the Standing Orders of the National Assembly Houses- Order 96 (1,2,3) Senate and Order 20(3) of House of Representatives 10th Edition, the Committees essentially perform the following basic functions:

Committees are empowered to take evidence in terms of hearings and at investigations;

Committees call for Evidences to support arguments in cases of alleged fraud

They call for documents from persons, agencies to back up their claims in defense of the case in view;

Committees send for persons found culpable in an allegation for interrogation and possible prosecution

However, Section 103(1) of the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria (1999) as amended provides for the state houses of Assembly thus:” A House of Assembly may appoint a committee of its members for any 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.” By this constitutional provision, the principal-Agent Theory is encapsulated empowering the Legislature to appoint committee of its members to carry out tasks on its behalf in the committee rooms.

2.4.1 Standing Committee

The majority of tasks of the legislature are usually carried out by permanent (standing) Committees which may be broad and flexible as in the United Kingdom and France or permanent and highly specialized, as in Germany and the United States of America. In most countries, the term standing committees refers to those committees that are provided for in the Standing Order/Rules of parliament. There are several distinct committees in the legislatures of both the parliamentary and presidential systems of government. Committee on Selection and other standing Committees are appointed at the commencement of the parliament to carry out specified tasks.

- i) Rules and Business
- ii) Senate/House Services
- iii) Public Petitions
- iv) Committee on Public Accounts
- v) Committee on Ethics and Privileges
- vi) Committee on Security and Intelligence
- vii) Committee on Media and publicity

2.4.2 Ad-Hoc Committees

Another common type of committees in the legislature is the Ad-Hoc Committee. These are committees established by Resolutions of the Houses for the purpose of undertaking particular assignments such as investigation or studies. At the conclusion of the assignment the committee ceases to exist. Committees such as Conference Committee is used in the bicameral legislature to harmonize differences arising from legislation or other measures passed in both Chambers of a legislature and Committee of the Whole considers Bills, and Reports at Plenary. On conclusion of the given tasks for a short period their roles cease. They perform critical roles in the legislature.

2.5 Rules and Business Committee and the Lawmaking Process

According to Adekunle (2022) and Danwanka and Usman (2018) alluded that a bill is a proposal to be passed into law. Thus, the draft of a proposed law from the time it is introduced on the floor of parliament and goes through the various stages is called a bill. A bill can also be defined as a proposed law, which is yet to be enacted. Order 76 of Senate standing Rule (2015) stipulated the types of bills as Executive, Private and Member Bills while Order 76(a) describes an executive bill as draft position coming from the government for consideration for passage into law. An executive bill may be initiated or proposed by the President, any Minister in his Cabinet, arm of government, government agencies, and such others. An executive bill also called a government bill Public Bill is often public, in the sense that it usually applies to every person or the whole country or state, or any part of it, and the bill may be on any subject matter on which the parliament has power under the Constitution to legislate.

Standing Order 76(b) of the Senate and House Standing Orders describe Private bills as those originating from the member of the parliament or a group of members of either house or both houses of the National Assembly. Thus, any member of the National Assembly may propose all or Member's bill. In this case, an individual, group of people, corporate or unincorporated entity, association, community or organization, such as a non-governmental organization take charge of the Bill in the parliament. Ion or body may propose a law under the sponsorship of any member of the parliament who is bill for consideration for processing into law.

However, Order 76(c) describes the private bill as any proposed legislation other than an executive bill or member's bill. In this case, an individual, group of people, corporate, or unincorporated entity, association, community or organization, such as a non-governmental organization or body may propose a law under sponsorship of any member of the parliament who is willing to take charge of the Bill in the parliament. Overall, the bill ot laws making process applies to all the categories of bills. The following are fundamentally the process of lawmaking.

First Reading Stage:

According to Adekunle (2022), the first Reading which is the introductory stage of the bill is a very important stage in the process of lawmaking in Nigeria. Bills must be introduced in the parliament, he it Senate or House of Representatives or State House of Assembly either upon being listed in the order of proceedings, upon being listed in order of proceedings, upon presentation by a member, upon being brought from the House after a member of the House of Representatives has agreed to take charge of it, or if brought from the House of Representatives, after a member of the

House has agreed to introduce and take charge of it. The Bill being introduced may be a fresh law, or an amendment to an existing law.

Executive bills are usually presented to the Speaker of the House and the President of the Senate with a covering letter from the president (Order 78 of the Senate Standing Rules, 2015) A Bill from a member of the House is sent to the Speaker who then forward it to the Rules and Business Committee for further legislative action. One special duty of the Rules and Business is to find out if the Bill complies with laid down rules for drafting and presentation to the parliament. Where the Committee is not satisfied with the Bill, it is sent to the Legal Department for clarification and re-drafting for presentation to the House for consideration and enactment into law.

Danwanka and Usman argued that a bill presented to parliament must have a unique number according to the originating Chamber or House. For example, a bill coming from the House is labelled HB (House Bill) while the bill emanating from the Senate is labelled SB (Senate Bill).

On the whole, first reading of a Bill is a formality because the bill is not debated at this stage. During proceedings, the Clerk of the House reads out the title of the Bill to the House and the bill is deemed to have been tabled before the parliament and read. Copies of the bill are. Thereafter made and circulated to members to study and consider in advance before the next stage which is the second reading. The Rules and Business Committee decides that date on which the next reading is taken.

Second Reading Stage:

In lawmaking process in Nigeria, this stage is perhaps most critical. If it is an Executive Bill, the Majority Leader may move motion that the Bill be read the

second time and the motion must be seconded by another parliamentarian Order 80 of the Senate Standing Rules, 2015, Adekunle, 2022). If it is a bill introduced by a member, then the member sponsoring the bill moves a motion that the bill be read the second time and another member seconds the motion. If the sponsor of a Bill does not find another member to second the motion, then the bill cannot be further debated. It is deemed to have been rejected or “negatived” and no further action will be taken on it unless it is represented in a later period.

Furthermore, when the motion is seconded, the Clerk of the House reads the long title of the Bill and then members who move the motion have to explain the subject matter, purpose, necessity and necessity and benefits of the bill. Debates on the bill begins at this point with members arguing for and against the bill. Those who against may press for its rejection, amendment to suit its purpose. At the end of the debate, the presiding officer decides by vote whether to reject the bill or set on to the next stage of lawmaking process (Danwanka & Usman, 2018). Whether the bill does not suffer defeat and successfully passes this stage, then it proceeds to the next stage which is the Committee stage.

Third Reading/Committee Stage:

This is the stage of referral of the bill to appropriate Committee for further legislative action. It is the reference of the bill to a committee that then considers the whole bill in details (Order 81, 2015 Senate Standing Rules). A section by section amendment is proposed and members of the committee vote for or against the bill. The scope of amendment to the bill at the committee level is provided for in Order 82c of the Standing Rules of the Senate. Although the committee has the power to amend the bill during committee stage, the Committee is limited or bound by the position of

the House on any amendment made by the Committee which is contrary to the decision of the House will usually not be allowed or accommodated by the House.

Following the processes, the Committee reports to the House, the amendments made, findings and work done on the Bill. A date is set by the Rules and Business Committee for the consideration of the report by the members of the House. Given the participation of the whole house, this is referred to as the committee of the whole House often presided over by the presiding officers. After deliberations, the Committee Report, a member may move a motion that the Bill be read a third time on the same date or on another date to be set by the Rules and Business.

At the commencement of the third reading, the Clerk of the House reads the long title of the bill and the proceeding begins. At this stage, there is often little or no debate on the bill again. Amendments are not usually taken at this stage but if a member moves a motion for an amendment, or to introduce a new provision into the bill, the motion will be heard and determined on its merit and committal may be considered.

At the end of the third reading, one of the two things that happens is, that the bill either the bill is accepted and passed into law by the house or it is rejected and dropped completely.

Assent

Where a bill was passed during the third reading, a clean copy of the bill as passed by the House is produced and signed by the Clerk of the House and by the Senate President and the Speaker of the House as the case may be, forwarded to the next House for concurrence. Adekunle (2022) noted that where the bill is successfully passed by the other House, if the versing of the law passed by both houses is

different, then a conference committee of both Houses will meet to resolve and reconsider the different amendments made by the Houses that is, consider only the area of difference. Where there is a disagreement, between both houses on any of the provisions of the bill, a compromise is usually reached, such as by one house conceding the objection it has raised or by each House making concessions to allow the bill become law.

Report of the conference committee is presented to both House4s for consideration and adoption or approval. When both houses approve the bill, it is sent to the clerk of the house where the bill originated to produce clean copy of the bill for transmission to the President of the Federation for signature (assent). Section58 of the constitution of the federal Republic of Nigeria (1999) as amended provided for assent, veto overriding the veto. For example, following extant provisions, the president has thirty days within which to sign or within which to withhold his signature. When the president signs the bill it becomes law. Where the President withholds his signature within 30 days and refuses to sign, then the National Assembly may by a two-third majority vote, the bill shall automatically become law and the signature of the President will no longer be needed.

2.5. 1 Functions of Rules and Business Committee in South

African Parliament

The Rules and Business Committee as it is called in Nigeria is referred to as Internal Committee in South Africa. They perform the following functions:

- i. They monitor and oversee the work and budgets of national government departments and hold them accountable

- ii. They consider and amend Bills, and may initiate Bills
- iii. They consider private members' and provincial legislative proposals and special petitions
- iv. They consider international treaties and agreements
- v. They examine specific areas of public life or matters of public interest
- vi. They take care of domestic parliamentary issues

The National Assembly in South Africa has a number of internal committees that deal with matters affecting the running of Parliament just like the case in Nigeria House of Representatives. The Committees normally consist of senior Members of Parliament. The Rules Committee and its sub-committees deal with House rules, the budget of the House, support for Members, internal arrangements, and powers and privileges of members. Other internal Committees are the Programme Committee that plans the work of the Assembly, the Disciplinary Committee, and the Committee of Chairpersons.

Though the scope of this research is Nigerian House of Representatives, it is imperative to draw inferences from other parliaments to appreciate the role of our Rules and Business in the House of Representatives and accord it the right place in law making.

2.5.2 The Ghanaian Parliament

Like Nigeria, The Ghanaian Constitution provided for the establishment of Standing Committees to which every member must belong except the Ministers in the case of Nigeria. In Ghana, Select Committees exist by virtue of the Standing Orders and Committee members are selected from back benchers. And from time to time Ad Hoc Committees are set up to consider a particular problem on a matter of public

importance. Like Nigeria, Ghanaian committees are limited by the parliament by the jurisdiction set for them. Although constrained, the Committees are sufficiently well armed to carry out the tasks given them. The Committees can compel the production of documents and papers relevant to their inquiry. They can also require the attendance of witnesses and examine them on oath or affirmation. They can send for anyone who can assist them in their inquiry. Refusal to attend to the Committees may be treated as contempt and punished accordingly.

2.5.3 Committee System in the U. S Congress:

PARP (2010) noted that committee system started as far back as 1780s. The first House Committee of the United States Congress was appointed on 2nd April 1789. The Committee was appointed to prepare and report on standing rules and order of proceedings and also the duties of a Sergeant at Arms to enforce those rules. Other committees were created on a temporary basis as needed to review specific issues for the full House. The House relied primarily on the committee of the whole to handle the bulk of legislative issues. One of the earliest committees was a three member committee on 29th April 1789 which was set primarily to prepare and report “an estimate of supplies and of net produce of import”.

2.5.4 Committee System in the United Kingdom

The Committee System originated from the British Parliament and its often regarded as the mother of all parliaments, Robert A. et al (1976) while explaining the historical background of the committee system as a major organizational factor in parliament noted that it evolved from the British Parliament and was extended to the New World by the colonial legislatures.

According to May (1976), both Houses of Parliament in Great Britain, the practice of delegating tasks to small bodies of members, regarded as representing the House itself, the consideration of questions, which as involving details or questions of technical nature unsuited to the House as a whole is as old as the Parliament itself.

According to Jennings (1970) he noted that the institution of select committee consisting of few members nominated for some specific purpose, dates back to the earliest times. Secondary data were obtained from the Rules and Business Committee using the Committee Report as well as past projects of previous authors on similar topic.

2.6 Overview of the Rules and Business

The majority of tasks of the legislature are usually carried out by permanent (standing) committees which may be broad and flexible as in the case of the United Kingdom and France or permanent and highly specialized as in Germany and the United States of America.

In most countries like Nigeria, the term standing Committees refers to those committees that are provided for in the Standing Order/Rules of the Parliament. The jurisdiction of the committee is defined by the subject matter, which tends to parallel the structure of the administrative or cabinet agencies (such as committees on Health, Defence, Labour, Education, Finance, etc) There are other types of permanent committees, including those that oversee the rules of the legislature or that have specific auditing functions.

According to Order 1(1) Standing Orders of the House of Representatives stipulates the Rules for the Conduct of Business: The Business of the House to be conducted in accordance with the Standing Orders states in Section 1(1) *that the Proceedings*

in the House of Representatives and in all committees of the House shall be conducted in accordance with these Standing Order 1 Section (2) further adds that in all cases not provided for hereinafter, by Sessional or other Orders. Precedents or practices of the House, the House shall by resolution, regulate its procedure. This is the provision of the House Standing Orders which the Rules and Business Committee enforces to ensure smooth operation of the House business. (Standing Orders of the 9th House of Representatives, 10th Edition, page 1). Order 20(3) (2) outlined in Details functions of the Committee on Rules and Business and how to conduct the business of the House.

This Topic” Assessment of Performance of Rules and Business Committee in the 9th House of Representatives: aims to evaluate the level of performance of the statutory roles and impact of Rules and Business Committee. Section 62 (1) and (2) of the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria 1999 (as amended) provides for the appointment of the committees by the respective houses of the National Assembly to carry out the statutory functions as may be prescribed in the House in line with the provisions of the House Standing Orders. Does the Committee perform these functions as prescribed, does the performance meet required expectations what challenges did the Committee experience in the course of the function. These and other levels of execution of these functions constitute the core of this study.

In performing these tasks, the Rules and Business Committee in cooperation with other Committees and the team of personnel in the Secretariat maintained stability in operations of the 9th Assembly for good governance. The House passes 510 Bills, over 200 petitions considered and 776 motions considered. This contribution of the

committees led to the success of the leadership in the 9th House of Representatives to showcase the extent to which the Committees can impact on legislative activities.

The Rules and Business Committee coordinated the activities of the House in planning the business, organizing the activities, of other committees to conform to the rules of procedure in the House. Provided procedural guide to the Speaker or Leadership and act as floor managers of the Chamber. The Committee's level of performance of its functions as provided in the standing Orders of the House impacted on the peaceful sessions of the 9th House of Representatives and this was why there was no rancor in the period like the previous assemblies.

2.7 Challenges Faced by the Committee in Performing its Functions

Among several challenges faced by the Committee in performing its roles in the 9th House of Representatives according to the Sessional Report of the House Committee on Rules and Business, (2020), the challenges of the Committee in performing her functions includes the following:

- i.Funding:** The Committee requires adequate funding of its publications, operations, capacity development and consumables;
- ii. Multiple Authority Bureaucratic Redtapism:** The challenges of directives from the Political Head of the Committee (Chairman) and the Head of Bureaucracy the Clerk of the House of Representatives to the Committee Clerk and Secretariat puts the Committee in the midst of two elephants on whose authority the Committee

should operate or whose authority supersedes the order since both have limits to the authority over the Committee,

iii. Inadequate Laws of the Federation as updated: The Committee needs updated Laws of Federation (LFN) for consultation to enable accurate guide to the House leadership. This inadequacy of books is a great challenge to the Committee.

iv. Refresher Courses: The Committee lacks adequate refresher course for Committee staff to other parliaments for updated practices.

v. Political will: The Leadership will to deal with some executive bills, Resolutions for probe are part of the challenges of the Committee in performing her roles in the House of the 9th Assembly.

According to a paper in the Journal of Law, Policy and Globalization www.iiste.org ISSN 2224-3240 (Paper) ISSN 2224-3259 (Online) Vol.48, 2016 71 Rules and Procedures Governing Legislative Process in Nigeria are considered as part of the roles performed by Rules and Business Committee in the smooth legislative process in the House of Representatives.

Rules and Procedure of Legislative Process refer to the body of rules, ethics and customs governing the legislative bodies. It is part of the common law originating primarily in the practice of the House of Commons of the Parliament of the United Kingdom.

In the United States, Parliamentary procedure is also referred to as legislative procedure or rules of order. The roles they perform are limited to specific functions. The object of the rules and procedure is to allow deliberation upon questions of any interest to the Parliament or the National Assembly. Section 3, Legislative Houses

(Powers and Privileges) Act, Cap.L12, Laws of the Federation of Nigeria, 2004
Journal of Law, Policy and Globalization www.iiste.org ISSN 2224-3240 (Paper)
ISSN 2224-3259 (Online) Vol.48, 2016 72 or will of the Assembly upon these
questions.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This Study employed a mixed method of research design in this study and collected both qualitative and quantitative data. The Chapter presents various procedures or Methodology adopted in the collection, collation and analysis of the data to assess the performance of the House Committee on Rules and Business of the 9th House of Representatives ((2019 -2023), It describes the research design, study Area, population, sampling techniques and data collection methods and analysis techniques and measures taken to ensure validity and reliability.

The purpose of this chapter is to provide a clear and transparent account of the research process which enables readers to understand how the data was collected and analyzed and how the findings were arrived at. The Purpose of this chapter is to show the methods the researcher used in data collection, collation and analysis. This chapter explains that the qualitative and quantitative techniques were combined in this research.

3.1 Research Design:

This Researcher used both qualitative and quantitative methods of the research design. In order words, a mixed method of research design was used in the data collection and analysis of this research. Interviews were conducted using in-person method and questionnaire shall be administered for final analysis.

3.2 Study Setting

This study was carried out on the Committee on Rules and Business of the 9th House of Representatives (2019 -2023) of Nigeria National Assembly. The target population of this study comprises males and female members and staff of the

Committee on Rules and Business as well as Clerks of Committees in the House of Representatives of the House of Representatives. The population of the respondents was based on One hundred (100) questionnaires administered, 80 was completed and returned. The key informant and one on one interview was conducted to Committee Clerks and Staff of the House Rules and Business Committee, Paper Office and Votes and Proceedings office as well as other staff of Civil Society Organisations (CSOs) that interact with the Committee on Rules and Business..

3.3 Population of the Study

This study adopted the mixed research design using quantitative and qualitative data. The target population of this research was 100 and purpose sampling procedure which emphasizes the choice of respondents based on set criteria was adopted for the selection of respondents from the sample size of 100 and 8 for the administration of the questionnaire and conduct of the key informant interviews respectively. Data were taken from primary (questionnaire) and secondary (that is, House Committee on Rules and Business (2019-2023) journals, Reports and magazines, internet, etc.) sources. Content analysis was used in analyzing qualitative data while descriptive statistics were adopted to analyze quantitative data. Quantitative data were presented in tables whereas qualitative data were outlined in essay format.

3.4 Sampling Technique and Sample Size

3.4.1 Sampling Technique: For the purpose of this study, purposive sampling technique was used to select the key information and respondents for questionnaire administration. A number of staff of the Committee on Rules and Business were interviewed and the Clerk of the Committee as well as some senior members of

the Committee numbering one hundred were served questionnaires while eight persons were interviewed.

3.4.2 Sampling Size

Two research methods were used in this work. Primary and secondary sources of data collection. **Primary sources:** the primary source used in this research include questionnaire and Interview.

Questionnaire: One hundred (100) Questionnaire was drafted and distributed to the sampled population who are considered members of the committee on Rules and Business to give answers to the questions asked. The questions asked are those that will help the researcher to determine the level of performance expectations of the committee for assessment purposes.

Personal Interview: The researcher conducted interviews for some selected people who are considered as clerks, Secretariat Staff and Members of the committees. The outcome of the interview gave the researcher the necessary understanding on the subject and the researcher was able to learn from the experience of others who have done similar work on the topic.

Secondary Source: Past Projects of students on similar topics were referred to in the course of this research. These are information that already existed in printed form which the researcher have collected and documented. They are secondary because such information were obtained by some other researchers whose research were found to be relevant to the subject under review. The secondary sources were obtained from websites of other parliaments, projects, journals, Google Scholar and textbooks, internet and so on.

3.5 Sources of Data Collection

Two research methods were used in this work. Primary and secondary sources of data collection. **Primary sources:** the primary source used in this research include questionnaire and Interview.

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3.6 Data Collection Instruments

Primary sources: the primary source used in this research include questionnaire and Interview.

Secondary Source: Past Projects of students on similar topics were referred to in the course of this research. These are information that already existed in printed form which the researcher have collected and documented. They are secondary because such information were obtained by some other researchers whose research were found to be relevant to the subject under review. The secondary sources were obtained from websites of other parliaments, projects, journals, Google Scholar and textbooks, internet and so on.

3.7 Methods of Data Analysis

The data collected was an end in itself but it served as means to an end. The end being the use of the required data to understand the various situations it is with a view to making valuable recommendations and contributions. To this end, the data collected has to be analyzed for any meaningful interpretation to come out with some results, it is for this reason that the simple percentage method which is believed to be straight forward easy to interpret and understand is used in the analysis of data. The Researcher therefore chooses the simple percentage methods this in research project for the analysis of the data collected. For a comprehensive analysis of data collected, emphasis was laid on the use of absolute number frequencies of responses and percentages. Answers to the research questions were provided through the comparison of the percentages of workers response to each statement in the questionnaire related to any specified question being considered.

Frequency in this study refers to the arrangement of responses in order of magnitude of occurrence while percentage refers to the arrangements of the responses in order of their proportion. The formula for percentage is shown as:

$$\% = f/N \times 100/1$$

Where f = frequency of respondents response

N = Total number of response of the sample, 100 = Consistency in the percentage of respondents for each item contained in the questions.

This research is based on the assessment of the following criteria

1. Scheduling of business (Bills, Reports, Motions) in the Order Paper for consideration in the Plenary

2. Conduct interviews with committee members, staff, and stakeholders to ascertain level of compliance of Committee to standing Orders of the House
3. Identify the challenges faced by the Committee in the course of performing her functions and analyze legislation and policy decisions.

By using these criteria and methods, we have assessed the importance of the Rules and Business Committee in lawmaking and level of public assessment of the performance of the committee in the 9th House of Representatives and can safely make recommendations for improvement.

This study recommends improvement in funding for the Committee to enhance performance of Committee's legislative business;

Training and retraining of Committee Members and Staff to be effective instruments of legislation; and Address the leadership challenges for effective performance of the legislative roles of the Committee.

CHAPTER FOUR

4.0 DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

This Chapter embodies presentation, analysis and discussion of the data. One hundred (100) questionnaires was administered, 80 was completed and returned. Key informant interview was conducted with Committee Clerks and Staff of the House Rules and Business Committee, Paper Office and Votes and Proceedings office as well as other staff of Civil Society Organisations (CSOs).

4.1 Descriptive Analysis of Data

According to the Hansards Record (2020 and 2021) the following findings were recorded by the Committee in accordance to her statutory roles during the Period under review:

- i. Daily production of the Order Paper
- ii. Regular briefing of the Press on the activities of the House by way of keeping them abreast with current status of legislative measures considered or to be considered by the House.
- iii. Weekly Production of Notice Paper
- iv. Timeous production of legislative documents for Members
- v. Generating the Hon Speakers procedural guide on sitting days
- vi. Strategic Meeting with Resource agencies for capacity development of Members
- vii. Developing ICT capacity for Members and Staff of the Committee on E-Parliament
- viii. Publication of compendium of Bills, Resolutions on Motions, Petitions etc. considered by the house from inception.
- ix. Publication of Plenary Calendars Hansards

- x. Reviewed the Standing Orders for the 10th National Assembly (House of Representatives)
- xi. Production of the Standing orders for the 10th Assembly before take off
- xii. Held a capacity building Retreat for Members and Staff of the Rules and Business Committee at the Bolton White Hotel, Area 11 Abuja,
- xiii. Oversight of Reports of other committees before consideration to ensure compliance with rules
- xiv. Reporting of actions taken on referrals of bills, motions and resolutions.

From the documents assessed based on the objective of committee's performance of its statutory Roles, the following findings as shown in the tables shown above and discussions below.

4.2 Assessment of the Performance of the Committee's Statutory Roles as contained In the Standing Orders of the House:

To assess the level of performance of the committee in carrying out its statutory functions in the 9th House of Representatives, the Researcher studied the Reports of the House Committee on Rules and Business Sessional Report for 2020/2021 and analyzed the number of Bills, Motions and Petitions processed. The Table below shows the level of performance of the Committee during the period under review:

From the assessment of the data analyzed, the tables below reveals the level of performance in accordance to the statutory roles of the Committee.

From the Table 4.2 below, an assessment of the Rules and Business effectiveness is shown in line with its statutory functions as provided in the House Standing Orders of the 9th House of Representatives, 10th Edition using the indices/factors as determinant. Among these indices are Scheduling of Business in the Order Paper, Allocation of time for debates on the floor of the Chamber and Scrutiny of bills and motions’

Table 4.2 Diagnosis of the Rules and Business Committee Performance based on the indices of its statutory functions as provided in the Standing Orders of the House of Representatives.

S/No	Assessment indicators	Excellent	Very good	Average	Below Average	Poor
1	Scheduling the business of the House	37%	43%	20%		
2.	Gazetting /Processing of Bills		57%	27%	16%	
3.	Allocation of time for the business of the House	65%	35%			
4.	Monitoring the Passage of Bills that are before the other Committees in the House	42%	45%	13%		

5.	Organization of Retreats/Workshops for Members and Staff of Rules and Business on Parliamentary Practice and Procedures		46%	24%	25%	15%
6.	Reporting of Committee activities of the House	40%	42%	28%		
7.	Organization and Stability of the House and Committee compliance with Rules and Procedures Order 1(Rule 1, 2) Standing Orders H/Reps	48%	32%	20%		

Source: Field Work, November, 2024

4.3 Level of Compliance of Committee on Rules and Business in the Performance of her Statutory Roles in the 9th House of Representatives:

To ascertain the level of committee's Compliance in the performance of its roles and conformity with the Rules and procedure as provided in the Standing Orders of

the 9th House of Representatives, the researcher examined Standing Orders of the House which stipulated the mandatory roles of the Committee and the extant laws establishing the Committee, Order XVII Rule 119 of the House Standing Orders Tenth Edition where the jurisdiction of the Committee was spelt out. This study found that the Committee complied with the rules as contained in the Standing Orders in line with Section 62(2) of the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria 1999 (as amended), scrutinized Bills, motions, petitions and passed Resolutions.

The Committee ensured strict compliance to set time of sitting, number of sitting days of the Assembly (181 days) as stipulated by the Constitution for the period of four year term. The Committee observed the order of the House calendar in production and application of House rules and Order paper for each sitting days.

The Committee ensures that executive agencies comply with the laws and extant rules in the implementation of policies.

BILLS JUNE 2019 –MAY 2020

Total bills received and read	Senate bills received for concurrence	Bills processed	Bills enacted (passed)	Senate Bills Passed Concurrence
2,232	163	1,697	510	47

SOURCE: Committee end of term report of House Rules and Business

- i. 2,232 Bills were received and read for the first time
- ii. 1,197 bills awaiting Second Reading
- iii. 308 Pending Bills in Committees awaiting further legislative action

- iv. 106 Bills pending
- v. 64 Bills laid on table
- vi. 510 Bills passed
- vii. Senate Bills for concurrence: 163
- viii. 776 Motions and Resolutions passed.

MOTIONS

JUNE 2019 –MAY 2023

MOTION RECEIVED	MOTIONS CONSIDERED	MOTIONS/RESOLUTION PASSED
1,221	445	776

SOURCE: Committee end of term report of House Rules and Business (2019-2023)

During the period under review, the Committee received 1,211 motions which were considered by the House. Four Hundred and forty five (445) motions were referred to both Standing and Ad-hoc Committees after general debate for further legislative inputs. 776 motions were passed as Resolutions.

4.4 Challenges Faced by the Committee in the course of carrying out its functions in the 9th House of Representatives

From the assessment of reports and journals of the House and other literatures by Aliyu (2022) and Anene (2022) the researcher identified the following challenges faced by the committee in the 9th House of Representatives. The Researcher studied the 2020/2021 Sessional Reports of the Committee analyzed it and found the

following challenges: Similarly, the responses of respondents from the data analyzed shows the number of challenges among other performances of the Committee in the 9th House of Representatives.

- i. Lack of Resources to sponsor staff on attachment with foreign parliaments and capacity development;
- ii. Political interests influencing decisions on Bills, Motions and Resolutions that hinders the Committee from investigating executive misdemeanor
- iii. Bureaucratic red tape: Influence of official bureaucracy in the decisions of the Committee hinders its effective decision making and legislation
- iv. Limited expertise or capacity: Compared with the Congress of the United States of America or the United Kingdom Parliament, the Committee Members lacks the Capacity and expertise to make laws in accordance with the best practice in advanced legislatures.

4.4.1 Sex Distribution of Respondents

Table 4.4.1 indicates the **Sex** distribution of respondents' population.

One hundred (100) Questionnaire was drafted and distributed to the sampled population who are members of the committee on Rules and Business to give answers to the questions asked. The questions asked are those that will help the researcher to determine the level of performance expectations of the committee for assessment purposes.

Table 4.4.1 indicates the Sex distribution of respondents' population.

\Variation	Frequency	Percent	Valid percentage	Cumulative Percentage

Male	55	55	55	55
Female	45	45	45	45
Total	100	100	100	100

Source: Field work, November, 2024

One hundred (100) Questionnaire was drafted and distributed to the sampled population who are members of the committee on Rules and Business to give answers to the questions asked. The questions asked are those that will help the researcher to determine the level of performance expectations of the committee for assessment purposes.

4.4.2 Age Distribution of Respondents

Table 4.4.2 Age Distribution of Respondents

Variables	Frequency	Percent	Valid percentage	Cumulative Percentage
18-33	-	-	-	-
34-49	40	40	40	40
50 above	60	60	60	100

Source: Field work, November, 2024

Table 4.4.2 shows the age range of respondents. While age 34-49 constitutes 40%, age 50 and above constitutes 60%.

4.4.3 Educational Qualification of Respondents

Table 4.4.3 Educational Qualification

Variables	Frequency	Percentage	Valid percentage	Cumulative Percentage
Valid: OND/HND	25	25	25	25
B.Sc./B.Eng./B.Ed./BA	45	45	45	45
Postgraduates	30	30	30	30
Total	100	100	100	100

Source: Field Work, November, 2024

The educational qualifications of the respondents as shown above indicates that those with OND/HND constitutes 25%, those with first degree constitutes 45% while those with postgraduate degrees constitutes 30% with cumulative 100%.

4.4.4 Distribution by Designation of Respondents

Table 4.4.4 Distribution by Designation of Respondents

Variables	Frequency	Percentage
Valid: Committee Clerks	30	30
Committee Staff of House of Representatives	35	35
Rules & Business Secretariat Staff	15	15
Civil Society Organization Staff	20	20
Total	100	100

Source: Field work, November, 2024

From Table 4.4.4 the designation of Respondents range from Committee Clerks 30%, Deputy Committee Clerks/Other Committee Staff constitutes 35%, Secretariat

Staff of Rules and Business Committee constitutes 15% while Staff of Civil Society Organizations constitutes 20% of the population.

ACHIEVEMENTS

In spite of the above challenges, the Committee recorded the following achievements during the period under study (2019-2023).

The effectiveness of this committee in performing its statutory functions and contributing to the overall performance of the House of Representatives shall be determined by the assessment of performance in the tables shown above in this chapter. EXTRACT OF MOTIONS/RESOLUTIONS ON MATTERS OF URGENT PUBLIC IMPORTANCE as sourced from the sessional Report of the House Committee on Rules and Business has been displayed in tables as shown: above’.

Source: Report of House Committee on Rules and Business Motions Considered Based on the Subject Matter 9th Assembly (11th June 2019 -10th June, 2020 Vol. 3: Edited by Hon. Abubakar Hassan Fulata (2020).

PETITIONS: Over two hundred (200) petitions were reported out of Committee on Public petitions according to Report of Rules and Business (Vol.3 June 11, 2019 – 2020)

REFERRALS: The Committee, by virtue of its mandate perused and scrutinized Bills, monitored referrals to committees and also undertook further Review of the House Standing Orders of the House of Representatives. The House at plenary directs the Committee to advise it on some matters of National interests on the constitutionality or otherwise of the acts in relation to the Bills in process as to legality or otherwise of the Bills.

From Table 4.4.2 above, 37% of respondents agreed that the Committee performed excellently in scheduling of business activities, gazetting of Bill and allocation of time for business of the House, 43% posited that the committee performed very well (very good) in monitoring bills and Reporting committee activities during the period under research, 20% posited that the committee performed averagely. However, 16% opined that the Committee performed below average in the organization of retreats/workshop for Members and Staff of the Committee in parliamentary practice and Procedures.

Furthermore, 42%, 45% and 13% of the respondents said that the Committee on Rules and Business monitoring of passage of Bills that are before the Committees of the House and its Committees was excellent, very good and average respectively. On gazetting of Bills, 57%, 27% and 16% noted that the committee performed very well, average and below average respectively. Nevertheless, most respondents seem to agree that the performance of Rules and Business on the allocation of time for the business of the House with 35% rating the committee excellently, while 65% of other respondents argued that the committee performed very well.

In terms of the general performance of the mandate of the committee, most respondents, 35% agreed that the committee performed excellently, in stabilizing the activities of the House and interaction with other committees as well as other legislative institutions or in conformity with the House Rules and interaction with state Houses of Assembly, 45% agreed that the Committee's performance was very good in the handling of the House Business while 20% posited that the performance of the Committee was below average in terms of conduct of Retreats for Committee. Members and Staff.

On the management of the House business, 25% of respondents reiterated that it was excellent while, 75% stated that the organization of the House activities was very well handled by the Rules and Business Committees

In assessing the overall level of performance of the Rules and Business Committee in the 9th House of Representatives, the summary of Status of Bills Received, processed, passed, Motions and Petitions received as well as Resolutions passed are relied on for the assessment as shown in Table 4.6 below:

However, since human endeavors cannot be divorced from challenges, this study notes the following as factors that militated against the performance of the committee: poor funding; insufficient office space; inadequate expertise in specialized areas, bureaucratic redtapism, inadequate inter-committee cooperation, the challenge of leadership, and others not listed here. Following this therefore, the study advanced lessons learnt from the performance of the House of Representatives as cultivating the pre-legislative scrutiny culture, resolving leadership and funding challenges, among others

4.5 Discussion of Findings

From the assessment of the performance of the House Committee on Rules and Business which begins with the analysis of data (questionnaires) collected from the respondents before diagnosis of the performance of the mandate of the committee within the legal framework., it was found that the Rules and Business Committee is one of the Special Committees that is constituted within 30 days of the proclamation of the National Assembly to carry out the internal administration

of the House or Senate as the case may be. The House or Senate Standing Orders provides for the mandates of this Committee with its special functions and jurisdiction

However, it is necessary to reiterate the statutory provisions for the House Committee on Rules and Business. On this basis, it is worthy of note that the Standing Orders of the House clearly outlined the roles of the Committee in the performance of the House Business. Section 4, 58 and 59 of the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, 1999 (CFRN, 1999) as amended vests the legislative powers of the Federation on the National Assembly. Section 60, of the same Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, 1999 as amended, empowers the National Assembly Houses to regulate its committee operations by their resolution the activities of the committees. Section 88 of the Constitution also empowers the National Assembly to oversight the Executive agencies and call for documents and witnesses. These constraints from the provisions of the constitution placed restrictions on the limit of the powers of the Committee over legislation.

In the United States Congress, the Committees has impact on legislation until the bill reaches final consideration and enactment into law. In Nigeria, Committees are limited to making recommendations without authority to decide which Bills shall be passed into law. This further forms part of the gap in this research from previous authors.

Congressional Committees are notably more significant in the American legislative process than are the committees in the British House of Commons.

In London, the Committees in the legislature are transient and short-lived. Bills are only referred to committees after the House has voted on its general agreement. While the British parliament is a talking parliament, the American Congress is a working parliament and the center of activities is in the Committees.

Hence, Committees like the Rules and Business is considered the engine room of parliament in Nigeria and America as well as other working parliaments, because here, Legislators, shape legislation and authorize expenditure, scrutinize the executive. (Rod and Martin, 2001:221).

CHAPTER FIVE

5.0 SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This chapter covered the summary, conclusion and recommendations of the study. The summary provided a synopsis of all the chapters of this study; the conclusion presented specific ideas deduced from the study, while the recommendations are key points intended to suffice for the study problem.

5.1. Summary of Findings

Legislative committees are no doubt the engine room of the legislative assembly, implicitly, the Rules and Business Committee of the House is at the core of a properly functioning House. Therefore, this study was designed to assess the performance of the 9th House Committee on Rules and Business Viz-a-viz the overall legislative output of the 9th House of Representatives of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, to ascertain the level of compliance of the Committee to its Standing Rules, identify challenges hindering performance of the committee in accordance to the mandate and proffer solutions or make recommendations to strengthen the functioning of the committee in the performance of her roles in lawmaking in Nigeria

The subsidiary objectives were to: assess the performance of the House Committee on Rules and Business in discharging its statutory functions in compliance and conformity with the Standing Orders of the House during the 9th National Assembly, and to identify the challenges that militated against the performance of the Committee's functions in achieving the legislative agenda of the 9th Assembly, and examine specific challenges and lessons that were learnt from the operations of the

Rules and Business Committee that will help in improving the future performance of the House of Representatives.

Following this development, therefore, the study deduced lessons learnt from the performance of the 9th House of Representatives Committee on Rules and Business that could be applied for future operation of the House as cultivating the pre-legislative scrutiny culture, resolving leadership and funding issues, among others. This assessment is used to determine the compliance level of the Committee and conformity to the provisions of the House Standing Order (20) Rule (3) and Senate Rule 95(2) (2015 as amended) as well as identify the challenges that militated against the committee's performance of its statutory roles in the House of Representatives.

Overall, this study concludes that the House Committee on Rules and Business was central to the operation of the House of Representatives of the Federal Republic of Nigeria and enhanced the prospects of good governance. Without doubt, the House Committee on Rules and Business was among the special committees of the House inaugurated, thirty days (30 days) after the proclamation of the Assembly at the beginning of a new session of the legislature. This special committees have a critical role of ensuring that the Legislative activities for the new session does not suffer setbacks that will hinder legislation for good governance. The Rules and Business Committee of the House of Representatives stood out in the 9th Assembly to perform its assigned tasks. These efforts made the 9th House of Representatives peaceful and finished on a rancor free note.

To achieve the objectives set in this study, the mixed research design was adopted, employing the use of quantitative and qualitative data. The complementary nature

of the data types resulted in the choice of the mixed research design. The purposive sampling procedure which emphasizes the choice of respondents based on set criteria was adopted for the selected respondents.

However, the sampling procedure applied in the selection of respondents to provide primary data (questionnaire) and secondary data (that is, House Committee on Rules and Business 2019-2023, books, journals, magazines, internet, etc. While the content analysis was used in analyzing qualitative data, descriptive statistics were employed to analyze quantitative data. For emphasis, quantitative data were presented in tables whereas qualitative data were outlined in prose.

The study revealed that the legislative role of the House committee on Rules and Business is constitutionally premised, stemming from the provision of Section 62 of the Constitution of Federal Republic of Nigeria, CFRN (1999 as altered), power to appoint committees and Section 60 empowered National Assembly to regulate the activities of Committees by resolutions, and regulate its procedures. Specifically, Order 20 (1,2) of the standing Order of the House of Representatives of the Federal Republic of Nigeria (2019-2023, 10th Edition) confers legitimacy on the House Committee on Rules and Business, which is a type of special Committee (committee inaugurated within thirty days of the inauguration of the legislative House). Therefore, the study notes that the extent of discharge of the legislative mandate of the committee could be measured by the number of Bills, Motions, Resolution and Petitions considered, how well the business of the House was conducted according to rules and procedures, how well the Bills and activities of the House was monitored by the committee since it is primarily responsible for enlisting them on the Order paper and following the order of the Business of the day as stipulated in the Order Paper.

Consequently, it is safe to assert that the House Committee on Rules and Business has jurisdiction for the management of internal affairs of the House. However, the extent of the discharge of the mandate of the Committee was assessed based on three distinct criteriae being: a summary of bills in the 9th House, the status of bills, Motions and resolutions. As a result, documentary evidence showed that the House Committee on Rules and Business enlisted 510 Bills passed and 445 motions considered. However, 776 Resolutions were considered. The data further showed that 2,232 bills were read the first time, 1,197 of those bills were awaiting second reading, while 308 bills were in Committees awaiting further legislative action.

However, since human endeavors cannot be divorced from challenges, this study notes the following as factors that militated against the performance of the committee: poor funding; insufficient office space; inadequate expertise in specialized areas, bureaucratic redtapism, inadequate inter-committee cooperation, the challenge of leadership, and others not listed here. Following this therefore, the study advanced lessons learnt from the performance of the House of Representatives as cultivating the pre-legislative scrutiny culture, resolving leadership and funding challenges, among others.

Generally, the House committee on rules and business is central to the operation of the House of Representatives of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. These roles were effectively performed by the Committee in the 9th House and this resulted in a harmonious assemblage of members in the 9th House of Representatives.

5.2 Recommendations

This study recommends the following:

- a) Resolving the challenge of leadership. for any meaningful progress to be made, legislative advocates must emphasize the place of legislative leadership recruitment of the leadership from the Speaker to the nomination of committee chairpersons which is the prerogative of the selection committee which is chaired by the speaker. The qualification or legislative antecedents of the chairmen of the rules and business committee must be prioritized. This is as a result of the need to enhance the performance of the committee and the House at large.
- b) Entrenching the culture of pre-legislative scrutiny of proposed laws. Bills should be subjected to legislative validity tests to underscore their usefulness, thus intending laws that fail such tests should be discarded. This would stop the wanton decline of presidential assent to laws that a lot of resources have been invested upon.
- c) Training and retraining of staff to acquire requisite knowledge required for the administration of legislative committees. To constantly adapt to the dynamic world, the staff of the secretariat as well as its members should always be trained to acquaint them with the best global standards for administering legislative committees on rules and business. This is necessary because of the need to entrench expertise in specialized areas like production of the order paper, preparation of the speakers'/chambers guide, /brief, etc seeing the critical role of the committee on rules and business in the legislative process, the bureaucracy, as well as political leadership of the National Assembly, should ensure that it has at its disposal, an array of technical capacity that is suited for the proper performance of its kind of legislative committee in the 21st century where and when needed.

d) Availability of funds for the conduct of committee legislative business requires a lot of money. These amounts of money are needed to acquire office consumables, stationaries, etc. It is, therefore, pertinent to note that the House committee on rules business was not immuned to such needs. Succinctly, it requires stationaries mostly since it has to constantly prepare the order of legislative business. Therefore, adequate funds should be made available for the conduct of its activities.

5.3. Conclusion

The centrality of the activities of legislative committees in ensuring parliamentary performance cannot be overemphasized. Rightly, the legislature is the hallmark of a truly democratic government hence, various studies including those of Musa Aliyu (2022) and Uche Anene (2022) confirmed that committees are at the core of ensuring performance of an effective legislature. Legislative committees as noted earlier serve among others, informational purposes as well as to conduct legislative business in more detailed manner than would the whole house. However, since the House committee on rules and business lacks a defined jurisdictional purview over ministries, departments, and agencies (MDAs), not many can clearly delineate its functions. This notwithstanding, as has been demonstrated in the course of this study, the committee on rules and business is the bedrock of an efficient House. Thus, since human affairs are guided by rules and procedures, the need for an effective House committee on rules and business cannot be discountenanced. Based on this, the study has been able to identify specific lessons that could be applied in future operations of the House from the 9th House committee on rules and business.

The study has shown that indeed, the House committee on rules and business is central in the operation of the House Order 20 (3) and senate Rule 96 (2) of the 2015 senate standing rule (as amended) outlined the committee's function to include gazetting of bills, scheduling the activities of the House/senate, among other functions. Based on this, it showed that the committee's performance of the statutory functions was outstanding. Therefore, to ensure the proper functioning of the 9th House committee on rules and business for the overall effectiveness of the Nigerian House, it is imperative that the lessons from the activities of the 9th House committee on rules and business will no doubt enhance performance of successive assemblies, especially the House of Representatives.

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