

**AN ASSESSMENT OF THE EFFECTIVENESS OF PARLIAMENTARY
BUREAUCRACY IN THE NIGERIAN NATIONAL ASSEMBLY**

(A CASE STUDY OF THE 8TH ASSEMBLY)

BY

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this dissertation titled '*An Assessment of the Effectiveness of Parliamentary Bureaucracy in the Nigerian National Assembly (a case study of the 8th Assembly)*' carried out under the supervision of **Dr. Usaman Wali** and submitted to the Postgraduate School of National Institute for Legislative and Democratic Studies/University of Benin (NILDS/UNIBEN) is a product of original work carried out by me. It has not been presented for the Award of degree anywhere to the best of my knowledge.

The ideas, observations, comments, expressions and suggestions in the work represent my own conviction, therefore I take full responsibly for any error/omission found therein.

All sources of data and information have been acknowledge as far as practicable, I wish to tender unreserved apology for any source of information not duly referenced as I have no intention whatsoever to plagiarized any work.

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CERTIFICATION

This dissertation titled '*An Assessment of the Effectiveness of Parliamentary Bureaucracy in the Nigerian National Assembly (a case study of the 8th Assembly)*' presented by Adegboro Ayorinde (PG/NLS 1818045) has met the partial requirements for the award of the degree of Masters in Parliamentary Administration (MPD) of the National Institute for Legislative and Democratic Studies/University of Benin, Edo State.

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DEDICATION

This Research work is dedicated to all Parliamentary Bureaucrats rendering effective and efficient support services to the institution of Parliaments globally.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CFRN	Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria
COPA	Parliamentary Confederation of the Americas
CNA	Clerk to the National Assembly
CSOs	Civil Society Organizations
DCNA	Deputy Clerk to the National Assembly
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
FSP	Fiscal Strategy Paper

HB	House Bill
IPU	Inter-Parliamentary Union
MP	Member of Parliament
MTF	Medium Term Expenditure Frameworks
NASC	National Assembly Service Commission
NASS	National Assembly
NILDS	National Institute for Legislative and Democratic Studies
SB	Senate Bill
UNDP	United Nations Development Programmes
WB	World Bank
YIAGA-CLE	Youth Initiative for Advocacy Growth & Advancement Africa-Centre for Legislative Engagement.

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ABSTRACT

Parliamentary bureaucracy provides the personnel that supports the activities of the legislature as well as the administrative back-up for the execution of legislative functions. This Study assessed the effectiveness of the parliamentary bureaucracy of the Nigerian National Assembly in the Legislative Process with a particular reference to the 8th Assembly against the backdrop of the need to subject such structure to regular appraisal. The objectives of the study were to: examine the general organization of the National Assembly's bureaucracy; evaluate the effectiveness of the National Assembly bureaucracy in the legislative process; identify factors that could have militated against the effectiveness of Nigeria's National Assembly bureaucracy in the legislative process; and proffer strategies that would mitigate such challenges.

Based on the above, the study adopted the mixed research design which is the use of qualitative and quantitative research methods for data collection and analysis on each of the stated objectives. Primary data were collected with the use of questionnaires and key Informants Interviews, while the secondary data were taken from published materials such as textbooks, journals, articles, newspapers, magazines, and online materials and so on.

Consequently, findings from the study showed that: with respect to objective one, the organization of the National Assembly bureaucracy is in line with the Standard set by COPA 2011. On objective two, the study revealed that the National Assembly Bureaucracy is effective in the legislative process, though there are possibilities for improvements. Objective three, the study indicated that inadequate training, inadequate resources, inadequate information management, need for more cooperation with International Parliamentary Organizations among others are some of the

challenges that could have militated against the effectiveness of National Assembly Bureaucracy in the 8th Assembly.

In conclusion, the study recommended the provision of adequate resources, training and retraining of the staff, availability of information and ensure its free flow, improved cooperation with International Parliamentary Organizations (through Exchange Programmes), etc. as strategies that would mitigate the challenges confronting the effectiveness of parliamentary bureaucracy of the Nigerian National Assembly in the legislative process.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background to the study

Bureaucracy is a major organizational structure within which policymaking, implementation, and evaluation take place. So vital is the concept (especially in developing countries, where governments are faced with numerous problems and challenges, resulting from the ever-increasing range of activities undertaken by the modern governments) that it not only stands out as the major machinery of government for the formulation and implementation of policies but also its input in the legislative process has become glaringly crucial. It is through bureaucracy and its proper functioning that the political will of a country is translated into concrete policy measures and executed for the achievement of national goals. The adequacy and efficiency of the public bureaucracy are therefore very important to all areas of the development process.

It has become a truism that no process of democratization or economic development can proceed or succeed without the supporting operations of a functional bureaucracy. Whatever system of government is operated in a state, the public bureaucracy is designated to be the prime mover of all aspect of life in such a country. Within the context of policy formulation and implementation which are integral parts of the legislative process, the bureaucracy more appropriately belongs to the policy implementation system but is also active in the area of policy formulation through their recommendation and advice borne out of their experiences and expertise in the implementation of policies and general administration. The place of the bureaucracy in the legislative process becomes more expedient considering the complex and extensive role of government in a developing country like Nigeria as it is expected to properly define, design, and discharge these

crucial responsibilities for the good of all. Its effectiveness or otherwise determines to a large extent, the quality of service delivery that will ensure order and stability in the governance process. As observed in advanced democracies around the world, it is fundamentally clear that no legislature can be effective unless it has an efficient bureaucracy, supported with adequate human and material resources to research policy issues, develop models, analyze data and carry out the administrative duties required to enhance the smooth operation of the legislative arm of government. Hence, the United Nations Development Programme [UNDP] (2012) observed that the “parliament is a complex institution. It functions at different levels and many actors influence what it does. Members of parliament, the speaker and leadership, political parties and groups, Secretaries-General, clerks, and administration all play a part in shaping its work”. To this end, the parliamentary bureaucracy provides administrative and support services to members of the legislature or parliament. They see to the smooth functioning of the legislature in such areas as financial, security, catering and welfare, information and communication technology support services, etc. Indeed, for the Legislature to perform its functions effectively and efficiently, there is the need for a well-organized and functional parliamentary bureaucracy.

As observed in the National Assembly Statistical Information (vol. 7, 2019), “the Origin and development of modern bureaucracy in the Nigerian legislature is relatively recent, but non-the-less eventful, dynamic and segmented. It is a history that has been shaped and characterized by various events. One can possibly designate about five epochs in the development of the legislative bureaucracy – the colonial era, the first, second, third and fourth republics”.

During the early colonial period, the legislative bureaucracy was dominated by Expatriates (mainly Europeans) at the top echelon who were drafted from the British House of Commons to provide support services to the various legislative Councils such as Lagos colony, legislative council of

1861 and the legislative council established under the Clifford Constitution of 1951 (Bureaucracy and Law Making, 2005). However, the legislative Bureaucracy under Littleton Constitution of 1954 was a full-fledged legislative bureaucracy dominated by Nigerians (Debate of the Nigerian legislative, 1954) as cited in the National Assembly Statistical information, (volume 7, 2019)

At independence in 1960, the legislative bureaucracy remain virtually the same as inherited from the pre-independence period. The parliament did not require an elaborate bureaucracy due to the fusion of power between it and the executive. During the period, most of the legislative works were done in the executive branch and only needed to be rubber stamped by the legislature.

The development of the parliamentary bureaucracy was hampered by the military intervention in the Nigerian politics by the forceful takeover of government on 15th January, 1966 which led to the dissolution of political institutions, which the major casualty was the legislative branch whose workforce was redeployed to the Federal Civil Service.

The transition from Parliamentary system to Presidential system of government in 1979 made it imperative for the structure of the bureaucracy of the legislature to be reconfigured as the legislature was divided into the bicameral comprising of the Senate and House of Representatives yet again, it suffered another setback due to the military intervention in the body polity in 1983, the National Assembly was suspended, the supreme military council and later the Armed forces Ruling Council were created to take over its roles; its bureaucracy was again redeployed to the federal civil Service. This vicious circle repeated itself at every military intervention until the advent of 4th Republic in 1999 when Nigeria returned to full democratic dispensation.

In 1999 when the legislature was inaugurated, the bureaucracy was less than 1,000 staff, this number has risen to about 3,000 permanent staff and 3,500 legislative Aides (publication of National Assembly Statistical information, vol. 7, 2019).

1.2. Statement of the Problem

Bureaucracies are associated with large institutions where people with specialized knowledge are organized into clearly defined hierarchical structures or offices each of which, has a specific mission. It is, therefore, pertinent to know that bureaucracy provides the personnel that supports the activities of the legislature as well as the administrative back-up for legislative functions. To this end, there are clear chains of command in which each person has only one boss or supervisor. Appointment and advancement are based on merit rather than on inheritance, power, or election. In the National Assembly, for instance, Ojogwu and Wakawa (2011) averred that its political functionaries – which are in most cases subject to term limits – work alongside legislative officers, who provide services required by the functionaries for the ease of lawmaking. Hence, they identified political functionaries as well as legislative and administrative functionaries as complementary functionaries at the National Assembly.

The bureaucratic arrangement of the National Assembly which is embodied in its administrative setup has the National Assembly divided into specialized directorates/departments for the achievement of the objectives of lawmaking. Given this, the services provided within its administrative/bureaucratic organization are supervised by the Clerk to the National Assembly (CNA) often assisted by the Deputy Clerk to the National Assembly (DCNA) to whom specific tasks are delegated. The Clerks of the two Chambers of the National Assembly and Secretaries of various Directorates with specialized skills and competencies also contribute to the effective execution of legislative activities. However, the success of legislative bureaucracy oftentimes rests

heavily on the support it receives from the legislature which on the other hand considers its own circumstance. In this regard, Carpenter (2001) argued that politicians are compelled to accept bureaucratic policy innovation in the face of mechanisms that may rest heavily on two primary motivations which are; the legislator's reelection and good public policy. With the foregoing, Carpenter affirmed that while the former seems largely critical to the acceptance of bureaucratic innovations within political institutions such as the National Assembly, the latter in most cases become desirable if it enhances the chances of the former. Apart from these challenges posed to the legislature or parliamentary bureaucracy by the legislators, there were also the challenges put forward by the Inter-Parliamentary Union [IPU] (2008) such as training, rationalization of the management of resources, communication and information, development of legislative research, and the institution of strategic inter-parliamentary cooperation and of reinforcing relations with International Parliamentary Organizations (IPOs). By implication, the output of the legislature becomes impaired due to these challenges of parliamentary administration since, by design, such support service providers are nuanced in legislative activities. Given the listed challenges of effective bureaucratic functioning in the legislative process, this study assessed the effectiveness of the bureaucracy of the National Assembly in the legislative process.

1.3. Key research questions

This study addresses the following questions:

- a) How is the National Assembly's bureaucracy organized?
- b) How effectively had the bureaucracy of the National Assembly performed its tasks in the legislative process?
- c) What factors could have militated against the performance of Nigeria's National Assembly bureaucracy in the legislative process?

1.4. Research objectives

The main objective of this study is to investigate the performance of the National Assembly bureaucracy in the legislative process. The specific objectives of the study are to:

- a) examine the general organization of the Nigerian National Assembly Bureaucracy;
- b) assess the effectiveness of the Nigerian National Assembly Bureaucracy in the legislative process;
- c) examine the factors that could militate against the performance of Nigerian National Assembly Bureaucracy in the legislative process; and
- d) proffer strategies that would mitigate the challenges confronting the performance of the Nigerian national Assembly Bureaucracy in the legislative process.

1.5. Significance of the study

It is expected that the study would serve as a medium to know the efficiencies or otherwise of the National Assembly's Bureaucracy in its role in the legislative process. Consequently the findings will help the Nigerian National Assembly to improve on areas of deficiency. Similarly, the study will be beneficial to parliamentary institutions such as the ECOWAS Parliament, Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU), European Union Parliament (EU Parliament), Civil Society Organizations, etc., in their respective pursuit of parliamentary bureaucratic advocacies/policies. Furthermore, the study will be useful to students and researchers alike in this area of knowledge. Suffice also to say, it will contribute to the body of knowledge in the area of legislative bureaucracy.

1.6. Scope of the study

The scope of the study covers the National Assembly due to its bicameral nature. It consists of a Senate with 109 Distinguished Senators and a House of Representatives with 360 Honourable

Members, as a result there is the need for large-sized bureaucracy to service it. The time scope is the period from 2015- 2019 (the 8th National Assembly) this is due to the relatively large number of bills (515) passed but unfortunately only a few (80) were assented to by the President as stated in (YIAGA Africa Centre for Legislative Engagement, 2019).

1.7. Definition of key terms

National Assembly: An assemblage of elected representatives vested with the federal legislative powers according to the provisions of Section 4 of the 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria (CFRN) (as altered). Among other functions, the National Assembly undertakes lawmaking, representative, and oversight according to the dictates of the constitution.

Bureaucracy: A Bureaucracy is a type of hierarchical arrangement that exists in an organization and is designed rationally to coordinate the work of employees in the pursuit of large-scale administrative tasks, and administrative organization based on a hierarchical structure and governed by written rules and established procedures (Weber, as cited in Swedberg, 1999). Within this context, parliamentary bureaucracy refers to a broad range of service providers within a legislative assembly aimed at aiding elected representatives individually and collectively, to facilitate the lawmaking process (Policy and Legal Advocacy Centre [PLAC], 2017).

Legislative process: This is the process of lawmaking. Indeed, the legislative process refers to the series of actions through which laws are considered and adopted, i.e. the process of engagement and adoption of a legislative proposal. The legislative process includes several mandatory stages which are important and follow in a certain sequence such as the first, second, committee consideration, third readings, etc.

1.8. Limitations of the study

This research encountered limitations relative to its scope. For instance, a study of the efficiency and effectiveness of the bureaucracy of the National Assembly in the 4th Republic (1999 – Date) would have been appropriate, however, a study of that nature requires much time which luxury this study could not afford. Consequently, the study was restricted to the 8th National Assembly (2015-2019).

1.9. Organization of the study

The study is organized into five chapters. Chapter one starts with the Introduction to the study, Statement of the Study Problem, Objectives of the study, Scope of the study, and Justification of the study. Chapter Two gives insight into the literature review and theoretical framework. Chapter Three dwells on the research methodology. Chapter Four provides an analysis of the data obtained. Finally, Chapter Five addresses the summary, conclusion, and recommendations.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This chapter reviews the literature on the subject of the study focusing on the concepts portrayed in the study either individually or collectively. The review is done thematically showing the various variables highlighted in the study.

2.1 Conceptual Review

2.1.1 The Concept of Bureaucracy

According to Eme and Edeh (2007), there are two main contending views on the study of bureaucracy; the Weberian and Marxian. Marx Weber, a German sociologist who popularized the term used it to describe a rationalistic and efficient organization of government, administration, and industry. Bureaucracy is viewed as a large-scale, complex, hierarchical and specialized organization designed to attain rational objectives most efficiently and effectively (Alabi, 2019). The realization of such rational goals and objectives is maximized through the bureaucratic qualities of formalism and impersonality in the application of rules and regulations in the operation and management of organizations (Onyekwelu, Okpalibekwe, Dike, 2015).

The classical bureaucracy of Weber is anchored on certain qualities such as hierarchy, division of labour anchored on specialization, the policy of promotion and recruitment based on merit, in addition to impersonality in the conduct of official duties, security of tenure and strict observance of rules and regulations in the operation of functions, etc. (Eme and Edeh, 2007). This kind of organization (with these features ensured) in Weber's opinion is the technically most efficient form of administration. He argues that the extent to which the above features are embedded in the organization determines the extent to which the organization approaches an ideal type of bureaucracy. Weber's concept of bureaucracy, however, remains an ideal type which in real life

does not exist. This is because no bureaucratic organization exhibits discernable features as postulated by Weber. This explains why Weber's ideal type of bureaucracy has remained a subject of criticism and controversies by many scholars. It must however be noted that Weber's concept of bureaucracy did not include a lot of bottlenecks (red tapism) and inefficiency as bureaucracy is usually viewed, rather he aimed to develop a set of rules and procedures to ensure economic, administrative, and cooperative efficiency.

Karl Marx, on the other hand, viewed bureaucracy as an instrument of oppression, exploitation and domination in the hands of the dominant class who control and manipulate the state and its apparatus in the society. Marx conceived the bureaucracy as an instrument usually employed by the ruling class to accumulate wealth and maintain their domination and control of the state. Thus, the basic driving force of bureaucracy is usually concealed by both the dominant class and the bureaucrats, as efforts are constantly made to project the bureaucracy as a neutral and development agency working for the interest of everybody in the society. To a large extent, therefore, the interest and the future of bureaucracy are closely interlinked with those of the ruling class and state. Marx identified four major features of bureaucracy. These are; the process of alienation, incompetence, bureaucratic imperialism, domination and oppression, and sordid materialism. To him, it is by the process of alienation that bureaucracy becomes an independent and oppressive force which is felt by the majority of the people as a mysterious and distant entity that regulates their activities. In the area of incompetence, Marx stressed the lack of initiative and imagination by the bureaucrats who are always scared of taking any kind of responsibility. The bureaucrats are not intimidated by this problem rather believe it is capable of doing anything. Consequently, it continues to expand its area of functions and domain to consolidate its position and prerogative (Nnadozie, 2007).

With the various conceptualizations of bureaucracy, we cannot but define the–parliamentary bureaucracy as that machinery of the legislative arm of government designed to execute the decisions and policies of political officeholders. By definition and within the context of this study, public bureaucracy is used to refer to the administrative machinery of the civil service, personnel of government at the various tiers of government, and the body of rules and regulations that govern the behaviours of this personnel in government.

Rightly, Akindele, Olaopa, and Obiyan (2002) opined that the term bureaucracy is an ambivalent term that can be taken to mean different things. For instance, it could be taken to mean different organizations used by contemporary governments in conducting their functions as encapsulated in the administrative system of the civil service. Akindele et al added that bureaucracy could also mean a mechanistic and formal approach used in carrying out the functions of government to the point of indifference towards the effects achieved. Also, Gerth and Wright (as cited in Nwankwo, Ananti & Madubueze, 2015) see bureaucracy as hierarchical management that exists in organizations based on a line of authority and division of labour embedded in this arrangement. In the opinion of Harold Laski, bureaucracy is a form of government in which officials effectively rule, with resulting “officiousness” (Waldo, 1982). However, to Weber, bureaucracy is an inevitable feature and the outcome of modernization and the increasing complexities of human institutions. He saw bureaucracy as the decisive feature of modernity, the key to change in economics, politics, law, and even cultural life. It is the effort to run large organizations with greater effectiveness that brought bureaucracy (Alukeli & Adekpoju, 2004).

Historically, bureaucracy is derived from two words; “bureau” and “Kratos”. The word “bureau” refers to the power of the office, while the Greek word “Kratos” means rule. This word is often used to refer to the office's duties and responsibilities. In 1985, Wilmot argued that the rise of

bureaucracy has been widely attributed to the various factors that influence society, including education, employment, and military service. Similarly, Max Weber in his 1938 book *On Capitalism, Bureaucracy and Religion: Selection of texts*, argued that the ideal way to organize people is by creating hierarchies and processes, which are necessary to maintain order and efficiency. However, he also saw the possibility of unchecked bureaucracy as a threat to freedom. In his writing in the early 1860s, political scientist John Stuart Mill theorized that successful monarchies were essentially bureaucracies, and found evidence of their existence in Imperial China, the Russian Empire, and the regimes of Europe. Mill referred to bureaucracy as a distinct form of government, separate from representative democracy. He believes bureaucracies had certain advantages, most importantly the accumulation of experience by those who conduct its affairs. Nevertheless, he believed this form of governance compared poorly to representative government, as it relied on appointment rather than election. Mill wrote that ultimately the bureaucracy stifles the mind, and that “a bureaucracy always tends to become a pedantocracy”. The German sociologist Max Weber was the first to formally study bureaucracy and his works led to the popularization of the term. In Max Weber’s 1922 essay on bureaucracy, published in his magnum opus *Economy and Society*, Weber described many ideal-typical forms of public administration, government, and business. His ideal-typical bureaucracy, whether public or private, is characterized by:

- a) hierarchical organization
- b) formal lines of authority (chain of command)
- c) a fixed area of activity
- d) a rigid division of labour
- e) regular and continuous execution of assigned tasks

- f) all decisions and powers specified and restricted by regulations
- g) officials with expert training in their fields
- h) career advancement dependent on technical qualifications
- i) Qualifications are evaluated by organizational rules, not individuals

Writing as an academic while still a professor at Bryn Mawr College, Woodrow Wilson's essay on *The Study of Administration* argued for bureaucracy as a professional cadre, devoid of allegiance to fleeting politics. Wilson advocated a bureaucracy that "is a part of political life only as the methods of the counting-house are a part of the life of society; only as machinery is part of the manufactured product. But it is, at the same time, raised very far above the dull level of mere technical detail by the fact that through its greater principles it is directly connected with the lasting maxims of political wisdom, the permanent truths of political progress" (Wilson, 1887). Wilson did not advocate a replacement of rule by the governed, he simply advised that "Administrative questions are not political questions. Although politics sets the administrative tasks, it should not be allowed/permitted to manipulate its offices". This essay became a foundation for the study of public administration in America.

2.1.2 Parliamentary Bureaucracy

This is not a function of parliaments but rather a capacity that is needed to fulfill the core functions. Manow (2007) mentioned that without such administrative support services, parliamentarians will be severely constrained in the discharge of their duties. These services include secretarial support, information technology, libraries and document handling, and short-term assistance to meet emergency administrative expenses. In fact, Asimiyu (2018) opined that the effectiveness of the administrative support by the parliamentary bureaucracy is determined by the accurate and speedy

processing of papers and reports, strong organization, familiarity with resources, the accuracy of the information for parliamentary use, etc.

The Nigerian Legislature has its own bureaucratic set up for carrying out its constitutional role of representation, law-making, and oversight including its administrative support activities. Just like any other arms of government, the legislature requires an effective bureaucracy (an administrative system with routine rules and regulations) to efficiently, perform its functions. Such an administrative setup is referred to as legislative bureaucracy, which is established to provide support services to enable legislators to perform their onerous legislative functions more effectively (Elbadawy, 2019). As with other government ministries and parastatals, the National Assembly is also embedded with defined bureaucratic processes and procedures. Specifically, Section 51 of the 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria (as amended) provides for the office of the “Clerk to the National Assembly and such other staff as may be prescribed by an Act of the National Assembly”. Given this, the National Assembly is structured into five directorates as contained in the Second Schedule of the National Assembly Service Act (2014). They include Corporate Affairs, Legal Services, Finance and Accounts, Procurement, Estate and Works, and Common Services.

However, to ensure the effectiveness of the legislature, currently, additional four Directorates were established which include: Research and Information; Legislative Budget and Planning; Human Resources and Staff Development; Health Services; Inter-Parliamentary Relations and Protocol, and Parliamentary Security and General Duties. Each of these directorates is further sub-divided into 67 departments providing vital support services aimed at fulfilling the administrative and political requirements of the National Assembly. These directorates and departments render

services that are not only interdependent but also crucial in driving the administrative and legislative activities of the National Assembly.

Administratively, the National Assembly is headed by the Clerk to the National Assembly (CNA). The CNA is both the Chief Accounting Officer and the Chief Parliamentary Officer of the National Assembly. He is assisted by the Deputy Clerk to the National Assembly. For administrative convenience, the CNA is further assisted by other categories of staff at the various layers of authority in the National Assembly. In the Senate/House Departments, for instance, the CNA is assisted by the Clerks of the respective Houses. At the departmental level, the Directors take charge, while at the directorate level, Permanent Secretaries superintend on behalf of the CNA. These structural innovations are provided for in the National Assembly Service Commission (NASC) Act, 2014 as amended (Elbadawy, 2019). According to Hamalai and Ajiboye (2015), the NASS management is staffed by a strong team of experts and officers with eight of them including the Deputy Clerk of the National Assembly (DCNA), Clerk Senate, and Clerk House, Permanent Secretaries equivalent.

The staff provides support services such as management of finances and expenditure, Chamber services, official report services, Human resources, legal service, information, medical, maintenance, printing and library and research services.

Figure 2.1 illustrates the bureaucratic hierarchy of the National Assembly.

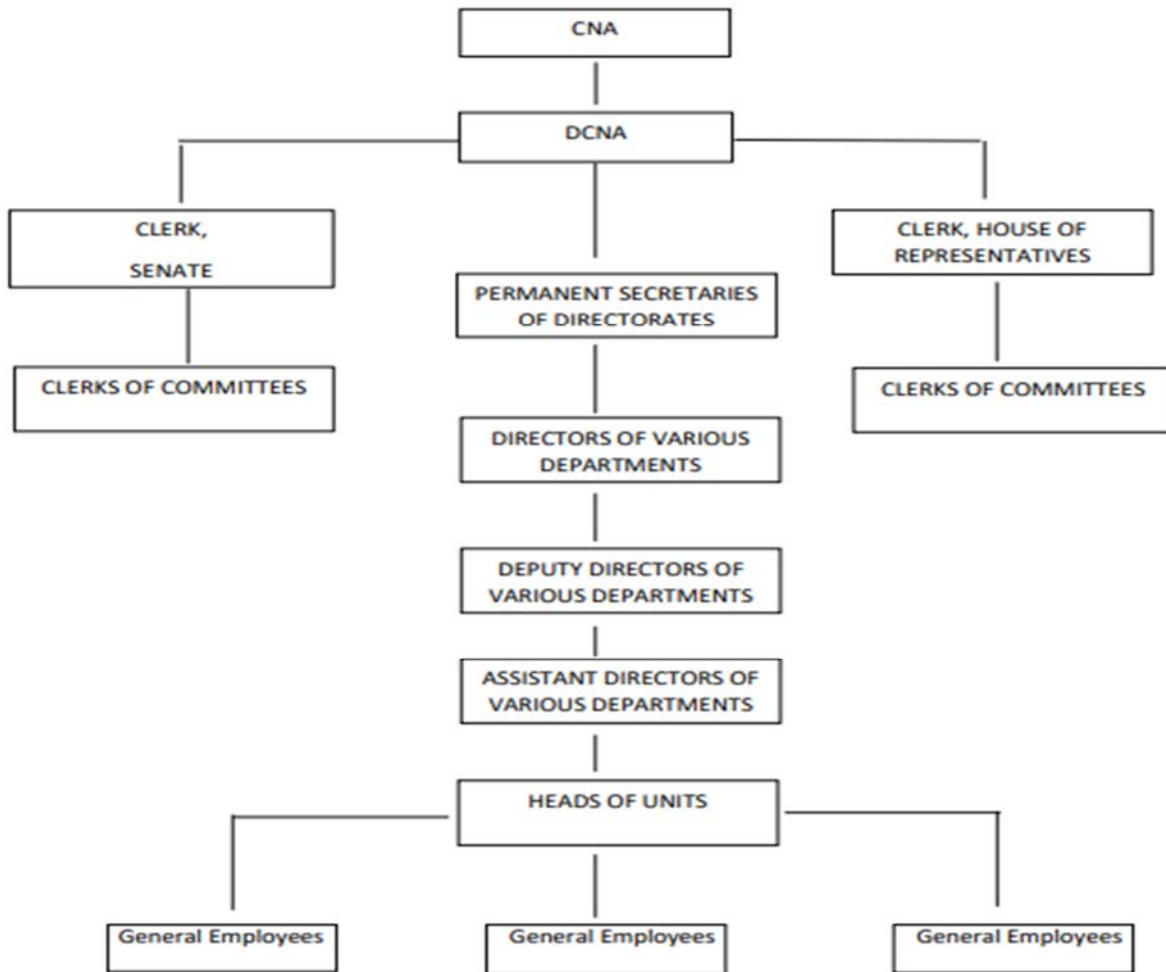


Figure 2.1: Organizational Chart of the National Assembly (Source: Office of the Clerk to the National Assembly (2019).

Figure 2.1 shows the hierarchical nature of the administrative structure of the National Assembly. Drawing from the Figure, Ojogwu and Wakawa (2011, p. 1) noted that “the structure, organization, facilities, and services concerning a lawmaking institution are those elements that must be in place to enable it to achieve its objectives, principal among which is the making of law or legislating”. Ojogwu and Wakawa, however, suggested that the structure, which is of physical form, is critical for the other elements they identified as relevant for the achievement of its objectives. Therefore, Ojogwu and Wakawa (2011) averred that in the legislature, political functionaries-which are in

most cases subject to term limits-work alongside legislative officers, which provide services required by the functionaries. Hence, they identified the functionaries at the National Assembly as;

- a) Political functionaries (legislators): elected representatives.
- b) Legislative and administrative functionaries provide the services necessary for the smooth functioning of the National Assembly.

Overall, the scope of this study covers the legislative and administrative functionaries as stated by Ojogwu and Wakawa thus, constituting the notion of parliamentary bureaucracy.

2.1.3 Legislative Process

According to Abonyi (2006), the legislature is known differently in jurisdictions. Abonyi noted that the legislature is referred to as parliament in Britain, National Assembly in Nigeria, Congress in the United States, Bundestag in Germany, Knesset in Israel, etc. The legislature occupies a key position in the democratic process of government, to articulate the collective will of the people through representative government (Okoosi-Simbine, 2010). Awotokun (1998) states that legislature is an arm of government made up of elected representatives or constituted assembly people whose duty is to make laws, control the activities of the executive and safeguard people's interests. Anyaegbunam (2000) ascribed the role of making, revising, amending, and repealing laws for the well-being of the citizenry to the legislature. Similarly, Lafenwa (2009) defines legislature as people chosen by election to represent the constituent units and control government. Okoosi-Simbine (2010) asserts that legislature is law-making, and a policy influencing body in the democratic political system.

The lawmakers can be described in the site of sovereignty, the expression on the will of the people. This is derived from the people and should be exercised according to the will of the people they

represent. Bogdanor (1991) affirms that legislature is derived from a claim that its members are representative of the political community, and decisions are collectively made according to complex procedures. The state of the legislature has been identified as the strongest predictor of the survival of every democratic development (Okoosi-Simbine, 2010). The centrality of the legislature is captured by Awotokun (1998) when he asserts that legislature is the pivot of modern democratic systems. Edosa & Azelama (1995) state that legislatures vary in design, structure, organization, operational procedures, and selection process as well as sizes, tenure of office, and nature of meetings.

Nigeria is a constitutional democracy and like constitutional states, is considered democratic (Bogdanovskaia, 1999). Democracy is based on the principle of the people's sovereignty. It means that the source of the state authority is the people. Bogdanovskaia (1999) argues that people as social entities form the governmental authority and determine the content of the activity of the governmental bodies, consequently the content of lawmaking and the activity of the legislative bodies. State decisions must be legitimate, supported by people. The legislative body as a representative body to a greater degree corresponds to the demands of democracy. The representative bodies fulfill this task step by step through different procedures different political forces agree as the state must function in the interest of all people. It creates conditions for expressing of opinion.

In practice, while many people may participate in the drafting of a bill, only a member of a legislative assembly can introduce legislation ("The Legislative Process", 2017). This being the practice in the United State Congress, is the same with Nigeria's National Assembly. A bill according to Danwanka and Ibrahim (2018) is a legislative proposal and the first step in creating a new law. They added that bills are assigned unique numbers that either begin with "HR or HB"

(to show the bill originated in the House of Representatives) or “S or SB” (to show it originated in the Senate).

The legislative process officially begins when a bill or resolution is assigned a unique number, referred to a committee and is printed by the Government Printing Office (Danwanka & Ibrahim, 2018). As observed by Danwanka and Ibrahim, the stages of a bill are;

- a) First Reading: A formal stage only and is done by the clerk reading aloud the short title of the bill on a date fixed for the first reading of that bill. A motion is moved for its presentation by the sponsor (in case of a member’s bill) or the majority leader of the House (in case of Government bills). Though, the President’s Speech is taken as the first reading of an Appropriation Bill.
- b) Second Reading: unlike the first reading, the second reading allows for debate on the bill’s general merits, imports and principles, and the House decides, at this stage, to give or withhold provisional approval. If it is read the second time, the House is deemed to have approved the bill in principle. Senate Standing Rules (Order 80, 2015) laid down the rules and principles for this stage.
- c) Committal: the second reading is followed by the committee stage, apparently referred to the appropriate committee which has jurisdiction over the content of the bill. This is however at the prerogative of the presiding officer. Committee referral is stated explicitly in the standing rule of the Senate (Order 81, 2015).
- d) Committee of the Whole House: this stage could come after the second reading upon a motion moved by a member of the House (see for instance, Order 5 (1) Rule XII of the House of Representative, 2015), but if otherwise, the standing committee submits its report to the House at plenary where it dissolves into a committee of the whole.

- e) Third Reading: when a bill has been reported from a committee of the Whole House, it shall be ordered to be read the third time upon such time as may be appointed by the Rules and Business committee, except where a motion for “re-committal” is moved. Amendments are made at this stage, however, minor ones. The bill invariably passes the third reading (Danwanka & Ibrahim, 2018).
- f) Clean Bill: for the bill to become law, it must be passed in identical form by both Houses of a bicameral legislature and then assented to by the President. The originating House sends a clean bill signed by its clerk to the other chamber for its concurrence where the bill passes through similar stages. Where disagreements exist, a conference committee is formed to iron out such grey areas. The conference report is laid in each House for consideration and adoption (Bogdanovskaia, 1999).
- g) Presidential Assent: a clean copy of the bill is sent to the president for assent. Section 58 of the 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria (as altered) is clear on veto and override of same. For instance, if the President refuses to sign the bill after 30 days it was transmitted, the National Assembly can recall the bill and re-pass it. Danwanka and Ibrahim (2018) posited that if the bill is passed in the form it was sent to the President by two-thirds majority votes in both chambers, the bill automatically becomes a law even without the signature of the President.

The fundamental and primary function of the legislature is to make laws for the good and well-being of the people as well as for the order and security of the country. Such laws are made following the constitution of a country and in line with the standing laws and procedures that the assembly has stipulated. Though lawmaking is exclusively preserved of the legislature, it is also possible to find the other two organs of government (the Executive and the Judiciary) legally

‘intruding’ into this domain by way of delegated legislation. As already established, bureaucracy is at the core of an effective legislative process. This is because of its unrivaled role in the drafting process, bill scrutiny, and analysis, committee report, etc. though these functions are often subsumed in the lawmaking processes of bill initiation (first reading), scrutiny (second reading, committee stage, and third reading), approval (committee of the whole) and assent, these remain the critical success factor of the legislative process. To this end, the legislative needs of elected representatives in the lawmaking process as listed by Asimiyu (2018) are worthy of mention. According to Asimiyu, support staff provide basic administrative and clerical assistance, prepare briefing papers, prepare the committee’s report, draw up agenda and notices of meetings, record attendance, etc. these services help in no small measure to ensure the optimal performance of elected representatives.

2.1.4 Bureaucracy and the Legislature

Pelizzo and Stapenhurst (2004) posited that the purpose of parliamentary bureaucratic support is: to enhance the capacity, legitimacy, and efficiency of the core functions of parliaments, to enable them to fulfill their constitutional and political role better. Therefore, the capacities of parliaments to be strengthened by bureaucratic support according to Pelizzo and Stapenhurst are listed as follows:

(i) Legislative Capacity

This is a core parliamentary function which includes legal competence; training in the application of parliamentary procedures, the strengthening of key parliamentary committees on selected policy and legislation issues for instance implementing peace agreements, gender-sensitive legislation, reproductive health (HIV and AIDS), poverty reduction, resource management, budgeting, anti-corruption and other pertinent policy issues (Hudson & Wren, 2007).

(ii) Representational Capacity

Manow (2007) posited that this is also a core parliamentary function that involves the activities of representation itself. Edosa and Azelama (1995) argued that to enhance the representational capacities of Members of Parliaments(MPs) their communication skills need to be improved to articulate the views and demands not only of their constituents but also of other interest groups in civil society (women, youth, minorities, etc.) and to channel them into a national political arena such as the legislature. Within the context of this capacity, bureaucrats according to Asimiyu (2018) provide procedural support on the committee interaction with the public, paper processing, legislative processes, and so on.

(iii) Oversight Capacity

To strengthen this capacity, parliamentary bureaucracy provides support to the MPs in areas such as drawing up agendas and notices of meetings, distributing information and papers, supporting fact-finding and oversight missions, preparing committee reports, preparing order paper entries, administering oaths on invited witnesses, among others. The oversight capacity of the parliament requires such enormous bureaucratic support because the effectiveness of the other functions of the parliament (i.e. representation and lawmaking) are based on the performance of its oversight role. For instance, for a law to be made, the committee with jurisdiction over the issue seeking to be addressed by the proposed law holds a public hearing on such a matter. Similarly, the notion of parliamentary representation necessitates the need for oversight activities.

2.2 EMPIRICAL REVIEW

Parliamentary bureaucracy has become increasingly topical, thus, necessitating scholarly attention given its unrivaled place in legislative governance. For instance, the World Bank [WB] (2007) researched *The Role of MPs and Parliamentary Staff* which employed the qualitative research approach. The study showed that in several Commonwealth countries, the officials of parliament form a separate parliamentary service, distinct from the civil, or public, service and thus allowed a greater degree of independence on their work, with the post of Clerk constitutionally protected for this same reason. WB noted, however, that in other countries, even the Clerk is drawn from the public service and may be returned to another appointment in that service after his or her term of office is completed. Going further, the World Bank [WB] (2007) concluded that all legislatures will usually have the following heads of department within them: the Clerk/Secretary-General, the Sergeant at Arms, the Librarian and the Head of Hansard (the official report), with suitable arrangements for administration and finance, catering and other responsibilities as may be necessary. The World Bank noted also that all parliamentary staff are expected to be politically impartial in carrying out their functions and, must be willing and able to advise any Member on procedures that that Member could take to achieve a specific purpose. Summarily, the World Bank noted that the range of services provided by parliamentary staff, or demanded of them by Members will grow in the future and part of the responsibility of the Clerk/Secretary-General is to anticipate these and advise the Speaker and the relevant House Committees on methods of meeting the challenge.

Moe (2012) in his research on the *Delegation, Control, and the Study of Public Bureaucracy* noted that the public bureaucracy hypothesis over the years has made tremendous progress. More recent theories of political delegation and control drew their relevance from the ground-breaking work of

Downs, Tullock, and Niskanen which has placed a sophisticated analytical base on how politics is being understood-and the strategies and policy goals of the executive, legislative and judicial actors who exercise political authority-decide the way the public bureaucracy is structured and performs ultimately. In fact, Moe argued along the line that the literature has developed and matured with technical issues which have come to dominate scholarly attention, and the common science governing the theory now has been restraining and even disingenuous in significant respects, to the position that essential spheres of politics and its bureaucratic processes put aside.

To Okey, Tochukwu, Desmond, and Nchekwube (2017) on their study of the *Structure and Administration of National Assembly: Nigerian Experience*, they alluded that regardless of government classification among the different arms of executive, legislature, and the Judiciary, similar roles of administration are found in every one of the different arms to make them efficient, coordinated, and effective in their role performance.

However, Sandro and Carlos (2019) in emphasizing the *concept of Bureaucracy by Max Weber* looked at *bureaucracy* as a broadly spread idea in Sociology and organizational theoretical studies which has negative image aspects. Sandro and Carlos posit that Max Weber, however, opined that bureaucracy has very unique features that vary in different situations, from the application and representation often attributed to the organizational administration model. The review, therefore, contributed to putting forward the bureaucracy concept proposed initially by Max Weber by discussing such in its potentialities. Finally, Leila (2020) in her study of *Men of the People? Democracy and Prebendalism in Nigeria's Fourth Republic National Assembly* noted that since the inception of the Fourth Republic in Nigeria, the National Assembly has become more and more assertive.

2.3 GAP IN KNOWLEDGE

Several studies have been conducted in the areas of public bureaucracy with lesser attention paid to parliamentary bureaucracy even though parliamentary administration is at the core of parliamentary governance. Therefore, with themes covering; the concept of bureaucracy, parliamentary bureaucracy, legislative process, and empirical literature, this study examined scholarly works related to the variables being studied either individually or collectively as shown in the literature review. In the course of the review, however, although the studies in part touched on certain aspects of the research, there was a visible silence on the activities of parliamentary bureaucracy in the legislative process. Therefore, given that this constitutes a gap in the literature of parliamentary governance, this study sought to assess the performance of parliamentary bureaucrats in the legislative process focusing on the 8th Nigerian National Assembly.

2.4 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK-STRUCTURAL FUNCTIONALISM THEORY

According to Herbert Spencer and Robert Merton (1820- 1903),

Congress have and use every means of acquainting itself with the acts and dispositions of the administrative agents of the government, the country must be helpless in learning of how it is being served; and unless Congress both scrutinize these things and sift them by every form of discussion, the country must remain in embarrassing, crippling ignorance of the very affairs which is most important it should understand and direct.

Various theories abound that could be adopted as the framework upon which the study could be built. These theories range from Structural Functionalism theory to System theory, and theory of checks and balances. All three theories are discussed but for this study, I adopted the theory of structural functionalism. According to Gabriel Almond (1956), Structural Functionalism is a heuristic device that explains what political structures perform in the political system. By Political System, these are the systems of interactions to be found in all independent societies which perform the functions of integration and adaptation.

Gabriel Almond, divided the functions of the Political System into two to include Political and Governmental. The governmental to him include rule-making and rule application and adjudication. Similarly, Herbert Spencer views Structural Functionalism by using a biological analogy. To him, he was concerned with the structures of the society and how each part contributes to the functioning of the whole. There exists greater interdependence of parts of the same system. To achieve functional harmony of the structures, the parts must function independently and interdependently for the survival of the entire system.

In an attempt to develop a more dynamic analysis of the social system, the American sociologist Talcott Parsons introduced a structural-functional approach that employs the concept of functions as a link between relatively stable structural categories. In his writings "The Social System", he emphasized that for a social system to operate effectively, the Systems must be able to accommodate conflicts and resolve them to achieve societal harmony. Four functional exigencies for him are necessary for Social System to survive which include: goal attainment which is the function of the political Sub-system, an adaptation which is the function of the economic sub-system, Integration which is the function of the cultural sub-system and tension management which is the function of the religious Sub-system. These exigencies demand, institutions perform specialized functions as necessary for the society to survive and endure over time. He contends that equilibrium is necessary for every society to eliminate conflict. And that the roles of individual members are clearly defined for equilibrium to be obtained under a perfectly integrated system.

Structuralism means a system of analysis that analyses large-scale systems by examining the relations and functions of the smallest constituent elements of such a system. While Functionalism is a general social theory, that stresses the mutual interdependence among the institutions and customs of a particular society. It explains how social order is achieved by the functions that

institutions perform. Applying this theory to the analysis of the present study, it must be noted that the phenomenon of legislative bureaucracy has a structural and functional origin. To be sure, as a political and constitutional reality (Section 51 of the 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, as altered), legislative bureaucracy is a legal requirement for the proper functioning of the National Assembly.

With a holistic conception of political and social phenomena, structural functionalism gives an insight into the interconnectedness and functional relationship that exists between the legislature and the executive arm of government. In this respect, the phenomenon of legislative bureaucracy is related to the social and economic systems, as well as the pattern of political relations and practices that are attendant in the social or political system. From the foregoing's, it is evident that structural functionalism theory offers incisive and rather pragmatic explanations of the problem of our study. It is in the light of this, that this theory is considered most appropriate for the purpose. The structural-functionalism theory of analysis has been severely criticized. Marx and Freud criticized that the theory emphasizes structure deep over surface phenomenon. Both of whom were concerned with underlying causes of un-conceived motivation, and transpersonal forces, shifting attention away from individual human consciousness and choice. As a result of their view, structural functionalism is regarded as "anti-humanistic" (Leitch 1988: 304). This, notwithstanding, it is my submission that the structural functionalism approach provides the best approach towards objective and rewarding analyses of the subject matter because it emphasizes the proper functioning of an independent parliamentary bureaucracy towards an effective legislative process, hence, its adoption in this study.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

This chapter presents the methodology that was adopted in conducting the study. Thus, discussions within this chapter are under the headings: research design, sources of data, study location, the population of the study, sampling technique and size, and method of data analysis.

3.1. Research design

The study adopts the mixed research design, i.e., quantitative and qualitative research designs using the questionnaire and key informant interview (KII) methods respectively on the organization of National Assembly Bureaucracy. Ahmad, Wasim, Irfan, Gogoi, Srivastava, and Farheen (2019) explained that qualitative research designs are used to gain an in-depth understanding of human behaviour, experience, attitudes, intentions, and motivations, based on observation and interpretation, to find out the way people think and feel. It is a form of research in which the researcher gives more weight to the views of the participants. On the other hand, Ahmad et al argue that quantitative research designs aim at establishing cause and effect relationships between two variables by using mathematical, computational, and statistical methods. Drawing from this, the mixed research design was chosen deliberately because of the complementary nature of its respective data.

3.2. Sources of data

This study accommodated both primary and secondary sources of data. Hameed (2020) delineated between the data requirements for qualitative and quantitative research designs as he listed participant/non-participant observation, open-ended, unstructured, semi-structured interviews, focus group interviews, testimonies, archived documents, records, notes, etc., as types of qualitative data while postal/telephone/online questionnaires, Likert scales, among others are

quantitative data types. Given the foregoing, the primary data for this study was sourced through the use of Key Informant Interview [KII] and the administration of questionnaires on lawmakers, opinion leaders, and the staff of the National Assembly as highlighted in section 3.4 (The population of the study).

The secondary data were taken from books, official publications, journal articles, newspapers, magazines, etc., and other relevant materials from the internet. Overall, based on the objectives of the study, item 3.5 of the 2011 Parliamentary Confederation of the Americas [COPA] self-assessment benchmarks which were adopted on September 9th, 2011, at its 11th General Assembly in the Québec City was used to gather empirical information on the organization of the National Assembly's bureaucracy. The key Informant Interviews and the administration of questionnaires all provided data and information to enable the progressive work on objectives one, two, three, and four of the study.

3.3. The population of the study

The population of the study covers all individuals or things or elements that fit a certain specification, which means all the items under consideration in any field of inquiry contribute to the research work. According to Majid (2018), the population of interest is the study's target population that it intends to study or treat. The population for this study is the 5, 615 personnel of the National Assembly (Department of Statistics, National Assembly, 2019), 8 Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) with a legislative related mandate like the Policy and Legal Advocacy Centre (PLAC), Centre for Democracy and Development (CDD), Civil Society Legislative Advocacy Center (CISLAC), etc., 469 lawmakers, and 127 personnel of the National Institute for Legislative and Democratic Studies [NILDS] (NILDS, 2021).

Explaining the choice of population, the staff of the National Assembly were chosen because the study sets out in the first place, to examine their performance in the legislative process; CSOs were taken ahead of citizens to provide a citizen-perspective to the study given their profound knowledge of the subject being investigated; staff of NILDS due to the vital role they play in the legislative process in the National Assembly; they work on bills, motions and other legislative instruments used by the legislators aside from the provision of trainings to the lawmakers and the bureaucracy.

The tabular representation of the population of the study is presented in Table 3.1 below:

Table 3.1: Population of the study

S/N	Category	Total Population
1	Lawmakers	469
2	Personnel of the National Assembly	5, 615
3	Personnel of NILDS	127
4	Civil Society Organizations	8
5	Total	6, 219

Source: Fieldwork, October 2021

3.4. Sampling technique and sample size

Foremost, a sample is a set of data that a researcher chooses or selects from a larger population. The selected data are referred to as sample points, sampling units, or observations. To Majid (2018), it is often not appropriate or feasible to recruit the entire population of interest hence, the resort to sampling units or points from which generalizations are often made. The simple random sampling technique was used for the collection of quantitative data while the purposive sampling

technique was adopted for the selection of Key Informants as qualitative data. Palys (2008) confirmed the distinction between the sampling procedures when he averred that purposive sampling is synonymous with qualitative studies. On the one hand, using the simple random sampling technique means that each element in the population has an equal chance of being selected. On the other hand, purposive sampling is a sampling technique in which the researcher relies on his or her judgment when choosing members of a population to participate in the study. Indeed, simple random sampling is a probability sampling method whereas the purposive sampling procedure is a nonprobability sampling technique.

Choice of sample sizes

Drawing from the choice of population and consequently its sizes, the sample size was determined using Taro Yamane's formula as given below. Although the Cochran formula can be used to determine sample sizes, scholars prefer the use of Taro Yaname's formula because of its ability to determine sample sizes relative to the population as opposed to the Cochran formula that gives the same sample size regardless of the size of the population.

Application of Taro Yamane's formula:

$$n = \frac{N}{(1+Ne^2)}$$

Where: n = corrected sample size

$$N = 6,219 \text{ (Fieldwork, October 2021).}$$

$$e = \text{Margin of Error (MoE)} = 0.05$$

$$n = \frac{6219}{1+6219(0.05^2)}$$

$$= \frac{6219}{1+6219 (0.0025)}$$

$$= \frac{6219}{1+15.5475}$$

$$= \frac{6219}{16.5475}$$

$$= 375.8 \approx \underline{376}$$

Hence, based on the sizes of each of the population, the following sample sizes would be drawn:

$$\text{Lawmakers} = 376 \times \frac{469}{6219}$$

$$= 376 \times 0.0754$$

$$= \underline{28}$$

$$\text{National Assembly staff} = 376 \times \frac{5615}{6219}$$

$$= 376 \times 0.909$$

$$= \underline{339}$$

$$\text{Personnel of NILDS} = 376 \times \frac{127}{6219}$$

$$= 376 \times 0.0204$$

$$= \underline{8}$$

$$\text{CSOs} = 376 \times \frac{8}{6219}$$

$$= 376 \times 0.0013$$

$$= \underline{1}$$

∴ Sample size for the administration of questionnaire = Lawmakers + National Assembly Staff + Personnel of NILDS+ CSOs

$$= 28 + 339 + 8 + 1$$

$$= \underline{\underline{376}}$$

Given the choice of Key Informants Interview as another source of primary data, interviews were conducted on a total of seven (7) respondents. Respondents were drawn from each category of the population identified in section 3.4. That is, the respondents were chosen using the purposive sampling technique based on their knowledge of the subject matter in the opinion of the researcher- 2 from the lawmakers, 3 from Staff of the National Assembly, 1 from Personnel of NILDS, and 1 from the Civil Society Organizations (CSOs).

3.5. Method of data analysis

Due to the choice of research design, quantitative and qualitative methods were adopted for the analysis of data. Interviews that were gathered through recordings and notes were interpreted and coded in textual form, while questionnaires were analyzed using the Scientific Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS 21.0) was used for the analysis of questionnaire. Finally, quantitative data were presented with descriptive statistics while the content analysis that dealt with the study of recorded information was adopted for the presentation of qualitative data in a thematic order.

3.6. Expectation based on the structural-functionalism approach

The expectations for this study was driven by the dictates of the structural-functionalism approach. Therefore, it must be stated from the outset that the theory of structural-functionalism emphasizes the effectiveness of the components of a system for its overall efficiency. On this note, it is safe to

delineate the various variables interrogated in the study being, parliamentary bureaucracy, the parliament, and the legislative process. Therefore, the theoretical contribution of the study based on existing theory is that true to the propositions of the structural-functionalism theory, the bureaucracy of the National Assembly which is a unit of the parliament, is a critical success factor in the effectiveness of the legislative process.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS, AND DISCUSSION

This chapter presents, analyzes, and discusses the data collected in the course of the study. Table 4.1 below shows that 350 respondents returned the questionnaires, this represents 93.1% of the 376 questionnaires administered during the research work.

Table 4.1.: Summary of Administered Questionnaire

S/N	Population	Respondents	Returned	Not Returned
1	National Assembly staff	339	320	19
2	Lawmakers	28	22	6
3	Personnel of NILDS	8	7	1
4	CSOs	1	1	0
	Total	376	350	26

Source: Fieldwork, February 2022.

4.1. Social Demography

The demographic information of respondents includes age, sex, educational qualification, and professional designation. This piece of information is necessary given the imperatives imposed by working in any of the population of the study. For instance, there is a constitutional age limit to be elected into the Nigerian National Assembly as a lawmaker (Senate 35 years and House of Representative 30 years) as well as a minimum educational standard to work with a Civil Society Organization (CSO) etc. As a result, Table 4.2. Presents the demography of the respondents within these headings.

Table 4.2.: Social Demography

S/N	DEMOGRAPHIC ATTRIBUTES	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE
1	Sex	Male: 184	52.6
		Female: 166	47.4
2	Age	18-28: 44	12.5
		29-39: 100	28.5
		40-50: 135	38.7
		51 and above: 71	20.3
3	Educational Qualification	FSLC: 27	7.7
		SSCE: 61	17.3
		OND/HND: 101	28.8
		DEGREE: 119	34.0
		POSTGRADUATE: 42	12.2
4	Professional Designation	National Assembly staff: 320	91.4
		Lawmakers: 22	6.3
		Personnel of NILDS: 7	2.0
		CSOs: 1	0.3

Source: Fieldwork, February 2022.

As shown in Table 4.2, 52.6% of the respondents are males while 47.4% are females. From the gender distribution of the population, it is clear that various efforts towards addressing the huge gender gap created by patriarchal, cultural issues, etc., are yielding the desired results. Available records show that the population is youthful with a good numbers of respondents falling between

29-39years (28.5%) and 40-50 years (38.7%). However, 12.5% are aged 18-28 years while 20.3% of the respondents are aged 51 years and above. On the educational qualification of the respondents, it is safe to assert that the sampled population is educated because while 28.8% had OND/HND qualifications, 34.0% had Degree and 12.2% are Postgraduates. Lastly, based on the sampling frames, 91.4% of the population are staff of the National Assembly, 6.3% are lawmakers, and 2.0% are staff of the National Institute for Legislative and Democratic Studies (NILDS), while 0.3% are members of Civil Society Organizations (CSOs).

4.2. Organization of the National Assembly's Bureaucracy(Objective One of the study)

This section seeks to address objective 1 of the study on the organization of the bureaucracy of National Assembly.

Section 51 of the 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria (as altered) provides for the bureaucracy of the National Assembly. This section states:-

There shall be a Clerk to the National Assembly and such other staff as may be prescribed by an Act of the National Assembly, and the method of appointment of the Clerk and other staff of the National Assembly shall be as prescribed by that Act.

From the above constitutional provision, the National Assembly which exists within the ambits of the principle of separation of powers is fully empowered to operate a bureaucracy that would service it in the efforts to discharge its constitutional roles of lawmaking, oversight, and representation. Using the 2011 COPA benchmark for the assessment of legislatures, empirical evidence on the organization of the National Assembly's bureaucracy is provided in Table 4.3 below.

**Table 4.3.: Empirical Analysis of the Organization of the National Assembly’s Bureaucracy
using COPA 2011 benchmarks**

S/N	ORGANIZATIONAL QUESTIONS	EMPIRICAL EVIDENCE
GENERAL		
1	The administrative management of Parliament must be left to permanent, professional, non-partisan personnel providing support for the various services.	<p>1. Section 51 of the 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria provides for the office of the Clerk to the National Assembly with other staff as prescribed by an Act of the National Assembly.</p> <p>2. The interviews conducted during the research work confirmed that there exist in the National Assembly, office of the Clerk to the National Assembly and other offices in hierarchical order.</p>
2	Parliament must have control of parliamentary services and determine the terms of employment of its personnel, independently from the executive branch.	<p>1. Among other things, Section 51 of the 1999 Constitution stipulates that “the method of appointment of the Clerk and other staff of the National Assembly shall be as prescribed by that Act”.</p> <p>2. The interview in the course of this work revealed that the methods of</p>

		appointments of the Clerk to the National Assembly and other staff conforms to the stipulation of the 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria(as altered)
3	Parliamentary personnel must carry out their functions with impartiality and be mindful of their duty of restraint.	<p>1. According to Section 19 (1) of the National Assembly Service Commission Act, 2014, “the Commission may make staff regulations relating generally to the condition of service”.</p> <p>2. There is a condition of service which regulates the conduct of the bureaucrats in the National Assembly as confirmed during the interview in the course of the research.</p>
4	A clear distinction must be drawn and maintained between parliamentary service employees and political personnel (persons employed by a parliamentarian or parliamentary group and working exclusively for them).	<p>1. Ojogwu and Wakawa (2011) delineated between the categories of staff in the National Assembly.</p> <p>2. The interview conducted during the research work shows that, there is a distinction between the bureaucrats (permanent staff) and the legislative</p>

		Aides (Political personnel) in the National Assembly.
5	Women must be adequately represented at all levels of parliamentary administration.	<p>1. Although the government continues to take steps towards inclusivity in all spheres of life, Section 44 of the 1999 Constitution prohibits discrimination based on sex, religion, and so on.</p> <p>2. Finding during the interview shows that there is no discrimination whatsoever in the recruitment of staff either based on sex, religious belief etc in the National Assembly.</p>
RECRUITING AND PROMOTION		
1	Parliament must determine the terms for recruiting its permanent personnel, independently from the executive branch.	<p>1. Section 19 (1) (b) of the National Assembly Service Commission Act, 2014 bestows the Commission with the powers for the appointment, promotion, and disciplinary control of Staff of the National Assembly.</p> <p>2. There is a confirmation during the research work that the National Assembly actually carried out the appointment, promotion and discipline</p>

		of its personnel in line with the laydown regulations.
2	Parliament must be provided with the resources necessary for recruiting the personnel it needs.	<p>1. Section 15 (1) of the National Assembly Service Commission Act, 2014 stipulates that “There is established a fund for the Commission and the provision for the Fund shall be made in the annual budget of the National Assembly”.</p> <p>2. In the course of the research work, it was confirmed that there is actually provision of funds to the National Assembly Service Commission in the Nigerian Annual Budget which are deployed for the purpose they meant for, including recruitment of staff.</p>
3	The recruitment and promotion of non-partisan personnel must be based on merit, and the selection process must be fair and transparent.	<p>1. The Constitution which provides the ground norm prohibits discrimination thus, emphasizing aptitude.</p> <p>2. Recruitments and promotions of staff in the National Assembly follow laid down procedures including written</p>

		examinations etc as confirmed during the research exercise.
4	When hiring or promoting employees, Parliament must not discriminate based on gender, religion, financial situation, race or physical handicap.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Section 44 of the Constitution prohibits any form of discrimination. 2. There is no form of discrimination against staff in the National Assembly as everyone is provided with a level playing ground, this was confirmed in the course of the research work.

ORGANIZATION AND MANAGEMENT

1	The status of parliamentary service employees must protect them from any form of undue political pressure.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Parliamentary staff are required to uphold work ethics and eschew any political tendency in the discharge of their duties. 2. The Staff of the National Assembly are apolitical in the course of discharging their duties, this was revealed during the interview.
2	Neither partisan nor non-partisan personnel shall have no legislative or procedural authority, including a vote in Parliament.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. No part of the rules of the Senate or the House of Representatives allows non-members of the parliament to vote either at the plenary or committee level.

		<p>Also, the public service rule which requires resignation before engaging in active politics applies to parliamentary bureaucrats.</p> <p>2. Staff of parliament or non-parliamentarians are not permitted to vote during debate in parliament. Furthermore, any staff of parliament that have political ambition must resigned, these were confirmed in the course of this research.</p>
3	<p>Permanent and political personnel must be subject to a code of conduct. A mechanism must be put in place to deter, detect and bring to justice any parliamentary employee engaged in fraudulent or corrupt practices.</p>	<p>1. Section 19 (1) (b) of the National Assembly Service Commission Act, 2014 approves of disciplinary measures as may be deemed fit by the Commission.</p> <p>2. In the course of the research, it was discovered that erring staff of the National Assembly have undergone disciplinary procedure.</p>

Source: Fieldwork, February 2022.

Discussion:

From Table 4.3, the National Assembly bureaucracy is organized along the lines stipulated in the COPA 2011 benchmark. The catchment areas covered were the general organization of the bureaucracy; recruitment, promotion, organization and management. Clearly, the National Assembly bureaucratic arrangement satisfies these conditions.

4.3 Effectiveness of the National Assembly Bureaucracy in the Legislative Process (Objective two of the study)

This section seeks to find out the effectiveness of the National Assembly Bureaucrats in the legislative process. Pelizzo and Stapenhurst (2004) listed the various capacities of parliaments that require support for its strengthening to include; legislative capacity, representational capacity, oversight capacity, and administrative capacity. The Administrative capacity is represented by the bureaucracy which is examined below:

4.3.1 Necessity of Parliamentary Bureaucracy in the legislation:

This section seeks to find out from the respondents the necessity for bureaucracy in the legislative process. The essence is to know how strongly respondents feel about the bureaucracy in the legislative process even before considering its effectiveness.

Table 4.4: Are Parliamentary Bureaucrats Necessary for the Effectiveness of the Legislative Process?

Variables	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
YES	315	90.0	90.0	90.0
NO	15	4.4	4.4	94.4
CAN'T SAY	20	5.7	5.7	100.0
Total	350	100.0	100.0	

Source: Fieldwork, February 2022.

According to responses, 90.0% of respondents argued that the services of parliamentary bureaucrats are necessary for the effectiveness of the legislative process, 4.4% of the responses were to the effect that the services of parliamentary bureaucrats are not necessary for the effectiveness of the legislative process in the National Assembly, and 5.7% respondents were undecided on whether or not such services are necessary for the effectiveness of the legislative process.

4.3.2 Strength of the National Assembly Bureaucracy:

This section seeks to find out what the respondents feel about the strength of the National Assembly Bureaucracy in the legislative process.

Table 4.5: Strength of the National Assembly Bureaucracy

Variables	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
WEAK	47	13.5	13.5	13.5
OK	146	41.7	41.7	55.2
STRONG	140	40.1	40.1	95.3
VERY STRONG	16	4.7	4.7	100.0
Total	350	100.0	100.0	

Source: Fieldwork, February 2022.

As shown in Table 4.5 above, within the context, the strength of parliamentary bureaucrats in the National Assembly according to respondents is in the order of 13.5%, 41.7%, 40.1%, and 4.7% for weak, ok, strong, and very strong respectively.

Discussion:

The Results in the above table shows that 13.5% of the respondents believes that the strength of the National Assembly bureaucracy is very weak in the legislative process, which means it does not have influence on the legislative process. 41.7% of the respondents are of the opinion that the strength in the legislative process is Ok, (on the average), it has little influence on the legislative process. 40.1% of the respondent believed that the strength of the bureaucracy in the legislative process is strong, which means the parliamentary bureaucracy can influence the legislative process, while 4.7% is of the opinion that the strength is very strong which mean the parliamentary bureaucracy has great influence in the legislative process and can influence the process a great deal.

4.3.3 Effectiveness of the National Assembly Bureaucracy:

In assessing the effectiveness of bureaucracy in the Nigerian National Assembly, the researcher identified some officers and cadres that are critical to the legislative process which were subjected to the views of the respondents.

The Critical bureaucratic cadres/officers with their responsibilities were identified for evaluation as follows:

i. Committee Clerks-: Guide and Advise Committee on procedures, keep records of Committee activities, Administers and monitors Committee expenditures, Prepares Committee Reports etc.

ii. Legislative Officers-: Work on Referrals to the Committee, Order papers, Votes and Proceedings, Minutes of meetings, Table duties work etc.

iii. Administrative Officers: - Personnel related matters, posting of staff, prepare schedule of duties for officers etc

iv, Confidential Secretaries-: Word processing, typesetting, secretarial duties etc.

v. Legal Officers-: Bills drafting, Bills scrutiny, Subsidiary legislations, Legal advice on legislations, Appearance in courts etc.

vi. Budget Officers-: Budget Analysis, MTF and FSP, Budget Monitoring and evaluation, Budget Implementation reviews etc.

Table 4.6 below shows the rating of the level of satisfaction with the services of the National Assembly bureaucracy in the Legislative Process using the Likert scale of “very dissatisfied, ok, satisfied and very satisfied” based on the support service rendered.

Table 4.6: Effectiveness of the National Assembly Bureaucracy in the Legislative Process

S/ N	BUREAUCRATIC CADRE	VERY SATISFIED	SATISFIED	OK	DISSATISFIED	VERY DISSATISFIED
1	Committee Clerks	1.9	70.5	11.3		16.3
2	Legislative Officers	44.6	27.8	16.0		11.6
3	Administrative Officers	11.9	61.4	13.8		12.9
4	Confidential Secretaries	27.6	44.8	11.3		16.3
5	Legal Officers	27.3	43.9	15.0	0.9	12.9
6	Budget Officers	32.0	39.5	12.2		16.3

Source: Fieldwork, February 2022.

Discussion:

From Table 4.6 above, the services of committee clerks were deemed to be very satisfactory by 1.9% of respondents; satisfactory by 70.5% of the respondents; ok by 11.3% of respondents, and very dissatisfactory by 16.3% others. The majority of responses could be attributed to the cardinal role of committee clerks in assisting the committee chairperson and committee members in their work.

Furthermore, 44.6% of the respondents argued that the services of legislative officers were very satisfactory, 27.8% respondents opined that they were satisfied with the contribution of legislative officers to the effectiveness of the legislative process, 16.0% were ok with the performance of legislative officers in the legislative process, while 11.6% others stated that they were very dissatisfied with the services of legislative officers.

Besides, 11.9% of respondents noted that the performance of administrative officers is 'very satisfactory', 61.4% others opined their performance is 'satisfactory', 13.8% were "ok" with the performance of administrative officers, while 12.9% were "very dissatisfied" with the bureaucratic services of parliamentary administrative officers.

Going further, 27.6%, 44.8%, 11.3%, and 16.3% respondents, noted that the services of confidential secretaries were very satisfactory, satisfactory, ok, and very dissatisfactory respectively. Relatively, a vast majority of respondents agree that the services of confidential secretaries are popular.

On the performance of the services of legal officers, 12.9% of the respondents stated that they were very dissatisfactory, 0.9% noted their services are dissatisfactory, 15.0% respondents argued their parliamentary support was 'ok', 43.9% of respondents opined the services of legal officers were satisfactory, and 27.3% responses suggested that the services of legal officers were highly satisfactory. It is, however, important to state that the services of legal officers resonate within the legislative institution.

Finally on Budget officers, 32.0% of the respondents posited that their contribution to the effectiveness of the legislative process is very satisfactory, 39.5% others argued that their services

were satisfactory, 12.2% stated that budget officers' services were ok, while 16.3% of the respondents noted that they were very dissatisfied with the services of budget officers.

4.4 Factors that could have militated against the effectiveness of Nigerian National Assembly Bureaucracy in the Legislative Process (Objective Three of the Study).

This section seeks to identify possible factors militating against the effectiveness of Nigeria's parliamentary bureaucrats in the legislative process.

Table 4.7: Are there obstacles to the National Assembly Bureaucracy in the Legislative Process?

Variables		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	YES	285	81.5	81.5	81.5
	NO	33	9.4	9.4	90.9
	CAN'T SAY	32	9.1	9.1	100.0
	Total	350	100.0	100.0	

Source: Fieldwork, February 2022.

As seen in table 4.7 above, 81.5% of respondents noted that there are challenges confronting parliamentary bureaucrats in the Nigerian National Assembly, 9.4% argued otherwise, while 9.1% more, were undecided on whether there are challenges militating against the performance of parliamentary bureaucrats' services in the National Assembly.

On the specific challenges militating against the performance of parliamentary bureaucrats services in Nigerian National Assembly, respondents listed the followings as seen in table 4.8 and pictorial representation on figure 4.1 below respectively:

Table 4.8: Hindrances to the National Assembly Bureaucracy in the Legislative Process

Variables	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid INADEQUATE TRAINING	157	44.8	44.8	44.8
INADEQUATE INFORMATION	15	4.4	4.4	49.2
INADEQUATE RESOURCES	157	44.8	44.8	94.0
LACK OF COOPERATION WITH INTER-PARLIAMENTARY ORGANIZATIONS (IPOS)	21	6.0	6.0	100.0
Total	350	100.0	100.0	

(Source: Field work, February, 2022)

The graphical representation of the above position is seen below:

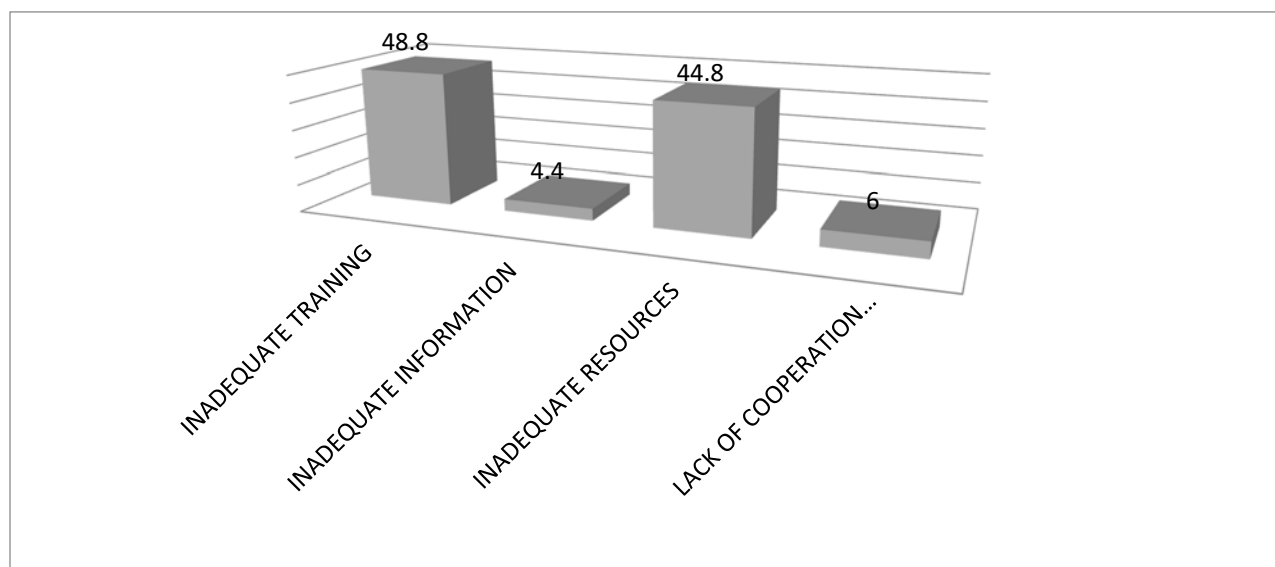


Figure 4.1: Hindrances to the National Assembly Bureaucracy in the Legislative Process

(Source: Fieldwork, February 2022)

Discussion:

The position of the majority of respondents, stating there are challenges confronting the performance of parliamentary bureaucrats, conforms to that of Inter-Parliamentary Union, IPU (2008) which equally, observed training, inadequate and inaccurate information, etc., as challenges confronting parliamentary administration. Going further respondents listed (shown in the chart) as challenges militating against the effectiveness of parliamentary bureaucrats services in the National Assembly. It is necessary to state that society today has become more aware of the requirement for efficiency and transparency in parliamentary work. This new reality requires Parliament and consequently the parliamentary administration to adopt the rules of good governance in its management to optimize the performance and costs of its activities. For this purpose, the parliamentary administration must introduce as much in its organization as in its operation approaches and methods of modern management which are more concerned with rigour, effectiveness, and professionalism.

Given the above-mentioned major challenges of inadequate training and resources, Pillay and Paruk (2017), in their study of the Human Resource Development needs of administrative and support staff in Parliament, alluded to key skill deficits in the areas of legal skills for Committee support; financial management skills; and research support for Parliamentary Committees. Similarly, Anu (2008) concluded in her grading parliaments using Robinson and Mico's typology of parliaments that parliamentary administration is predicated on resource sufficiency. For emphasis, an essential engine for growth and the evolution of knowledge and professional skills among parliamentary staff, training remains an incontrovertible element for the assimilation and adaptation of these staff to modern working practices and techniques, thus guaranteeing the means necessary for the permanent improvement of their professional performance and thereby of the

quality of their services. This shows that training is at once a challenge for the parliamentary administration and the place where its interest meets that of its staff. As a consequence, training must constitute for Parliament a permanent strategic activity needing to be brought into effect through the institution of programmes to evaluate and reinforce the professional competencies and capabilities of its staff.

Explicitly, the right to initiate legislation which is in all of the Parliaments of the world, recognized as belonging to parliamentarians, requires significant resources and skills at its disposal in conceiving, analyzing, and drafting laws. Nevertheless, this situation must not affect the will and need of Parliament to examine pertinently the direction and foundations of and opportunities provided by texts submitted to it and to contribute effectively to their improvement.

These objectives, which constitute a permanent challenge for Parliament require it to pay particular attention to legislative research, which remains one of the means of providing parliamentarians with trustworthy and relevant information, studies and expertise, allowing them to understand and to figure out problem areas, to evaluate their impact, and thereby to ensure the constant improvement in the quality of their legislative and parliamentary work. This plea, notwithstanding, the opinion of the respondents shows the inadequacy of training.

4.3. Strategies to Mitigate the Challenges Confronting the Performance of the National Assembly Bureaucracy in the Legislative Process (Objective Four of the Study)

As against the challenges noted above, the majority of respondents listed provision of resources (50.2%) and training and retraining of support staff (37.0%) as strategies that would mitigate the challenges that are confronting parliamentary bureaucrats’ services in the National Assembly. Other solutions stated by respondents are improved cooperation with International Parliamentary Organizations (6.6%) and the availability of information and ensuring its free flow (6.3%). These responses are shown in Table 4.9.

Table 4.9: Strategies to mitigate the challenges confronting the National Assembly Bureaucracy in the Legislative Process

Strategies to Employed	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
IMPROVED COOPERATION WITH IPOs	23	6.6	6.6	6.6
AVAILABILITY OF INFORMATION AND ENSURING ITS FREE FLOW	22	6.3	6.3	12.9
PROVISION OF RESOURCES	176	50.2	50.2	63.0
TRAINING AND RETRAINING OF SUPPORT STAFF	129	37.0	37.0	100.0
Total	350	100.0	100.0	

Source: Fieldwork, February 2022.

The graphical representation of the above position is seen in the chart below:

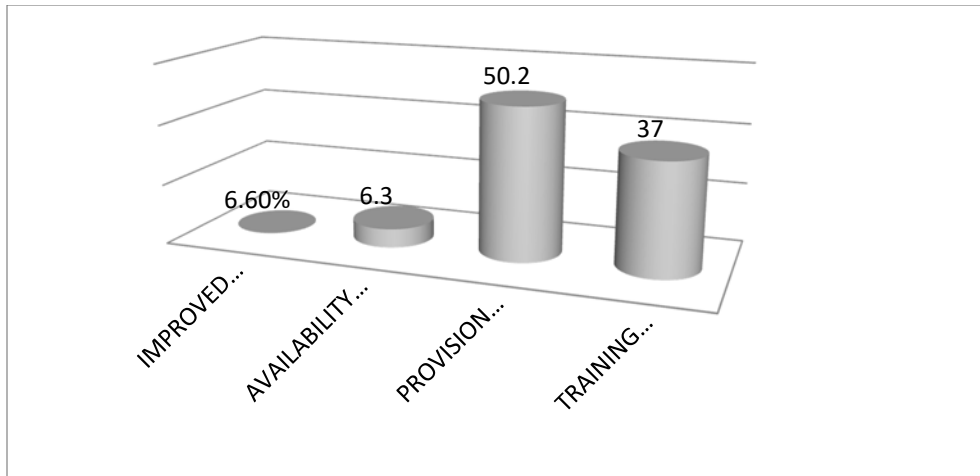


Figure 4.2: Strategies to mitigate the challenges militating against the performance of the National Assembly Bureaucracy in the Legislative Process (Source: Fieldwork, February 2022.)

Discussion:

The majority of the responses being – provision of resources and training of staff, featured most prominently in the respective studies of Anu (2008) and Pillay and Paruk (2017). While Anu noted that independent democratic parliament results from adequate resourcing and efficient parliamentary administration, Pillay and Paruk on their part identified training as the priority in advancing *Capacity Building needs for Administrative and Support Personnel in the Legislative Sector*. Explaining, based on the challenge of the inadequacy of information, it must be reasserted that the process of democratization underway in the world has brought about greater freedom of expression, greater freedom of the press, and greater transparency in the activities as much of public bodies as of Parliament. Moreover, society sees its real participation in the management of public affairs becoming increasingly important. Its demands in this regard have been increasing for information about Parliament, especially about how it carries out its legislative competence

and its role as a check on the activities of government, as well as about the quality of its legislative and parliamentary work.

Furthermore, the political representation within parliaments is becoming increasingly selective and of higher quality, which makes parliamentary debates more dynamic and relevant, all the more so as they are mostly carried by and repeated in the media. Also, informing and communicating with society seems to be a social need. This constitutes a genuine challenge for parliament as an emanation of the people and a symbol of democracy. With this in mind, through its institutional role and constitutional attributes, parliament must work unstintingly towards the development of information and communication and the promotion of social and political values within society.

Finally, on the cooperation with International Parliamentary Organizations (IPOs), This activity is of a kind to allow, as is obvious, capacity building by the administrations of parliamentary institutions, especially African ones, to realize their common objective, which is to say the permanent improvement of their methods of organization and operation and the quality of their performance in the service of parliamentarians. It is therefore convenient with this in mind to encourage and increase the number of meetings, exchanges, and cooperation between the administrations of African parliaments, on the one hand, and those of the administrations of the parliaments of the rest of the world on the other. This activity is to be equally directed towards inter-parliamentary organizations and international organizations, such as the IPU and the UNDP.

The respondents from NILDS believed that the bureaucracy of Nigerian National Assembly needs to be exposed to more capacity buildings and related activities to further enhanced its effectiveness in the legislative process. Also the CSOs' responses show that the National Assembly bureaucracy is effective in the legislative process though, there are rooms for improvements.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This chapter covered the summary, conclusion, and recommendations of the study which may be useful to relevant bodies such as researchers, academia, students and policy makers when applied.

5.1 Summary of findings

The study was designed to evaluate the effectiveness of the bureaucracy of the National Assembly in the legislative process, and the steps needed to curb the challenges militating against the effectiveness of the parliamentary bureaucrats in the National Assembly. Therefore, the study viewed a parliament as an assembly of elected representatives, while parliamentary administration referred to the broad range of services aimed at aiding elected representatives individually and collectively, to discharge their legislative duties. Hence, parliamentary bureaucrats were defined as the large number of people who provide support services in the parliament.

The objectives of the study were to: examine the general organization of the National Assembly's bureaucracy; evaluate the effectiveness of the National Assembly bureaucracy in the legislative process; identify the factors that could have militated against the effectiveness of Nigeria's National Assembly bureaucracy in the legislative process; and proffer strategies that would mitigate the challenges confronting the performance of the National Assembly bureaucracy in the legislative process.

Based on the above, the study adopted the mixed research designs which employ both qualitative and quantitative research methods. Data were collected with the use of questionnaires and key Informant Interviews. Simple sampling technique was used to select the informants that provided the primary data, while the secondary data were taken from published materials.

Findings on objective one used qualitative research method which showed that there is a consensus on the importance of parliamentary bureaucrats' services in the National Assembly. Hence, parliamentary bureaucrats were noted as legislative and administration functionaries by Ojogwu and Wakawa. In this vein, the services of Committee Clerks, Legislative Officers, Administrative Officers, Legal Officers, Confidential Secretaries, and other Staff were noted for the effectiveness of the legislative process in Nigeria's National Assembly. However, like most issues, the performance of parliamentary bureaucrats were not without challenges. Therefore, the study noted the challenges militating against the effectiveness of parliamentary bureaucrats' services in the legislative process to include; inadequate training, lack of cooperation with International Parliamentary Organizations, inadequate resources, inadequate information, and communication, among others.

Based on the above challenges, the study suggested provision of adequate resources, training and retraining of staff of the National Assembly, improved cooperation with International Parliamentary Organizations (through Exchange Programmes), availability of information and ensuring its free flow, etc., as strategies that would mitigate the challenges confronting the effectiveness of parliamentary bureaucrats' services in the National Assembly.

5.1. Conclusion

This investigation focused on the performance of parliamentary bureaucrats. Though similar studies had focused on parliamentary bureaucrat components such as Information Communication Technology (ICT), capacity building and adequate resourcing. The focus of this study was to examine the performance of parliamentary bureaucrat services for the National Assembly's efficiency. As a result, the effectiveness of parliamentary bureaucrats within the National Assembly informed the analytical scope for this study, despite the services provided by other

National Assembly organs such as the National Institute for Legislative and Democratic Studies (NILDS).

Given the above, the performance of parliamentary bureaucrats' services in the National Assembly is crucial for the legislature to perform its traditional roles satisfactorily – that is being functional, accountable, informed, independent as well as representative. More so, as such support services are required for facilitating the lawmaking process. Therefore, for an efficient legislature, ditto National Assembly, parliamentary bureaucracy cannot be discountenanced.

Conclusively, the recommendations outlined in this study should be implemented, to ensure more effectiveness of parliamentary bureaucrats' services in the National Assembly. Efforts should also be made to improve the relationship between the bureaucrats of the National Assembly with those of International Parliamentary Organizations, as well as make provision for adequate resources.

5.2. Recommendations

The study which investigated the effectiveness of parliamentary bureaucrats' services to the National Assembly notes the importance of administrative functionaries within the legislature to its effectiveness. Hence, it recommends that adequate resources should be provided. In this vein, the study argues that truly independent parliaments emerge from adequate resourcing. This helps in no small measure to ensure the smooth conduct of legislative affairs. The Leadership of the National Assembly should therefore, provide adequate human and material resources to enhance the effectiveness of parliamentary bureaucrats.

Similarly, the study observed that training and retraining staff (Bureaucrats) of the National Assembly is a necessity to ensure the effectiveness of the legislative process. Often times, lawmakers as well as parliamentary bureaucrats of the National Assembly, display some

embarrassing level the nuance of the legislative process. It is, therefore, recommended that a regime of aggressive and continuous professional development and training programmes should be intensified using capacity-building institutions such as NILDS.

Finally, information should be made readily available and easily accessible to the relevant personnel in need to aid the performance of their work. Timely and adequate information is key to the conduct of legislative business the world over. Therefore, its availability and quality should be encouraged. On this note, it should never be seen that there is an attempt to withhold vital information as this may hamper the effectiveness of parliamentary bureaucrats, thereby, hampering the efficiency of the legislative activities in the Nigerian National Assembly.

5.3. Contribution to Knowledge

Following the scope of the research which was limited to parliamentary bureaucrats in the National Assembly, this study has contributed to knowledge in that, it assessed the effectiveness of a component of the National Assembly structure-the bureaucracy. Thereby, identifying area of challenges militating against its effectiveness.

The study has established that while the bureaucracy is necessary for effective legislative process, some operational factors may militate against its optimal performance. Consequently, the study established the need to periodically engage the parliamentary bureaucracy with a view to identifying areas requiring necessary attention.

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Appendix 1

Questionnaire

Dear Sir/Ma,

Request for assistance to fill Questionnaire

I am **Ayorinde ADEGBORO**, a Master's Degree student of the National Institute for Legislative and Democratic Studies (NILDS/UNIBEN) carrying out research titled: *An Assessment of the Effectiveness of Parliamentary Bureaucracy in the Nigerian National Assembly (A case Study of the 8th Assembly)*, I will be most grateful for your assistance in filling out this questionnaire. Be assured that all information provided will be strictly used for the purpose of this research, and, treated with strict confidentiality. Thus, you are not required to disclose your identity.

Section A: Social Demography

1. Sex: Male Female
2. Age: 18-28 29-39 40-50 51 and above
3. Educational qualification: FSLC SSCE OND/HND Degree Postgraduate
4. Professional Designation: Lawmaker Staff of NASS Staff of NILDS CSO

Section B: Examining the effectiveness of the National Assembly Bureaucracy in the Legislative Process

5. Do you agree that the services of parliamentary bureaucrats are necessary for the effectiveness of the legislative process? Yes No Can't Say
6. Rate the strength of the National Assembly bureaucracy in the legislative process.

Very weak Weak Ok Strong Very strong

On a scale of 1-5, being 1=very dissatisfied, 2=dissatisfied, 3=Ok, 4=satisfied, and 5=very satisfied, rate the level of satisfaction with the services of the National Assembly bureaucracy in the Legislative Process within the stated cadres.

7. Committee Clerks: 1 2 3 4 5

8. Legislative Officers: 1 2 3 4 5
9. Administrative Officers: 1 2 3 4 5
10. Confidential Secretaries : 1 2 3 4 5
11. Legal Officers: 1 2 3 4 5
12. Budget Officers : 1 2 3 4 5
13. What stage of the legislative process are the services of parliamentary bureaucrats most prominent?
 First Reading Second Reading Committee Third Reading
 Committee of the whole Third Reading Transmission
14. On a scale of 1-5, being 1=poorly effective, 2=fairly effective, 3=moderately effective, 4=effective, and 5=highly effective, rate the effectiveness of the roles of the National Assembly bureaucracy in the legislative process.
 1 2 3 4 5

Section C: identify the factors that could militate against the performance of Nigeria’s National Assembly Bureaucracy in the Legislative Process

15. Are there factors militating against the effectiveness of National Assembly bureaucracy in the legislative process? Yes No Can’t Say
16. Which of these challenges hinders the effectiveness of parliamentary support services? Inadequate training inadequate information Inadequate resources Lack of cooperation with International Parliamentary Organizations
 Others _____

Section D: Suggested possible strategies to mitigate the challenges confronting the performance of the National Assembly Bureaucracy in the Legislative Process

17. What strategies will you suggest to enhance the effectiveness of the National Assembly bureaucracy in the legislative process? Improved cooperation with International Parliamentary Organizations Availability of information and its management Provision of Resources Training and retraining of support staff
 Others _____

Thank you for your attention.

National Assembly Complex,
Three-Arms Zone,
Abuja.

Dear Sir/Ma,

26th January, 2022.

REQUEST FOR INTERVIEW

I, **Ayorinde ADEGBORO** a student of the University of Benin/National Institute for Legislative and Democratic Studies (NILDS), conducting a study on the topic: *An Assessment of the Effectiveness of Parliamentary Bureaucracy in the Nigerian National Assembly (A case Study of the 8th Assembly)*. The place of parliamentary bureaucrats in the legislative process cannot be overemphasized hence, an assessment of the effectiveness of its performance in the 8th National Assembly.

This study would require your opinion on the following areas: **Organization of the National Assembly Bureaucracy, Effectiveness of the performance of the National Assembly Bureaucracy in the legislative process, factors that could militate against the effectiveness of Nigerian National Assembly Bureaucracy in the legislative process, and strategies that would mitigate such challenges in the future.** Although there have been studies on the performance of bureaucracy, the instant study seeks to objectively identify peculiarities in the effective performance of the parliamentary bureaucracy.

Consequently, I would appreciate an invitation for interview session at your most convenient time. However, due to your busy schedule and COVID restrictions, a written response covering the stated areas and more would be appreciated.

Yours Sincerely,

Adegboro Ayorinde

PG/NLS 1818045

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