

**ASSESSMENT OF THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THE MACE IN PARLIAMENTARY
PROCEEDINGS AS SYMBOL OF AUTHORITY OF THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY,**

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BY

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APPROVAL PAGE

This project has been carefully read and approved as having satisfied the condition for the award of Masters Degree in Parliamentary Administration (MPD), National Institute for Legislative and

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DEDICATION PAGE

This research is dedicated to God Almighty for giving me the enablement to do this work.

Also, to Dr. Abbas Hosea who encouraged me with the project. Thank you.

CERTIFICATION PAGE

I, Musa Dan Ringshak, a Post Graduate student of the National Institute for Legislative and Democratic Studies, University of Benin, with Matriculation Number PG/NLS/1900074 have satisfactorily completed the requirement for the award of Masters Degree in Parliamentary Administration (MPD). I do certify that apart from references and quotations from published and unpublished works which have been duly acknowledged, the research is my original work and has neither been in whole or in part submitted for any other Master's degree elsewhere.

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Abstract

The use of the Mace in the National Assembly was faced with challenges due to inadequate protection which led to Mace snatching and consequently, brought parliamentary proceedings to a sudden halt. The snatching of the Mace was done by aggrieved politicians in order to disrupt bill consideration, to remove the presiding officer or on political ground. The specific objectives examined relationship between the Mace and parliamentary proceedings, examined specific roles of the Mace during parliamentary proceedings, analyzed the relationship between Mace snatching and parliamentary proceedings and assessed the effectiveness of the Mace during parliamentary proceedings.

The methods used to achieve the specific objectives was the survey method where questionnaires were distributed. The Chi-Square was used to achieve objectives one (i) and two (ii) while objectives three (iii) and four (iv), the Likert scales was used to test the hypotheses.

The following major findings were revealed. Firstly, it was mandatory for the Mace to be in the chamber in order for bills to be enacted into laws. Secondly, Mace played a vital role during parliamentary proceedings as it was the only power and authority of the parliament. Thirdly, Mace snatching during parliamentary proceedings was a serious challenge to the National Assembly. Fourthly, the effectiveness of the Mace was paramount to the legislators and so it should be given proper protection by the Sergeant-At-Arms.

The study recommended that the Mace must constantly be in the chamber and on the upper bracket during parliamentary proceedings to allow for bills consideration and law making to be possible, the Mace played a significant role in the chamber, as such the study recommended that it should be considered as the only power and authority of the legislature, the study also recommended that there was the need for the legislators to enact law(s) which

would be implemented to guide against Mace snatching and ethical standards with spelt out penalties against persons who were involved in Mace snatching should be put in place to guide against future occurrence. There was the need to include some negative rewards like life imprisonment, outright removal from office, being banned from holding further political offices and tried for treason if it was proven by a competent court of law that such a person was involved in Mace snatching. Finally, the study recommended that the effectiveness of the Mace should be brought to the knowledge of the legislators at the point of entry into the National Assembly especially during orientation or inauguration.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Study

The Mace is believed and admitted to be the symbol of authority of the National Assembly and in other parts of the world as well. It plays a significant role in the parliamentary chamber. This is because in the absence of the Mace there would be no practice in the parliament. The Mace is as important as the legislators. When the legislators are in the chamber ready for the day's activities, the first thing they look up for is the presiding officer and the Mace. If there is no Mace, there will be no formal sitting. In the proper parliamentary practices and proceedings, the Mace always precedes the presiding officer, in this case the Senate President or the speaker, House of Representatives or their delegates.

Mayowa (2020) and Nnamani (2005) argued that the National Assembly has three (3) broad main functions of law making, oversight of the executive and representations of the electorates. All these functions can only be effectively executed when the Mace is present in the chamber and through the process of parliamentary practices and proceedings.

We live in a democratic world, a system of government where the parliament is a necessity. The parliament relies on the Mace for proper functioning. Those who understand the importance of the Mace know that the Mace opens doors for productive economic growth. This is due to the fact that Economic issues are being discussed at the chamber of the parliament and in the process doors for economic development were been opened. Also, the legislature do discuss appropriation bills on economic issues such as road, air, manufacturing industries where economic activities take place. A lack of the understanding of the significance of the Mace closes these doors of economic growth and productiveness. Parliamentarians have different abilities, needs and interest, yet, everyone needs to be able to

understand the power and beauty of the Mace in this democratic world. All parliamentarians need to learn a set of rules in using the Mace that would enable them to solve national issues and make laws creatively and resourcefully. The National Assembly needed to give proper and effective protection to the Mace in order that it should not be taken away by aggrieved politicians. If the protection of the Mace was made promptly and the parliamentarians were properly protected by the Sergeant-At-Arms, the legislators would work in an environment that was safe (free from danger or the risk of harm) and without molestation from thugs. Nowadays, the Mace is the key to successful deliberation in the parliamentary chamber. This is because without the Mace parliamentary discussion could not be successfully discussed.

The need for a general commitment and standard that is attached on the conduct of legislative activities need not be overemphasized considering the fact that the legislature has the sole responsibility of law making and also amend the constitution. Legislative activities as specified in **section 4 (2) of the 1999 constitution** as amended stated that, “The National Assembly shall have power to make laws for the peace, order and good government of the federation”. The power to make laws is one of the major responsibilities of the legislature. The legislature is the main pillar of democracy in a democratic system of government. It is the National Assembly that lays down the basic principles of law making. When these laws are made, the judiciary interprets the laws and uses it as the framework to bring a case to conclusion. Whereas the executive applies the laws in the implementation of policies of government using the laws made by the Legislature. The **1999 constitution** as amended expressly provides that the law-making powers of the National Assembly shall be exercised by bills passed, and assented to by the president. Also, the 1999 constitution as amended empowers the National Assembly to alter any part of the constitution. In this case, it requires the support of all the State Houses of Assembly in the Federation. As a result of this, in a democratic system of government, the legislature is considered higher over the other two

arms of government (executive and judiciary) because of their representative will of the people. In other words, it is only the legislature that is qualified to express the will of the people whom they represent in form of legislation. It is not enough to enjoy these powers without corresponding roles of ensuring that the law-making process of the legislature is credible and addresses what the society needs. Although, the legislature is not directly responsible for the implementation of the laws and policies they make, but they play a vital role of approving government spending and also oversight of the executive. With the Mace in the chamber, the National Assembly can also adopt the doctrine of necessity as it was done in 2010 to solve some political and constitutional crisis that came up following the demise of the then late President Musa Yar'Adua.

The significance of the Mace in parliamentary proceedings are so numerous and a few of them are stated below. **Kenyan Parliament Website (2018)** argued that the Mace represented the authority of the presiding officer. The Mace is jealously guarded and serving as a symbol of authority of the legislative arm of government performing its duties of amending the law and making the law. The presiding officers use the Mace as their official authority. The Mace-bearer carries the Mace on his/her right shoulder and precedes the presiding officer into the chamber and lays it on the upper bracket for parliamentary proceedings to commence. He also carries it during the rise of the senate.

Kenyan Parliament Website (2018) opined that the Sergeant-At-Arms performs ceremonial duties by carrying the Mace to and from the House during ordinary and special sitting. The Mace serves as beauty of democracy during the ceremonial procession. Whenever there is a sitting of the parliament, there is always a procession of the presiding officer and the members before the commencement of each sitting day. The purpose of the procession is to escort the presiding officer to the chamber and to his/her seat. The presiding officer is preceded by the mace bearer carrying the Mace. This procession using the Mace makes

democracy attractive, beautiful, pleasant and fine as you see orderliness in parliament. **Kenyan Parliament Website (2018)** continued that the Sergeant-At-Arms coordinates the transition of the business of the senate from plenary to committee of the whole by lowering the Mace from the table to the lower bracket or hoisting it into place on resumption of plenary. Successive parliamentarians have been using the Mace during parliamentary proceedings since the return to democracy in Nigeria in 1999, but have they felt the impact and effectiveness of the Mace?

It is against this backdrop that the study assessed the effectiveness of the Mace in parliamentary proceedings as a symbol of authority of the National Assembly.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Despite the explanations about the rules and regulations guiding the use of the Mace and the importance of the Mace in parliamentary proceedings, that the parliament cannot sit to discuss any legal business if the Mace is not there and that the Mace is the “Power and Authority” of the presiding officer and the legislators in the chamber. Some parliamentarians today do not adhere to these. The teachings about parliamentary convention, ethics and privileges which recommended that the Mace must always be in the chamber in order for bills to be enacted into laws. Some of them think that the Mace can be snatched at any given time to disrupt parliamentary proceedings or to remove the presiding officer is undemocratic, unethical and unconstitutional. The **Guidance Newspaper of 25th April 2018 and Sahara Reporters (2018)** reported that the Nigerian’s National Assembly Mace was stolen in the first Republic in 1962. **The Punch Newspaper of 20th April, 2018** reported that the National Assembly Mace was again stolen in 2018. The Mace was stolen by aggrieved legislators who felt that the best way to go about their grievances was to take away the Mace. If they understand the logic behind the Mace as it were, they would not tamper with it. Those who

have positive attitude towards democracy cannot in any way organize thugs to invade the National Assembly for the Mace. The legislature performs better on the floor of the chamber in the presence of the Mace. However, Mace snatching is known to be a serious challenge in a democratic system of government like Nigeria. This is due to the fact that corrupt politicians utilized any opportunity at their disposal to disrupt legislative proceedings by stealing the Mace. They do this by themselves or by hiring thugs to forcefully remove the Mace during parliamentary proceedings. By so doing, the corrupt legislator(s) distort(s) parliamentary businesses and preventing the people's will from being properly expressed through law making and violet the spirit of democracy. Thus, Mace snatching is a carefully thought out in advance by an individual or it could be by a group of people to secure power through what is prohibited by accepted rules of parliament for private gain at public expenses.

The study assessed the effectiveness of the Mace in the Nigerian's National Assembly chamber. The responsibilities of the legislature, which are law making, oversight and representation can only be achieved or attained through parliamentary proceedings in the presence of the Mace. In the absence of the Mace bills cannot be enacted into laws. There are various allegations of Mace snatching against the legislators in spite of their expected public trust of law-making. To combat this menace that has eaten deep in the fabric of some Nigerian political classes, the Management of the National Assembly has involved the assistant of the army, the Police, the Civil Defence, the State Security Service, and the Sergeant-At-Arms to give protection to the Mace and the legislators, but Mace snatching has been a recurrent theme in the National Assembly and some Houses of Assembly. Measures must be taken to stop it.

There were several cases where the legislators themselves have been involved in Mace snatching which led to preventing parliamentary proceedings in the chamber in the guise of

removing the presiding officer. Mace snatching was a serious problem within the National Assembly. There is therefore, the need to critically assess the effectiveness of the Mace in parliamentary proceedings in the Nigerian National Assembly.

Research Questions

Based on the above, the study therefore asked the following questions.

- i. Is there any significant relationship between the Mace and parliamentary proceedings in term of law making?
- ii. What are the specific roles of the Mace during parliamentary proceedings?
- iii. What is the relationship between Mace snatching and parliamentary proceedings in regard to law making?
- iv. How effective is the use of the Mace in parliamentary proceedings in the National Assembly?

1.3 Objectives of the Study

The broad objective of the study was to assess the effectiveness of the Mace in parliamentary proceedings in the National Assembly, while the specific objectives were to;

- i. examine the relationship between the Mace and parliamentary proceedings in term of law making.
- ii. examine the specific roles of the Mace during parliamentary proceedings.
- iii. analyze the relationship between Mace snatching and parliamentary proceedings in regard to law making.
- iv. assess the effectiveness of the Mace in parliamentary proceedings in the National Assembly.

1.4 Research Hypotheses

Castillo (2013) in his book, *the scientific method: Something better* stated that hypothesis is a tentative statement about the relationship between two (2) variables. It is a statement of expectation that will be tested. The research hypotheses were;

I, There is no significant relationship between the Mace and parliamentary proceedings in term of law making.

ii, There is no specific significant roles of the Mace in parliamentary proceedings.

iii, There is no significant relationship between Mace snatching and parliamentary proceedings in regard to law making.

Iv, There is no effectiveness in the use of the Mace during parliamentary proceedings in the National Assembly.

1.5 Significance of the Study

It is rightly observed that any research work is essential to its area of study and the society at large. Hence this research work will be beneficial to the legislators, i.e., the Senator, Honorable Members and the Sergeant-At-Arms who are attached to the chamber, during parliamentary proceedings and practices. However, the findings of this research work would serve as a starting point and a curtain raiser to other researchers such as students, lecturers, and the society. In addition, the research is an academic exercise carried out at the National Institute for Legislative and Democratic Studies (NILDS) in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of Master's Degree in Parliamentary Administration (MPD).

1.6 Scope and Limitations of the Study

This research assessed the connection between the role of the Mace and the parliamentary practices and proceedings. The scope of the research work covered the National Assembly, Abuja, 2015 – 2020. This was because within this period there was an invasion of the senate

National Assembly for the Mace in 2018. Some constraints or limitations the researcher faced in the course of conducting the work included constraints of finance/money, time factor, data collection and location. Every good and successful research work needs sufficient finance. However, this research encountered the problem of money as a result of little financial resources at the disposal of the researcher. The problem of financial constraint was overcome by maximizing the available finances at the researcher's disposal to achieve the objectives of the study. Conducting research work is time consuming. Time was not enough to do anything. Whereas the institution has specified limited time for the presentation of the research work and this may limit the time for completing the research. The constraint of time factor was overcome by working harder to beat up the limited time the institution has specified for project submission. Insufficient data was another limitation which posed a threat to the research work. Every good research work requires reliable and sufficient data. However, parliamentarians were often busy to give out the required information. This limitation was overcome by booking appointments with the respondents and keeping up with the appointed time. Location of parliamentarians' offices was a constraint to this research work. This was because some offices of the legislators were not often opened and this made accessibility impossible. This limitation was overcome by writing and copying the office numbers of parliamentarians and collecting their phone numbers for easy communication. Though, legislators were often uncomfortable releasing their phone numbers to strangers. With the help of the Senior Legislative Aides (SLA), this challenge was overcome.

1.7 Operational Definition of Terms

Roles of the Mace. This is the activity or the importance the Mace is involved in during parliamentary proceedings in the National Assembly chamber.

Mace. The Mace is the symbol of power and authority of the presiding officer in the chamber and during parliamentary proceedings. Parliamentary Mace is an ornamented stick carried on

the right shoulder by the mace bearer during parliamentary procession and it is placed on the upper bracket of the table for parliamentary proceedings. In Nigerian Parliament, the Mace is a decorated stick with the Nigerian Coat of Arms sits on top.

National Assembly. The Nigerian National Assembly also called the legislature is a bi-cameral and the highest law-making body of the country. It consists of two (2) chambers with one hundred and nine (109) senators and three hundred and sixty (360) members in the House of Representatives.

Parliamentary proceedings. It is the generally accepted rules and practices used by the legislators during law-making which involves bill processing and its enactment into laws.

Proceedings. This is the step-by-step processes through which the legislature is able to come to a conclusion after a bill has been introduced and finally enacted into law.

Effectiveness of the Mace. This is the way of finding out whether the Mace is being used as it is intended to without any interference. When the Mace is looked at as being effective, it means that it has an expected outcome. Effectiveness was used here to show how useful the Mace was in the National Assembly. The Mace is a very effective tool in the parliamentary chamber.

Outline of Chapters

Chapter one discussed background of the study, statement of the problem, objectives of the study, research hypotheses, significant of the study, scope and limitation and operational definition of terms. Chapter two handled conceptual review, empirical review and theoretical framework. Chapter three presented research design, study population, sampling techniques, administration of questionnaires, methods of data collection and analysis. Chapter four considered descriptive statistic background of respondents, analysis of research questions, testing of hypotheses, and discussion of findings. Chapter five gave the summary of findings, conclusion and recommendations.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This chapter handled with review of related and relevant works done by other scholars who have written on the Mace and parliamentary procedures. It discussed conceptual review, empirical review and theoretical framework.

2.1 Conceptual Review: The conceptual review discussed other related literature written by other authors. This section delved into related books and journals that have discussed parliamentary system of government, history and origin of parliament in Nigeria, parliamentary procedures in Nigeria, membership of the National Assembly, effectiveness of the Mace, Mace required for parliamentary procedures in Nigeria, protocols surrounding the Mace, Mace and election in parliament, the mace bearer, Mace and congress, Mace snatching and grabbing in parliament, procurement of arms, legislative quorum and National Assembly adjourns for lack of quorum.

2.1.1 Parliamentary System of Government

Wikipedia, (2021) has this to say system about parliamentary system of government, also known as the Westminster which originated in the United Kingdom and is presently regarded as the mother of parliament. **Habu, (2018)** argued that the Westminster consists of the Sovereign, Lords and the Commons where the functions of the executive and the legislature are fused. He continued that many parliaments are parts of parliamentary system of government, in which the executive is constitutionally answerable to the parliament from the generic moment of the birth of Government (motion of confidence). To the final moment of the termination of government (motion of no confidence) through all the commitments that can be added to the Government contract from time to time through motions and resolutions. Some nations restrict the use of the word parliament to parliamentary system, while others

use the word for any elected legislative body. Parliament usually consists of chambers or houses and are either bi-cameral as in United Kingdom, United State of America, Canada, Nigeria, etc. While others could be Unicameral as in Armenia, Bulgaria, Denmark, Netherland, Hungary, Ukraine, Serbia, Turkey and Sweden. In some parliamentary system, the prime minister is a member of the parliament as in the United Kingdom, whereas in others the prime minister is not as in the Netherland. He is commonly the leader of the majority party in the lower house as the confidence of the house is maintained. If the members of the lower house lose faith in the leader for whatever reason, they can call a vote of no confidence and force the prime minister to resign.

Wikipedia (2021) and Julian (2013) in her book, *'How the Westminster Parliament was exported around the world'* argued that the parliamentary system of government can be contrasted with the presidential system of government, such as the American Congressional system, which operates under a stricter separation of powers, whereby the executive does not form part of parliament nor is it appointed by the parliamentary body. In such a system, congress do not select or dismiss heads of governments, and governments cannot request an early dissolution as may be the case for parliaments. Some states such as France, have a semi-presidential system which falls between parliamentary and congressional systems combining a powerful head of state (president) with a head of Government, (the prime minister), who is responsible to parliament. Nigeria has a Presidential System of Government consisting of three distinct branches; the Legislature, the executive and the Judiciary (**1999 Constitution, Sections 4, 5 and 6**). The legislative branch, the National Assembly, which is said to have been modelled after the United States Congress is a bi-cameral body with 109 senators and 360 members in the House of Representatives representing constituencies of nearly equal populations as far as possible (**Nnamani, 2005**).

2.1.2 History and Origin of Parliament in Nigeria

An **Encyclopedia Britannica Online (2021)** argued that parliament started since ancient times; when societies were tribal, there were councils whose decisions were assessed by village elders. This was called tribalism. Tribalism is a state of being organized by tribal lifestyles. Human evolution has occurred in hunter-gathering groups as opposed to the recently settled agricultural societies. There was a primitive democratic government where the kings were assessed by councils. The same has been reported of ancient India where some forms of deliberative assembly existed and therefore, there were some forms of democracy. However, their democracy was a form of government in which people have the authority to deliberate and decide legislation or to choose government officials.

In Nigeria **According to Habu (2018)**, the origin and the historical development of the present National Assembly is relatively recent and can be traced back to the colonial period. We can possibly designate about five epochs which are the colonial era, the first republic, the second republic, the third republic and fourth republic respectively. **Ehindero (1991)** in his book, *“the constitutional development of Nigeria”* argued that the history of the Nigerian Legislature dates back to the Lagos Legislative council of 1862, established under the British Colonial rule with the ceding of Lagos through coercion, to the British Crown by King Dosunmu in 1961. A year later, Lagos was declared a crown colony and a legislative council was established to “advised and assist” the government of the colony who served as the head of both executive and Legislative body of the colony. The members of the council, who were appointed to those positions, did not have law making power. There were only ten (10) members of the council at that time but only two (2) of them were Nigerians. **Ehindero** continued that the administration of British colonies in the region continued to evolve and by 1914 the colony and protectorate of Nigeria was established by merging the protectorate of southern Nigeria which by then included the protectorate of Lagos and the protectorate of

northern Nigeria. **Tom and Attai (2014)** opined that for administrative purposes, the colony and protectorate of Nigeria was divided into three (3) regions. Lagos province, the Northern Province and the southern province. While Lagos legislative council was kept intact, a new legislative body, the Nigerian Council was established for the rest of the protectorate of Nigeria. Only six (6) of the thirty-six (36) members of the council were Nigerian and the body had no legislative power.

According to *Nigeria legislative Order in Council (1946)* there were major changes introduced to the legislative structure through a 1946 Constitution. A key reform under this constitution created the foundation for the country's current system by establishing three regional legislative bodies. The northern regional council with headquarter in Kaduna, the Western House of Assembly seated in Ibadan and the Eastern House of Assembly with headquarter at Enugu. The constitution also permitted members of the body to introduce bills as long as they were not financial-related. The roles of the regional assemblies were restricted to advising the central government on all proposed bills except finance. *The Nigerian Constitutional Amendment of 1951 No. 3* accorded the regional legislatures law making powers on various regional issues enumerated in the representative nature of both the central and the regional legislatures by increasing the seats of the bodies that needed to be filled through election. However, the 1951 constitution did not provide a list of areas of legislative competencies for the central government, which meant that the legislative powers of the central government extended to and overlapped those of the regional government. The 1954 constitution, which, among other things, clearly defined the legislative competencies of the federal and regional legislatures. More reforms were made according to the constitution of 1959. The Nigerian senate was established and the Nigerian federal legislature, which until then had a unicameral body, become bicameral.

According to **Ojo (1997)**, at independence in 1960-1965 being a former colony of British, Nigeria adopted a parliamentary system of government during her first republic mirroring that of her colonizer, the U.K. The Governor General, who served as the representative of the queen and head of government, appointed the prime minister, the head of government and his cabinet from among members of the legislature. **Ehindero (1992)** opined that in 1963 when Nigeria became a republic and abolished the British Monarchy and created the position of president as head of state based on the American Congressional process. Hence, more of a hybrid of the two (2) systems (British and America) in most area of procedures. **Ojo (1997)**, continued that in 1979 Nigeria abolished the parliamentary system of government in favour of presidential system of government for the purpose of achieving separation of powers between the legislature and the executive branch. Although, Nigeria was under dictatorship from 1983-1998, the presidential system was reinstated in 1999 when Nigeria returned to democratic system of government.

Ibid (1997), the independence constitution of 1960 retained a bi-cameral legislature at the center with 44 senators and 305 members of the House of Representatives. The republican constitution had 56 senators and 312 members in the House of Representatives. The political institution including legislative body was sacked in 1966 following the military Coup de 'tat. In 1979 a new constitution was promulgated which brought into existence a new legislature with the name National Assembly. Again, the legislature suffered another setback with the return of the military power on 31/12/1983. The third republic surfaced with the re-establishment of the National Assembly in 1993.

Guobadia et' al (1999) and Habu (2018) were in agreement that the new constitution recommended 109 senators, 3 from each of the 36 states and one from Federal Capital Territory (FCT), Abuja. The composition of the House of Representatives increased from 593 in 1989 to 360 and with the fourth inaugurated on 3rd June, 1999.

2.1.3 Parliamentary Procedures in Nigeria

Ahmadu (2011) defined parliamentary procedure as the accepted body of rules, ethics and customs governing meetings and operations of legislative bodies. It is supposed to represent the will of the majority. He said that the essence of Parliamentary procedures were to allow discussions to continue and to reach a conclusion and to arrive at the will of the assembly. In the National Assembly the proceedings are conducted in English, Hausa, Ibo and Yoruba when adequate arrangement has been made therefore. **(The 1999 Constitution section 55, Standing Rules of the Senate (2001) chapter 11 (9) and Standing Order of the House of Representatives Order 2 (9)** are all in agreement. The proceedings in the National Assembly shall be conducted on Mondays, Tuesdays, Wednesdays and Thursdays **(Standing rules of the senate 2001, 13 (1)) and standing order of the House of Representatives order 5 (4).**

Habu (2018), Parliamentary proceedings in the Nigerian National Assembly takes place in the chambers and goes through various entities. In the National Assembly the essence of parliamentary procedure is to enact bills into laws. The procedure involves three (3) groups; viz, the Senators, the Honorable Members; and the President.

The 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, section 58 (2) states that a bill may originate in either the senate or the House of Representatives and shall become law unless it has been passed and assented to by the president. **Habu (2018)** stated that a bill can be introduced into the chamber as an Executive Bill (Public Bill), Private bill or member bill. Once introduced in the National Assembly, it goes through different processes where amendments and scrutiny take place. Once the bill is passed by the National Assembly, it must be given to the President for his assent. Habu continued that the executive bill must be forwarded to the Senate President and the Speaker, House of Representatives with a cover letter from the President. **Senate standing order (2007)** defines a member bill as a bill initiated by a member or group of members of the National Assembly while any bill not an

Executive bill or a member bill is known as private bills. **Ojo (1997)** argued that there are differences in the manner in which executive bills and other bills are processed. The Executive bills may be considered simultaneously by the Senate and the House of Representative whereas member bill and private bill are considered by one House at a time. While an Executive bill must be published only once in the gazette of the journal of the senate and the House of Representatives before it can be presented for consideration, member bills and Private bills must be published three (3) times.

According to Ehindero (1991), Legislative process can be looked at as the process by which bills are considered. The constitution enumerates the legislative mandate of the National Assembly in the Second Schedule. The National Assembly can legislate on matters listed under the exclusion of the legislatures, including on aviation, citizenship, marriage (except the one contracted under Islamic or Customary Law) and prison, **(1999 constitution section 4 (2))**. In addition, the National Assembly shares with the state legislatures the power to make laws on matters enumerated under the con-current legislative list in part 11 of the schedule. **The 1999 constitution 58 (1)** states that Legislative power of the National Assembly is exercised by bills adopted in both the senate and the House of Representatives. The same version of bills which may originate in either House must be adopted by both Houses of the National Assembly. Legislative power of the National Assembly is in constant checked through the veto power of the President, although this power is not absolute. **(Mbaya et'al 2013)** are of the view that a bill must pass through various stages of readings according to standing rules before it can be passed into law. **Habu (2018)** in agreement with **Mbaya et'al (2013)** argued that the process of law making always commences with bills, **(standing rules of the senate (2001)19 (1) and standing order of the House of Representative order 12 (13) 1)**. It is believed that every bill shall receive three (3) readings, viz; first reading, second

reading and third reading before it can be adopted. Not more than one reading can occur on the same day;

First Reading – At the first reading the person sponsoring the bill presents it and the clerk reads its short title aloud (**Senate standing rule (2001) and standing orders of the House of Represent (2007), order xll.**

Second Reading: This stage debates the bill. **Malemi (2009)** argued that the sponsor of the bill (the majority leader in the case of executive bills) explains its basic aspects and benefits. Members who wish to contribute in the debate are given five (5) minutes to seven (7) minutes to speak for or against the bill's acceptance, rejection or amendment. If, at the end of the debate, the bill received the support of the house in which it is being considered, it passes to the next stage, (**legislative process 2017**).

Reference of a bill to a committee: At this stage the bill is assigned to an appropriate select or standing committee for a more thorough examination (**legislative process 2017**). The committee examines the provisions of the bill and holds public hearings. Only the committee may propose an amendment. (**Legislative process 2017**). The committee then reports its findings on the bill with all amendments, if any, back to the House of Representatives or the Senate for deliberation (**Malemi 2009**). Bills considered important are referred to and examined by the entire house constituted as a committee of the whole in place of the committee of select or standing committee.

Third Reading/Approval of bill: Malemi (2009) and the legislative process (2017) both argued that at this stage there is not much debate and no amendments. However, a member who wishes to seek to amend the bill or introduce a provision may make a motion that the bill be recommitted to committee before the motion for the third reading is acted upon; if the motion is agreed to, the proposed amendment is considered by the committee of the whole,

this is followed by the third reading, where the bill is voted on and passed if it garners majority support.

Joint conference committee: if the senate and the House of Representatives adopt different versions of a bill a joint conference committee is constituted to reconcile the differences. Members of the committee deliberate only on the parts of the bill where there is disagreement; no new items may be introduced at this stage (**legislative process 2017**). If either chamber of the National Assembly refuses to accept the decision of the committee, the bill dies off unless it is a money bill;

(a) an appropriation bill or a supplementary appropriation bill, including revenue fund or any other public fund of the Federation of any money charged thereon or any other public fund of the Federation or any money issued or withdrawal, and

(b) a bill for the imposition of or increase in any tax, duty or fee or any reduction withdrawal or cancellation thereof (**Senates standing order 2007**). In which case it is referred to a joint sitting of the National Assembly for a vote and enacted if garners majority support.

Assent: The President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria plays a vital role in the legislative process (Law making process) through the constitutionally guaranteed veto power, which may be exercised over any legislation adopted by the National Assembly. The 1999 constitution as amended states that;

Where a bill has been passed by the House in which it originated, it shall be sent to the President for assent. When it has been passed by that other House and agreement has been reached between the two houses on any amendment made on it. **Ojo (1997)** argued that if the President refuses to sign the bill into law within thirty (30) days of its referral to his desk, the bill dies unless the National Assembly overrides the Presidential veto by passing the bill again with the support of at least a two-thirds majority in each chamber.

2.1.4 Membership of the National Assembly

Ojo (1997), the National Assembly comprises of elected officers (legislators) who are instrumental to the functioning of the National Assembly. They were mandated to make laws, carry out oversight on the executive and represents their constituencies. The elected officers included the one hundred and nine (109) Senators and the three hundred and sixty (360) Members in the House of Representatives. The presiding officers are the Senate President and the Speaker, House of Representatives. The principal officers in the senate are the senate president, deputy senate president, majority leader, deputy majority leader, minority leader, deputy minority leader, chief whip, deputy chief whip, minority whip and deputy minority whip. The principal officers in the House of Representatives are the speaker, deputy speaker, majority leader, deputy majority leader, minority leader, deputy minority leader, chief whip, deputy chief whip, minority whip, and deputy minority whip. **Habu (2018)** mentioned that also important to the functioning of the National Assembly are the non-elected officers called the permanent staff (bureaucrats) who carry out administrative functions. These are the civil servants which included the Clerk to the National Assembly, deputy clerk to the National Assembly, clerk Senate, and clerk House of Representatives, permanent secretaries of Directorates, Directors of Departments and other supportive staff of the National Assembly.

2.1.5 Effectiveness of the Mace in the National Assembly

The roles of the mace in parliamentary practices and procedures cannot be over emphasized. This is because the Mace is the power and authority of the National Assembly. In the absence of the Mace, there will be no parliamentary practices. During parliamentary proceedings the mace must be there and then the presiding officer. In general term, the role of the mace in parliamentary practices and procedures can be summed up as, “symbol of authority”, and power of the National Assembly.

The Guardian Newspaper of 25th April, 2018 stated that symbol of authority and power exists in both public and private life. In all aspect of life there are symbols of authority which are associated with the bodies they represent. Other symbols of authority and power used in Nigeria are the coat of arms, the country's official seal, and the symbol of the presidency, the National Flag, the wig and many others.

Mayowa (2020) in his book, *National Assembly Affairs* stated that the Mace is the authority of the presiding officer. The Senate President or the Speaker, House of Representatives use the Mace as their official authority. The mace bearer carries the Mace on his right shoulder and precedes the presiding officer into the chamber and lays it on the upper bracket for proceedings to continue. The ability of the presiding officer to exercise his authority would not be effective if the mace is not present and parliament cannot meet to pass resolutions without the Mace. **Ibid (2020)**, The Mace represents legitimacy of the parliament. With the presence of the mace in the chamber, the sitting and deliberation of the parliament is lawful, legal and in accordance with the convention and laws of the parliament.

Kenyan parliament website (2018) The Mace is an authority in itself. It is jealously guarded and serving as a symbol of the legislative arm of government performing its duties of amending the law and making the law. The Mace is a beauty of democracy. Whenever there will be a sitting of the parliament, there is always a possession of the presiding officer and the members at the commencement of each sitting day. The purpose of the procession is to escort the presiding officer to the chamber and to his seat. The presiding officer is preceded by the mace bearer carrying the Mace. The Mace makes democracy attractive, pleasant and fine especially during the procession, you see orderliness in parliament. **Ibid (2018)**, posited that the position of the mace signifies when the House goes on committee meeting. This is shown when the mace is removed from the upper bracket and placed on the lower bracket for meeting of the committee of the whole. Here the presiding officer is no longer called the

President or the Speaker as the case may be, but he will be addressed as the Chairman. According to **Safari (2019)** agreed that the Sergeant-At-Arms was appointed by the king to attend the proceedings in the House of Common, thus, to enable the house to arrest those who obstruct or offended against the proceedings and to sermon subject to appear before the king. The mace was practically intended to protect the King, borne by the Sergeant-At-Arms a royal guard established in France by Philip II and in England by Richard I. In parliamentary practices and procedures, the Mace protects the presiding officers. During proceedings, the Mace sits in front of the presiding officer jealously guarded by the mace bearer which gives protection to the presiding officer.

Kenyan Parliament Website (2018) opined that the Mace serves as a warrant for restoring orderliness in parliament. Whenever there is rowdiness or when a member becomes unruly or turbulent during proceedings the mace bearer carries the Mace where there is disorderliness in order to enforce order in the House upon the instruction of the Presiding officer. It is with the Mace that parliament have the power to discuss national affair when there is orderliness in the chamber. If the Mace is not there, parliament cannot sit to discuss national issues and there would not be any resolution. Parliamentary convention makes it mandatory that if the Mace is not there, parliament cannot sit officially to make laws for good governance.

Ahmadu (2011) was of the view that parliamentary proceedings do not emanate from the provision of any statute or the decision of any court. Parliamentary Convention admits the inherent rights of the legislators to regulate her affairs. If it were not so, some legislators can gather under a tree or sit anywhere and say that they have made law(s). In order words, the legislature cannot embark on any legitimate business in the chamber without the mace. He continued that the Legislators all over the world exercise freedom to determine the pattern and form of proceedings to be followed in the conduct of legislative businesses.

2.1.6 Mace Required for Parliamentary Proceedings in Nigeria

Having seen the importance of the Mace in parliamentary proceedings that the parliament cannot sit to discuss any business if the Mace is not there. Contrary to this wide acceptance of the mace as the “Power and Authority” of the presiding officer in the chamber, **This Day Newspaper of 23rd April, 2018** as reported by Ejiofor that a Human Rights Lawyer and Senior Advocate of Nigeria (SAN) Femi Falana, has argued that Nigerian constitution does not expressly nor impliedly provided that a Mace shall be provided before the senate or House of Representatives or any other legislative house can sit and conduct legislative business. He said that there are 320 sections in the 1999 constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, and that no where it is mentioned that the Mace is a symbol of authority of the parliament. He was reacting to the invasion of the senate by five (5) disgruntled young men who snatched the mace in a commodore like operation and this caused the proceedings of the senate to a standstill. Falana said in a statement that by virtue of section 54 (1) of the 1999 Constitution as amended, either of the two houses of the National Assembly is competent to sit and conduct proceedings once the quorum of the members is formed. According to Falana the said quorum is one-third ($\frac{1}{3}$) of all the members of the law makers in either of the chamber concerned. He added that in all the previous cases in which the impeachment of state governors was annulled and set aside by the Supreme Court and other courts, it was due to the failure of the Houses of Assembly concerned to comply with the provision for quorum, which is two-thirds of all the members in line with section 188 (4) of the 1999 Constitution as amended. Falana said “you cannot go to court because there was no Mace and that the Senate or the House was illegally constituted”

The Human Right Activist noted that since the restoration of democratic rule in Nigeria on May 29, 1999, several Houses of Assembly have been shut down due to the disappearance of the Mace, which is believed to be the authority of every legislative house in the country. He

argued that the Mace is not a prerequisite for parliamentary business in Nigeria. In other words, the proceedings of a legislative house cannot be invalidated because of the absence of the Mace.

This Day Newspaper of 23rd April, 2018 stated that in a contrary view, a Minna, Niger state-based lawyer and Senior Advocate of Nigeria (SAN), Ibrahim Isiyaku, however, disagrees totally with Falana saying, though the Mace may not be mentioned in the Nigerian constitution, by virtue of “parliamentary convention”, the Mace is a symbol of authority of the legislature. Isiyaka continued that even the United Kingdom, Nigeria’s former colonial masters, is not a constitutional society but a society governed by unwritten laws. He said further, “but the conventions are even more adhered to than some of the laws because the democracy we are practicing in Nigeria is an amalgam of the convention in courts which will support their arguments with common law”. They also rely not only on conventional laws but also on equity and good conscience. He stressed that it is for that reason that lawyers argue and support their arguments with natural justice, equity and good conscience in court. “And as long as everyone look at it, both the legislature and other citizens of Nigeria considered it as such. So, by convention it is a symbol of authority of the legislature” he maintained.

Ibid (2018), an Ilorin-based legal practitioner, Mr. Dele Moses, agreed with Isiyaku that the mace is indeed a symbol of authority of the legislature and if it is so by convention let it be. However, he believes that if the Mace must cease to be so, it will require legislation. He continued that, “if the Mace is to be done away with, a law may be put in place in that regard. But as long as there is no such law, the recognition and status that have been accorded the Mace from conventional practices may remain; he said.

Ibid (2018), for another Ilorin-based lawyer, Abiodun Fagbemi, the importance of the Mace rests on the peculiarity of each nation’s democracy and its display is mostly ritualistic and

obligatory. “Lately due to peculiarities of some democratic nations and the seeming autonomy to practice democracy in their own ways, they do away with the Mace. What they rely on is when a quorum is formed and if there is no section of the constitution that specifically states that without Mace, no legislation could be convened, it will be difficult to say its absence or presence is legal or not”, he said. Though vestiges of colonialism are still and so much with us the Mace obviously as one of those, may still be around for a little longer given our love for symbols, titles and paraphernalia of office. But will the Mace disappear gradually from our legislative chambers as Falana argued, “with time, the Mace, wig and gown which are not provided for in our statues will disappear from our legislative houses” only time and intentions (good or bad) of the ruling class will determine the fate of the Mace in parliamentary proceedings. But, from Parliamentary convention, the National Assembly has the right to adopt the Mace as the Symbol and Power of Authority.

2.1.7 Protocols Surrounding the Mace

The Mace can be carried on the right shoulder or the left shoulder, and it can be placed on the upper bracket or the lower bracket for different occasions.

The right shoulder. **Mayowa (2020)** mentioned that carrying the Mace on the right shoulder of the mace bearer signifies procession for convergence of a plenary session for the day’s legislative business. Also, at the end of a plenary the Sergeant-At-Arms carries the Mace on his right shoulder in front of the presiding officer into his office.

The left shoulder. **Ibid (2020)** said that the mace is carried on the left shoulder of the Mace bearer on the day of inauguration of the parliament where all the members elect would converge in their respective chambers, for their official inauguration ceremony to acquire full statutory membership of the Senate or the Members House of Representatives as the case

may be. Also, the Mace is borne on the left shoulder of the Mace bearer in the absence of the presiding officers. I.e. when the deputy will preside over the proceedings.

Placing the Mace on the Upper Bracket

Mayowa (2020), the mace bearer leading the presiding officer into the Chamber waits for the presiding officer to take his/her seat before placing the mace on the upper bracket of the table horizontally which gives the presiding officer the legitimacy to continue the legislative business for the day.

Placing the Mace on the Lower Bracket

Mayowa (2020) argued that removing the Mace from the upper bracket means adjournment or recess but placing the Mace on the lower bracket signifies temporary closure of plenary session in order to proceed into the committee of the whole. In the committee of the whole legislator have the privilege of speaking more than once.

Podium Arrangement in the Chamber

There are three (3) podiums arranged with seats in the chambers. The first podium is occupied with one (1) chair preserved for the presiding officer. The second podium is occupied with three (3) chairs with a special one at the middle for presiding officer during committee meeting while the other two (2) are for the clerk of the house and his deputy. While the fourth podium is occupied with four (4) chairs preserved for the Director, Chamber and the chamber staff. The seats on the floor is preserved for members tagged with their names.

2.1.8 The Mace and Election in Parliament

During the election of the presiding officers in parliament the Mace is laid on the lower bracket to show that the House is not properly constituted until the elected officer takes his

chair. **Standing rules of the senate (2001) chapter 2 rule 6 and standing orders of the House of Representatives (2020), chapter two, order 6** stated that, “the presiding officer having been sworn in, he reads his acknowledgement to members for the honour conferred upon him, and thereupon sits on his chair and then the Mace (which hitherto lay on the lower bracket) shall be laid on the upper bracket of the table.

2.1.9 The Mace Bearer

The mace bearer in the Nigeria’s National Assembly is an officer of the Department of the Sergeant-At-Arms from the Directorate of Parliamentary Security and General Duties. In each of the chamber of the National Assembly there are only four (4) Sergeant-At-Arms posted to the chambers. These officers are called chamber staff. The Mace bearer is appointed among the chamber staff. During procession in the senate, the mace bearer carries the Mace on his right shoulder and announces the arrival of the senate president by shouting, “Senate president”. Also, in the House of Representative, the mace bearer carries the Mace on his right shoulder and announces the arrival of the Speaker by shouting, “the speaker” until he enters the chamber and takes his seat before the mace bearer lays the Mace on the upper bracket ready for the day proceedings. **According to Wikipedia (2021)**, the sergeant-At-Arms is an official appointed by a deliberative body, usually a legislature, to keep order during its meetings. The word “sergeant” is derived from Latin word “serviens” which means “servant”. Historically, **The Kenyan parliament website (2018)** argued that Sergeant-At-Arms were armed men retained by English Lords and Monarch, and the ceremonial Maces which they are associated with were originally a type of weapon. *congressional research services (CRS) (2013)* defined Sergeant-At-Arms as an appointed officer of the House of Representatives, nominated on the first day of the beginning of a new congress by the House majority party leadership. **The standing rules of the senate (2001) (36) (1)**, stated that, “it is the duty of the Sergeant- At-Arms to attend to the senate during its sittings to maintain order

under the directive of the senate president”. The Sergeant-At-Arms shall be responsible for the safe keeping of the Mace, furniture, and fittings thereof. Also, the **standing order of the House of Representatives (2020), order 7 (18) (1)** states that, “it shall be the duty of the Sergeant-At-Arms to attend the House during its sittings, to maintain order under the direction of the Speaker”. The Sergeant-At-Arms attending the House shall be responsible for the safe keeping of the Mace, furniture and other fittings thereof.

2.1.10 The Mace and the Congress

Wikipedia (2021) defined congress as a formal meeting or series of meetings for discussion between delegates, especially those from political party, trade union, or within a particular sphere of activity. In any meeting of a group to discuss business concerning members of the society, discussants can speak from any sit he feels comfortable but, in the National Assembly the reverse is the case. **The standing rules of the Senate (2001) Chapter III (II), and standing orders of the House or Representatives (2020) order 5 (1)** stated that “the presiding officer shall allocate seats to each member; a member may only speak from the seat allocated to him”.

The constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, (1999) 53 (1) as amended stated that, at any sitting of the National Assembly;

- a. In the case of the senate, the president of the senate shall preside, and in his absence the Deputy of the Senate President shall preside.
- b. In the case of the House of Representatives, the speaker of that House shall preside, and in his absence the deputy speaker shall preside.

Section 53 (2) of the 1999 Constitution stated that, at any joint sitting of the Senate and the House Representatives;

- a. The President of the senate shall preside, and in his absence, the speaker, House of Representative shall preside, and in his absence, the deputy president of the Senate shall preside and in his absence the Deputy Speaker of the House of Representatives shall preside.

The Sahara reporters (2019) reported that during the meeting of the congress, the Mace must be present in the chamber. It is a symbol of authority of the congress. At the start of each sitting day, the Mace is carried into the chamber by the mace bearer and laid on the upper bracket. The Mace in congress serves as a guarantee for the sergeant-At-arms in enforcing peace and order in the House upon the Presiding Officer's instruction. The presence of the Mace in congress confers legitimacy on the activities in the chambers. In order words, the legislature cannot embark on any legitimate business in the chamber without the Mace.

2.1.11 Mace Snatching and Grabbing in Parliament

Wikipedia (2021) reported that in Australian House of Representatives in May 1914, Labour Member of Parliament (M.P) William Higgs played a practical joke on the House by hiding the Mace under one of the opposition's front benches. It was not found for two (2) hours. The Police were called in as it was assumed to have been stolen. After initially denying his role in the incident, Higgs apologized to his colleagues the following week, stating he has acted in a "spirit of frivolity". His admission that he was, "entirely to be blame," was met with cheers.

The Sahara reporters (2019) argued that the importance of the Mace is well-known to Legislators and that is why it is often the target of removal whenever there is a need to forestall a legislative proceeding.

Ibid (2019), in the first republic in 1962 in the heat of the crisis between the leadership of the defunct Action Group led by premier of Western region Chief Obafemi Awolowo, Mr

Ebubedike, a member representing Badagry East, snatched the Mace and used it as a weapon before he made away with it. Again in 2000, the hostility between Chuba Okadigbo popularly called “the Oyi of Oyi”, the Senate President and President Olusegun Obasanjo got to a heat when the president started to plot the impeachment of Chuba Okadigbo, an alleged contract scandal involving Chuba had thrown the Senate into crisis and plot supposedly by those opposed to Chuba was hatched to remove him. Okadigbo who had got wind of his impeachment and in a bid to scuttle the plot Okadigbo adjourned plenary and snatched the Mace and ran away with it, first to his Abuja residence and later shipped it to his village in Ogbunike, Anambra state. He knew the significance of the Mace in Parliamentary proceedings took the Mace so that senate could not sit and decide his case. He was said to have boasted to his supporters that he had kept the Mace in the secure company of the pythons he was rearing. **Nigerian Tribune (2018)** was of the view that whether the Mace is of trouble or symbol of authority. In the Newspaper, Bayo Alade reported that almost through the entire history of the present democratic dispensation in Nigeria, forceful removal of the Mace has been a recurring issue.

The Punch Newspaper of the 20th April, 2018 as reported by Ayo Olukotun stated that the Mace of the Senate of the Nigerian National Assembly was stolen just as President Muhammadu Buhari was projecting Nigeria on the world stage, at 25th Common Wealth Heads of Government meeting in the United Kingdom, a handful of thugs on a reprehensive assignment invaded the upper chamber of the National Assembly in broad day light and made away with the mace.

The Cable News (2018) as reported by Chinedu Asadu that according to Falana there were many instances, legislators have been injured while trying to protect the Mace when it was snatched. He said that the Mace in the senate was only removed and taken away to a remote village in 1962 in one of the States in the South Eastern regions where it was hidden for

weeks to prevent senators from reconvening to carry out the planned impeachment of the then Senate President Chuba Okadigbo at that material time. But at the end of the day, his colleagues produced another Mace and proceeded to remove him from office, Falana said. The lawyer said it was curious that the National Assembly has not deemed it fit to enact a law to protect the Mace, which is so regularly snatched or stolen by Legislators, stressing that the suspects that invaded the Senate may be charged under the Legislative powers (powers and privileges act).

Falana said that some people have even suggested that suspects of Mace snatching be tried for treason. It is curious to know that the National Assembly has not deemed it fit to enact a law to protect the Mace which is so regularly stolen by Legislators.

Some important questions that need some clarifications are; firstly, were there no officers, (Sergeant-At Arms, police, State Security Service, Army) or any of the security personnel with a primary duty of protecting the Mace, which is a sacred authority of the parliament without which the legislative unit cannot perform their duty normally? **Standing rules of the Senate 2001 36 (4) and Standing orders of the House of Representatives order 7 (18) 4** stated that “the Sergeant-At-Arms shall allow no person to enter any room(s) reserved for legislatures during its sitting.” Where were these officers all through the Mace-snatching scenario? Why could he not raise his voice against a potent damage of duty? Legislature hardly record full attendance in plenary, why couldn't those present made an attempt to stop the Mace from being unlawfully taken away? Is it not the duty of the parliamentarians to protect the Mace for smooth proceedings, though not written? It is revolving that the legislators quarrel and fight over perquisites of their offices, but were conspicuously missing in an act of a most crucial time when their respect and dignity were being violated. It is expected that those coming in and out of the National Assembly would normally require some sort of screening, if only to separate those with genuine missions from impostors. In

this instance, who were those in charge of the screening, and where were they during the inversion? Besides, the thugs snatched away the Mace, a long object from the chamber, and walking several kilometres to the external gate without a simple challenge by the security personnel? Where were the multiples of security personnel who were normally attached to the gates?

The Guardian Newspaper 25th April, 2016 by Cheta Nwanze argued that the repeated attempts to kidnap the Mace in a belated, often desperate attempt to secure power shows that we tend to chase shadows rather than substance. The authority of any elected legislature is vested in the people, not a symbol used in an era before the invention of farming.

2.1.12 Procurement of Arms for Sergeant-At-Arms

When the sergeant-At-Arms were armed, the grasping, snatching and stealing of the Mace can be reduced. **The Premium Times Newspaper of October 11, 2018** by agency reporter and **pulse News October 11, 2018** reported that the House of Representatives proposed the procurement of firearms for the Sergeant-At-Arms at the National Assembly. The move which came under a notice of urgent national importance sponsored by Ossai Ossai, is to act as check against future invasion of the chamber of the National Assembly. He stressed that it had become necessary because of the recent upsurge of security threats to the National Assembly. The House therefore resolved to amend the National Assembly Service Commission Act of 2014 to establish a full-fledged training academy as a unit of the office of the Sergeant-At-Arms of the National Assembly. It also resolved to amend the standing orders of the House by adding that one of the rules of the Sergeant-At-Arms is the bearing and use of fire-arms for the proper protection of the Mace, legislators, National Assembly premises and its precincts, the paper reported.

2.1.13 Legislative Quorum

At any parliamentary proceedings, quorum is a necessary and it is required before the proceedings of each day starts.

Wikipedia (2021) has defined quorum as the minimum number of members of a deliberate assembly (a body that uses parliamentary procedure, such as a legislature) necessary to conduct the business of that group some authors in **White (1967)** have defined a quorum as number of members require to be present to legally transact legislative business.

Robert et'al (2011), opined that a quorum is the number of members required to be present at a meeting in order that the assembly may transact businesses. Quorum in an assembly is the minimum numbers that may be present to carry on businesses.

The Sahara reporter (2019) defined quorum as the minimum number of the members of legislature that must be present to conduct legislative proceedings. In the national assembly, there are 109 senators and 360 Honorable members. The quorum for the national assembly according to **Standing Rules of the Senate (2001) rule (10) 1 the Standing orders of the House of Representatives (2020) order 4 (1) and the 1999 constitution 54 (1)** all agreed that quorum is the presence of one-third ($\frac{1}{3}$) of all the members of each house in the chamber. In the senate the quorum is 37 and in the House of Representatives is 120 members. **House of Representatives Orders (2020) order 4 (5)) and the 1999 constitution 54 (2)** stated that in the event of a joint meeting; the quorum shall be one-third of all the members of the senate and members, House of Representatives in the National Assembly, which is 156.

The essence of the quorum according to **Ahmadu (1911)** is to prevent a situation in which the determination of policy and legislative activity take place in the presence of an extremely limited number of representations. In most parliament over the world, the absence of quorum leads to the putting off the debate or vote until a quorum is present or formed.

2.1.14 National Assembly Adjourns for Lack of Quorum

This Day Newspaper of February 22nd, 2019 and Vanguard Newspaper of 27th February, 2019 as reported by Shola Oyeyipo, Henry Umoru and Emmanuel Onakpon in Abuja, that the National Assembly adjourned plenary for lack of Quorum. The newspapers reported that the senate adjourned plenary till March 12, 2019 due to their inability to form quorum. The senate president, Dr. Bukola Saraki, presided over the plenary which was attended by only eight (8) senators. The senate required 37 members to form a quorum of one-third ($\frac{1}{3}$) of the 109 members. It was the first general sitting of the legislative chamber following its resumption from one month election of February, 2019. Similarly, in the House of Representatives, Speaker Yakubu Dogara who presided over the brief sitting, said that the house could not form quorum as only twelve (12) law makers were in attendance at the plenary instead of the quorum of 120 law makers. The House therefore, stood down all the items in the order paper for the day and adjourned proceedings till 19th February, 2019, the paper reported. According to the **Nation newspaper of January 22nd, 2019**, lack of quorum forces senates to adjourn plenary. This is the second time since June 9th, 2015 when the National Assembly was inaugurated that the upper chamber failed to sit due to lack of quorum. On November 13th, 2018, the senate was force to adjourn sitting following poor attendance. Only 10 out 109 senators attended the aborted sitting. The standing rule of the senate states that not less than 37 senators (i.e., $\frac{1}{3}$ of the senators) must be in chamber to form quorum before the legislative business of the day can commence. The adjournment of plenary was done in compliance with the **1999 constitution 54 (3)**, stated that where the presiding officer ascertains that the numbers present is less than one-third of all the members of the House he shall adjourn the House. **White (1967)** in his book *“History and philosophy of quorum as device of parliamentary procedure”* opined that the quorum is an essential device of assuring adequate participation of the individual and government of majority rule

and minority protection, a knowledge of the history of quorum in the democratic decision-making process is important. He continued that quorum is a general rule for adequate and legal transaction of legislative businesses. Each organization must determine its own quorum; it is rarely outlined in specifics in the manual.

2.2 EMPIRICAL REVIEW

Researchers in the field of political sciences and other related fields have conducted a number of researches on different aspects of the Mace and its uses in the parliament, including the National Assembly and the State Houses of Assembly. The Empirical studies were presented from the studies of Ikegbu, Edunam, Alalibo, Ademola and Faruku.

Ikegbu (2014) conducted a research with the title, “*the significance of the Mace in the Imo State House of Assembly*”. An unpublished thesis. The methodology the researcher used was the survey research design for the study and questionnaires were used as the instrument for data collection with seventy-two (72) respondents sampled out of a population of one hundred and fifty-eight (158). The study revealed that lack of codified parliamentary ethics and standards had a negative impact on the significance of the Mace in the Imo State House of Assembly. The research focused on the Imo State House of Assembly which is different from the National Assembly, Abuja. Though, the design used were similar with different location and population. The National Assembly consists of one hundred and nine (109) senators and three hundred and sixty (360) members in the House of Representatives and eight (8) chamber staff giving us a total of four hundred and seventy-seven (477) population while that of the Imo State House of Assembly consists of only seventy-two (72) law-makers.

Edunam (2011) conducted research with the title, “*importance of the Mace and its protection*” in the Akwa-Ibom State House of Assembly. An unpublished Master’s thesis. The researcher used correlation research design for the study with a population of fifty-two (52)

respondents randomly sampled out of a population of one hundred and seventy-two (172). Questionnaires were used as instrument for data collection. The findings revealed that there was a strong relationship between adequate protection of the Mace and parliamentary proceedings in Akwa-Ibom State House of Assembly. It was noted that adequate protection of the Mace put in place has the tendency to curb the menace of Mace snatching. Though with similar findings, there was a gap.

Alalibo (2012) conducted research with the title, “*Assessment of the role of the Mace as power of the parliament*”, in Rivers State House of Assembly. The researcher used purposive sampling techniques. Questionnaires were used as instrument for the data collection. The researcher adopted case study as the research design. The findings of the research were that positive standard influence the conduct of legislators in their proceedings using the Mace as the power of the parliament. The gap in this perspective was on the case study research designed. The environment of the study also differs. That is, the National Assembly and that of the Rivers State House of Assembly.

Ademola (2018) conducted research on the topic, “*The Mace and legislative practices in Nigeria*”. A study of the National Assembly. An unpublished Master’s dissertation. The methodology used was not mentioned in the dissertation. The instrument used for data collection was not mentioned. The population of the study was the National Assembly. The sampled size for the study was not mentioned. The findings of the study revealed that the National Assembly lacks the political will to utilize its power in law making and that the National Assembly (the legislators) and the bureaucracy (the civil servants) are all weak. The study also revealed that ethical education on the importance of the Mace is imperative to the legislators and to ensure that statutory limitations to the Mace are clear even to the general public. Though the location and population used were the same with the current research, there was a gap.

Faruku (2019) conducted research on the topic, “*A Critical Appraisal of the Legislative Practices and Procedures in Kebbi State House of Assembly, (7th Assembly)*”. An unpublished Master’s thesis. The methodology the researcher used was the descriptive survey design for the study. Interviews and prints were used as tools for data collection. The population and sampled size of the study were not mentioned. The findings of the study revealed that the rules of the legislative practices and procedures in Kebbi state be amended from time to time. The standing order of the Kebbi state House of Assembly has not been amended since the return to democracy in 1999 and that the legislators in Kebbi State House of Assembly needed to be educated on the day-to-day practices and procedures. Though with similar methodology and tools for data collection, there was a gap.

Gap in Knowledge

The gap in knowledge was that Ikegbu’s findings did not reveal anything on Mace snatching and grabbing in parliament which constitutes a challenge in the National Assembly nor the Mace protection. Edunam’s study did not mention anything about Mace snatching. Alalibo’s study did not reveal Mace snatching as a menace to parliamentary activities. Ademola’s findings did not reveal that Mace snatching constitutes a major challenge in the National Assembly. The findings of Faruku’s study did not reveal anything about the importance of the Mace in legislative practices and procedure nor did it mentioned about Mace snatching as a challenge to democracy and good governance. These gaps were what prompted the current researcher to bridge. The quest to bridge the gaps and to broaden the search for knowledge acquisition on existing literature as part of the concept of effectiveness of the Mace in parliamentary proceedings as the symbol of authority of the National Assembly prompted the need of this research.

2.3 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK.

The theoretical framework for the research work is considered from the principal-Agent theory and the theory of symbolic interaction and deontological theory.

2.3.1 Principal-Agent Theory.

The principal-Agent theory was originally conceived by economist Nobel Laureate Ronald Coas early in the year 1930s and propounded by Stephen Ross and Barry M. Mitnick in the year 1970s from the combined discipline of economic and institutional theory. Ross was responsible for the origin of economic and Mitnick was responsible for the institutional theory. The theory began in earnest with other contributions from Jensen, Meckling and Mirrtees (1976), Ross (1973), and Stiglitz (1975). Reviewed by Prendergast (1999).

The theory seeks to understand the relationship that exists between two entities (principal and agent). The theory is a connection that arises from a situation in which one entity (the principal) has power over another (the agent). The agent is acting in the place of the principal for specific or general purposes. In doing so, the agent is expected to carry out the wishes of the principal. A common example of the principal-Agent theory is the relationship that exists between the elected officials (agent) and the citizens (principal). In this case, the agents are the legislators and the principal are the electorates. Ross (1975) is of the view that the theory is hinged on the understanding that the agent owes the principal duties of loyalty, obedience, and reasonable care. Loyalty means that the agent must act in the best interest of the principal. The agent acts as a representative of the principal and not for himself. The principal (electorates) or citizens authorize the agent (legislators) to act on their behalf.

2.3.2 Application of the Principal-Agent Theory

From the Principal-Agent theory as explained above, the electorates and the legislators are in a binding legal agreement in a democratic system of government in which the legislators are

voted into the National Assembly to represent the interest of the electorates. Therefore, in line with the theory the legislators (agents) owe the electorates (principal) the duty of loyalty, obedience and in their conduct of law-making, oversight and representation which are their constitutional duties. The legislators must not be self-seeking and by all means shun all forms of corrupt practices that would lead to Mace snatching which distorts law-making process in the legislative chamber. It is the responsibility of the legislators (agent) to make credible laws for the country (principal).

2.3.3 Theory of Symbolic Interaction

The theory of symbolic interaction was propounded by Ferdinand de Saussre in 1886. He was a linguist. According to this theory, people live both in the natural and symbolic environment. Objects or symbols do not have meaning on their own. But they get their meaning from the social actors. This theory claims that facts are based on and directed by symbols. **Hall (2007)** stated that symbolic interaction theory is a dynamic theory because according to the theory objects feature meaning within themselves and individuals formulate their activities in that direction. Thus, it is the social actor that attributes meaning to objects according to their perspectives. He continued that the most important theorist of symbolic school is George Herbert Mead; Mead believed that mind and ego are the product of society. He assumes that symbol develops minds and that the minds are used as means of thinking and communication. **Cambridge learner Dictionary (2013)** defined symbolism as the use of symbols to signify ideas by giving them symbolic meanings that are different from their literal sense. The theory emphasized that we naturally talk to ourselves in order to sort out the meaning of difficult situations, but first we need language. Before we can think we must be able to interact symbolically. **Caglar et'al (2015)** argued that people communicate in their daily lives by means of symbolic interaction and how they create order and meaning. Human beings give

meaning to symbols and they express these things by means of language. Consequently, the symbols form the basis of communication.

2.3.4 Application of the Symbolic Interaction Theory

In every aspect of human existence there are different symbols of authority which mean different things to different people that are associated with the bodies they represent. In Nigeria there are different symbols of authority which included the Mace, the coat of arms, the country's official seal, and symbol of the presidency, the national flag, the wig and many others. The symbol of authority that represents the legislature is the mace. The Mace as an ordinary object which ordinarily would not have any meaning if not that the legislature gave it the meaning as 'symbol of authority' of the senate president and the speaker, House of Representatives. It is the legislators who are the social actors who attribute meaning to the object (Mace). The legislators naturally talk to themselves in order to sort out the meaning of difficult bills concerning national issues. In the daily parliamentary proceedings, the legislators interact in the chamber by means of symbol of authority (mace). With the Mace in the chamber, orderliness is created and bills can easily be passed into law. The orderliness is seen when legislators move towards the Mace, they bend down to it giving it the deserved respect.

2.3.5 Deontological Ethical Theory

This theory was propounded by Immanuel Kant in 1724 – 1804 in the 18th Century. The theory was first used in 1930 in the book, *five types of Ethical theory by C.D. Broad (1887 - 1971)*. **According to Malpas (2012)**, the term deontology comes from the Greek word, Deon, meaning obligation or duty. The author further buttressed that in moral philosophy, deontological ethical theory states that people should adhere to their duties when engaged in decision making process in consonance with laid down principles and rules. **Brook (2007)**

consented that the theory of deontology notes that we are morally obligated to act in accordance with laid down principles and rules regardless of the outcome. Furthermore, **Malpas (2012) and Halstead (2016)** added that, as an ethical theory, deontology uses rules to distinguish right from wrong. It requires that people follow the rules and do their duties. These authors also noted that in moral philosophy, deontological ethical theory emphasis that, the morality of an action should be based on whether that action itself is right or wrong under a series of rules, rather than based on the consequences of the action. Hence, deontological ethical theory is sometimes described as duty, obligation or rule-based ethics. The German Philosopher, Immanuel Kant is reputed as the theory's celebrated proponent.

2.3.6 Application of the Deontological Ethical Theory

In relation to the deontological ethical theory expressed above, it is necessary to note that the Legislators were meant to discharge their statutory responsibilities of law making, representation, and oversight functions in line with set rules that guides their conducts. As a result, the tendency of corruption which leads to Mace snatching will be minimized if Legislators adhere strictly to the rules and principles put in place to guide their conduct in the discharge of their official duties. Abiding by the ethical standards put in place to guide the official conduct of Legislators in the discharge of their duties was in consonance with the deontological ethical theory that emphasized that people follow the rules and do their duties accordingly.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The study adopted the survey method. This chapter discussed the methods involved in the design, study population, sample size, sampling techniques, survey instrument, and administration of questionnaires, data collection and data analysis. It presented a description of the methods used in testing the data.

3.1 Research Design. The study adopted the survey research design. **Check et'al (2012:160)** opined that survey research design is the collection of large information in relatively short period from sample of individuals through their response to questions. It also allows for a variety of methods to recruit parties, collect data, and utilize various methods of instrument. In this work the researcher identified and classified the research population and used both the questionnaire and interview as tools for gathering primary data. For the secondary data the researcher used books, journals, publications, internet materials and many others. Tables and simple percentages were used as techniques for data presentation and analysis.

3.2. Study Population/Area. The study area was the Nigerian National Assembly which is a bicameral legislature established under **section 4 of the 1999 constitution** as amended. This is meant to guarantee equal representation of the Nigerian states. Population is the total number of respondents in the area under study from which data would be collected and from which sample would be drawn. Hence, it means the total numbers of respondents that are likely to be contacted during the investigation. The population of the study were the 109 Senators, 360 honorable members of the House of Representatives and 4 Sergeant-At-Arms attached to the senate chamber and 4 Sergeant-At-Arms attached to the chamber of the House of Representatives. These figures gave a total population of 477 respondents which made up the study population.

Table 3.1 Study Population.

.1.	Senators	109
2.	Members, House of Representatives	360
3.	Chamber staff	8
	Total population	477

Source: National Assembly, Directorate of Interparliamentary, Security and General Duties. March, 2022

3.3 Sampling Technique/Sample Size

Rajashi (2019), in his book, *‘How to choose your sampling strategy to guarantee relevant result’* agreed that the population must be sampled. For equal representation of the population, a non-stratified random sampling procedure was used to select the sample from the respondents. The sample size for this research work was arrived at using the **Yamane Taro (1973)** method for sample size technique. Yamane was a statistician who suggested that the entire population should be sampled, formulated this method and provided a simplified formula to calculate sample size. Below is the mathematical illustration for the Taro Yamane method.

$$n = \frac{N}{1 + N \times E \times E} \text{ Where, } n = \text{sample size}$$

N= Population under study

E = Margin of error = 0.05 at 95% confidence.

Substituting using the population above, N = 477, E = 0.05, n =?

$$\begin{aligned} n &= \frac{477}{1 + 477 \times 0.05 \times 0.05} \\ &= \frac{477}{1 + 477 \times 0.0025} \\ &= \frac{477}{1 + 1.1925} \end{aligned}$$

$$= \frac{477}{2.1925} = 217.559 = \underline{\underline{218}}$$

Therefore, the sampled size for the study was two hundred and eighteen (218) respondents.

3.4 Administration of Questionnaire

For the researcher to gain acceptance from the law makers the legislative traditions were used where senators were called “Distinguished” while those from the House of Representatives were addressed as “Honorable”. **(Al-Mustafa 2013)** Questionnaires were administered by the researcher personally to the respondents through their Senior Legislative Aids (SLA) by meeting them in their offices. The questionnaire was framed in two (2) sections of descriptive and analytical. **Awotune (1977) in Habu (2018)** who posit that a good questionnaire should consist of two (2) sections. The questionnaire was made up of twenty-five (25) questions divided into two sections. Section A contained ten (10) open-ended questions which was directed at eliciting responses from respondents as regard to the demographic data of respondents while section B contained fifteen (15) questions which was directed at eliciting responses on relationship of the Mace and parliamentary proceedings, roles of the Mace, Mace snatching and effectiveness of the Mace in parliament. Respondents were randomly selected for oral interview and administration of questionnaire for the primary data collection. To conduct interview with the respondents, the researcher needed to apply for formal appointment through the legislative aids. In some cases, the appointment was cancelled because of the legislator’s tight schedules. In instances where the appointment was granted, the researcher was asked to be fast because others were waiting. Direct administration of questionnaires was preferred because information gathered would be direct and firsthand. Copies of the questionnaires were randomly distributed to the legislators in the Nigerian’s National Assembly, Abuja.

The selection of the sampled or respondents was done at random by a simple statistic. The senators were divided by 3. i.e, $109 \div 3 = 36$. This meant that every third (3rd) office in the senate was administered with a questionnaire. The numbers of Honorable members were divided by two. i.e $360 \div 2 = 180$. This meant that every 2nd office in the House of Representatives was administered with a questionnaire. The numbers of the chamber staff were divided by four. i.e $8 \div 4 = 2$. This meant that 2 chamber staff were selected at random and were administered with 2 questionnaires. The total number of respondents were $180 + 36 + 2 = 218$

3.5 Methods of Data Collection

Data collection were carried out from two (2) sources namely; primary sources and secondary sources and observation. The primary sources enabled the understanding of the research findings and the research process. The primary data were collected through interview and the structured questionnaire. The structured questions were sent to respondents a head of time before the researcher met them for the collection of the questionnaires and interviews. Secondary data were collected through print media, newspapers and publications.

3.6 Methods of Data Analysis

The data were collected and analyzed to provide the answers to the research questions raised. The methods used in statistical analysis of data included frequency distribution, simple percentage, tables, chi-square and the Likert scale were adopted. A total of two hundred and eighteen (218) copies of the questionnaires were self-administered by the researcher and two hundred and ten (210) were duly recovered and returned for analysis. The data was finally presented and interpreted as collected from the respondents.

CHAPTER FOUR.

DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

This chapter presented with the presentation, description and analysis of the data obtained from the respondents; the analysis was based on the hypotheses in chapter one. Questionnaires and interview were used for the primary data while print materials were used for the secondary data.

4.1 Descriptive Statistics Background Information of Respondents

A total of two hundred and eighteen (218) Questionnaires were distributed to a cross section of respondents in the National Assembly which were used for the primary data collection. This distribution cut across the senators, honorable members and chamber staff. Out of the 218 questionnaires distributed, 210 questionnaires were retrieved for analysis, which yielded a response rate of ninety-six percent (96%) i.e. $210 \div 218 \times 100$ while eight (8) questionnaires were not recovered which gave a non-response rate of four percent (4%) i.e $8 \div 218 \times 100$. See the pie chart below. The distribution of the respondents by affiliation showed that seventeen percent (17%) i.e $36 \div 218 \times 100$ were from the senate. Eighty-two percent (82%) i.e $180 \div 218 \times 100$ were from the House of Representatives and one percent (1%) $2 \div 218 \times 100$ were from the Chamber Staff.

Thirty-six (36) questionnaires were distributed in the senate and one hundred and eighty (180) were distributed in the House of Representatives while two (2) questionnaires were randomly distributed among the chamber staff.

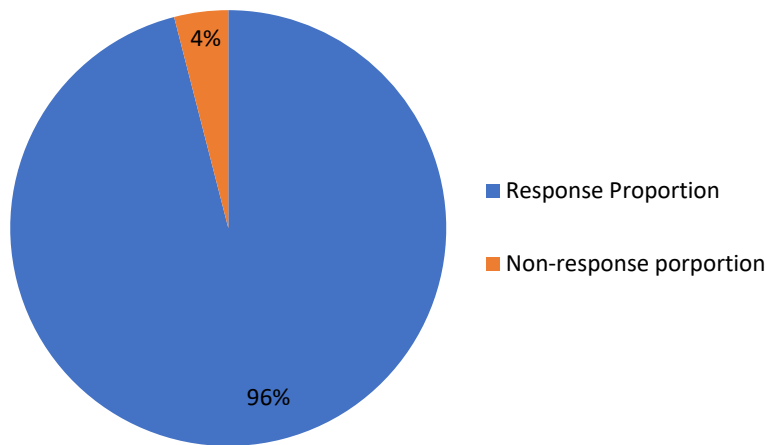
Therefore, the total numbers of questionnaires distributed were $180 + 36 + 2 = 218$. I.e. two hundred and eighteen.

Table 4.1 Distribution of respondents by affiliation.

Category of Respondents	Frequency	Percentage
Senators	36	17
Honorable Members	180	82
Chamber Staff	2	1
Total	218	100

Source: Field work, March, 2022

Response and Non-Response of Respondent



Pie chart. Source: Field work, March, 2022

From the pie chart above, it can be seen that ninety six (96%) i.e 210 out of 218 represented response proportion of respondents while four percent (4%) i.e 8 out of 218 represented non-response proportion of respondents.

4.2. Analysis of Research Questions

Table 4.2 Demographic Distribution of Respondents

S/N		Variable	F	ΣF	%	Σ%
1	Gender	Male Female	200 10	210	95 5	100
2	Age	31 – 40 years 41 – 50 years 51 – 60 years 61 years and above	0 150 50 10	210	0 71 24 5	100
3	Marital Status	Married Single Widow Divorce	210 0 0 0	210	100 0 0 0	100
4	Religion	Islam Christianity Traditionalist Pagan	152 58 0 0	210	72 28 0 0	100
5.	Academic qualification	O' Level/SSCE ND/NCE First Degree/HND Master PhD	0 6 180 10 14	210	0 2 86 5 7	100
6.	Political Party	APC PDP APGA Others	140 70 0 0	210	67 33 0 0	100
7.	Member of Principal Officers	Yes No	3 207	210	1 99	100
8.	Years in Politics	10 – 15 Years 16 – 20 Years 21 – 25 Years 26 – 30 Years	150 10 15 35	210	71 5 7 17	100
9.	Terms Spent as Parliamentarian	1 st term 2 nd term 3 rd term 4 th term	100 50 40 20	210	48 24 19 9	100
10	Category of Respondents	Senators Members, House Chamber Staff	36 180 2	210	17 82 1	100

Source: Field work, March, 2022.

Table 4.2 above represented demographic distribution of respondents. In relation to the frequency distribution according to gender, the table showed that two hundred (200)

respondents representing ninety-five percent (95%) out of the total respondents were male and ten (10) respondents representing five percent (5%) were female. This indicated that the male constituted the majority of the total law makers in the National Assembly. In relations to age distribution, the table revealed that none of the respondents was below forty (40) years old. One hundred and fifty (150) respondents representing seventy-one percent (71%) were within the ages of 40 years and 50 years. On the other hand, fifty (50) respondents representing twenty-four percent (24%) were between the age bracket of 51 years and 60 years old. Finally, only ten (10) respondents representing five percent (5%) were above 61 years old. In the National Assembly, more than half ($\frac{1}{2}$) of the legislators were just forty (40) years and above. Sequel to distribution based on marital status, all the respondents were married as shown from the table above with two hundred and ten (210) respondents representing one hundred percent (100%) were married. Distribution based on religion, the table revealed that one hundred and fifty-two (152) respondents representing seventy-two percent (72%) were Islam while fifty-eight (58) respondents representing twenty-eight percent (28%) were Christians. Other religion according to the respondents were not practiced in the National Assembly. None of the respondents practice traditional religion nor a member of pagan. On highest academic qualification, six respondents six (6) out of two hundred and ten (210) respondents representing two percent (2%) were either NCE or ND holders. There were One hundred and eighty (180) respondents representing eighty-six percent (86%) were either first degree or Higher National Diploma Holders. Ten (10) respondents representing five percent (5%) were Master Degree holders. The remaining fourteen (14) respondents representing seven percent (7%) were Ph.D holders. This table above showed that most members of the national assembly were first degree and HND holders as their highest academic qualifications. Based on political party distribution, one hundred and forty (140) respondents representing sixty-seven percent (67%) were members

of the All-Progressive Congress (APC) while only seventy (70) respondents representing thirty-three percent (33%) were members of the People Democratic Party (PDP). The table showed that the National Assembly is dominated by two (2) political parties, i.e. APC and PDP. The numbers of other political parties were small compared to these two (2) political parties. This did not mean that members of other political parties were not represented in the National Assembly. Based on members of principal officers, only three (3) of the respondents representing one percent (1%) were members of the principal officer and the rest two hundred and seven (207) respondents representing ninety-nine percent (99%) were non-principal officers. In the National Assembly there were only twenty (20) principal officers. Ten (10) Principal Officers in the senate and ten (10) principal officers in the House of Representative. Frequency distribution based on years in politics, one hundred and fifty (150) respondents representing seventy-one percent (71%) have been in politics for about 10-15 years. Ten (10) respondents representing five percent (5%) have been in politics between 16-20 years. Fifteen (15) respondents representing seven percent (7%) were from 21-25 years and thirty-five (35) respondents representing seventeen percent (17%) have been in politics from 26-30 years. The distribution based on term spent as a parliamentarian, one hundred (100) respondents representing forty-eight percent (48%) were in the National Assembly for the first term. Fifty (50) respondents representing twenty-four percent (24%) were in the National Assembly for the second term. Forty (40) respondents representing nineteen percent (19%) were for the third term, while only twenty (20) respondents representing nine percent (9%) were in the National Assembly for the fourth term. The re-election into the National Assembly was very competitive and this accounted for more first term members into the parliament. Finally, from the table above, distribution based on category of respondents, thirty-six (36) respondents representing seventeen percent (17%) were senators, one hundred and eighty (180) respondents representing eighty-two percent (82%) were members, House of Representatives,

while two (2) respondents representing one percent (1%) were chamber staff who were in charge of the mace.

Table 4.3 Examination of the relationship between the Mace and parliamentary proceedings.

S/N	Question	Answer	Frequency	Percentage
11.	Does the Mace have any impact on parliamentary proceeding?	S.A	168	80
		A	17	8
		N	3	1
		SD	12	6
		D	10	5
12	Do you agree that parliamentary proceedings can be enhanced by the use of the Mace?	SA	150	71
		A	50	24
		N	2	1
		SD	6	3
		D	2	1
13	Is the Mace the only power and authority of the National Assembly?	SA	200	95
		A	10	5
		N	-	-
		SD	-	-
		D	-	-
14	Is it true that the Mace gives protection to the presiding officers?	SA	80	58
		A	75	36
		N	10	5
		SD	20	9
		D	25	12

Source: Field work, March, 2022.

Table 4.3 above presented the responses of respondents based on relationship of the Mace and parliamentary proceedings in term of law making from 2015 – 2020.

Majority of the respondents strongly agreed that the Mace has great impact on parliamentary proceedings. This is shown by one hundred and sixty-eight (168) respondents representing eighty percent (80%). Seventeen (17) respondents representing eight percent (8%) agreed that the Mace has impact on parliamentary proceedings, while three (3) respondents representing one percent (1%) were neutral. Twelve (12) respondents representing six percent (6%) strongly disagreed that the Mace has no impact on parliamentary proceedings and only ten (10) respondents representing five percent (5%) disagreed. From the analysis it could be seen that the Mace has significant impact on the parliamentary proceedings in the National Assembly.

Also, one hundred and fifty (150) respondents representing seventy-one percent (71%) strongly agreed that parliamentary proceedings can be enhanced by the used of the Mace in the chamber, fifty (50) respondents representing twenty-four percent (24%) agreed that parliamentary proceeding can be enhanced when the Mace is presence in the chamber.

Only two (2) respondents representing one percent (1%) were neutral, whether parliamentary proceedings can be enhanced with the Mace. Six (6) respondents representing three percent (3%) strongly disagreed that parliamentary proceedings cannot be enhanced in the presence of the Mace.

Finally, two (2) respondents representing one percent (1%) disagreed that Mace cannot enhance parliamentary proceedings. Their disagreement was based – on the fact that legislators do discuss outside the chamber and in the absence of the Mace and agreed on an issue before coming into the chamber for proceedings. From the analysis it could be seen that almost all the respondents strongly agreed that parliamentary proceedings can be enhanced with the use of the Mace in the chamber.

Considering whether the Mace is the only power and authority of the legislators, two hundred (200) respondents representing ninety-five (95%) strongly agreed that the Mace is the only power and authority of the legislators. Ten (10) respondents representing five percent (5%) only agreed that the only power and authority of the National Assembly is the Mace. Their reasons were that laws are made only in the presence of the Mace. In the absence of the Mace there would be no parliamentary proceedings and laws cannot be made. The table above showed that none of the respondents were neutral, strongly disagreed nor disagreed.

In considering whether the Mace gives protection to the presiding officers, eighty (80) respondents representing fifty-eight percent (58%) strongly agreed that the mace gives protection to presiding officers only during parliamentary proceedings. Seventy-five (75) respondents representing thirty-six percent (36%) only agreed that the presiding officers were protected by the Mace. Ten (10) respondents representing five percent (5%) were neutral. Twenty (20) respondents representing nine (9%) percent strongly disagreed that the Mace did not give protection to the presiding officers while twenty-five (25) respondents representing twelve percent (12%) disagreed that the Mace did not give protection to the presiding officers.

The Mace as it were was not a weapon in the National Assembly that shielded the presiding officer but gives them power and authority to deliberate on national and international issues. In some instances where the Mace was snatched, the presiding officer, members of the legislators and the chamber staff were wounded. The protection of the presiding officers would definitely come from the security guards and not the Mace which was just a decorated stick used as a symbol of authority of the National Assembly.

Table 4.4 Usefulness of the Mace during parliamentary proceedings.

S/N	Question	Answer	Frequency	Percentage
15.	Is it mandatory for the Mace to be presence in the chamber during bills consideration?	S.A	200	95
		A	10	5
		N	-	-
		SD	-	-
		D	-	-
16	Do you agree that bills can be enacted into laws in the absence of the Mace?	SA	-	-
		A	-	-
		N	-	-
		SD	200	95
		D	10	5
17	Is the Mace used during inauguration of a new assembly?	SA	-	-
		A	-	-
		N	-	-
		SD	175	83
		D	35	17
18	Is it true that the Mace contributes to efficiency and effectiveness of the National Assembly?	SA	140	67
		A	63	30
		N	-	-
		SD	4	2
		D	3	1
19	Do you agree that bills can be considered and enacted into laws only when the Mace is present in the chamber?	SA	210	100
		A	-	-
		N	-	-
		SD	-	-
		D	-	-

Source: Field work, March, 2022.

Table 4.4 above showed the usefulness of the Mace during parliamentary proceedings from 2015-2020. Is it mandatory for the Mace to be in the chamber during bills consideration?

Two hundred (200) respondents representing ninety five percent (95%) strongly agreed that it

is mandatory for the Mace to be in chamber during bill consideration and that bills cannot be considered in the absence of the Mace. Ten (10) respondents representing five percent (5%) agreed.

On whether bills can be enacted into laws in the absence of the Mace, two hundred (200) respondents representing ninety-five percent (95%) strongly disagreed. Ten (10) respondents representing five percent (5%) disagreed that bills cannot be enacted into laws without the Mace.

During inauguration of a new assembly, one hundred and seventy-five (175) respondents representing eighty-three percent (83%) strongly agreed that the Mace has no role in the inauguration of a new assembly. Thirty-five (35) respondents representing seventeen percent (17%) disagreed. According to them, during inauguration of a new assembly, the Mace is laid on the lower bracket, meaning that it was not performing any function. One hundred and forty (140) respondents representing sixty-seven percent (67%) strongly agreed that it is true that the mace contributes to efficiency and effectiveness of the National Assembly. Sixty-three (63) respondents representing thirty percent (30%) agreed that the Mace contributed to efficiency and effectiveness in the National Assembly. To them legislators cannot function well except with the Mace. Four (4) respondents representing two percent (2%) strongly disagreed. Three (3) respondents representing one percent (1%) disagreed, that the Mace did not contribute to efficiency and effectiveness in the National Assembly.

Considering whether bills can be enacted into laws only when the Mace is present in the chamber, all the respondents strongly agreed. This is shown by two hundred and ten (210) respondents representing one hundred percent (100%). They believed that some issues can be discussed without the Mace like at the committee level but when it comes to enactment of bills into law, the Mace must be present.

Table 4.5 Relationship between Mace snatching and parliamentary proceedings.

S/N	Question	Answer	Frequency	Percentage
20.	Do you agree that mace snatching can bring parliamentary proceedings to an end?	S.A	200	95
		A	2	1
		N	-	-
		SD	4	2
		D	4	2
21	Do you agree that in order to give protection to the mace, the management of National Assembly has secured arms for the Sergeant-at-Arms?	SA	5	2.3
		A	5	2.3
		N	50	14.3
		SD	160	76.1
		D	10	5.0
22	Do you agree that lack of professionalism on the parts of the parliamentarians leads to mace snatching?	SA	5	2
		A	6	3
		N	7	3
		SD	180	86
		D	12	6

Source: Field work, March, 2022.

Table 4.5 above showed the relationship between the Mace snatching and parliamentary proceedings. Two hundred (200) respondents representing ninety-five percent (95%) strongly agreed that whenever there is Mace snatching, parliamentary proceedings often come to an abrupt end while two (2) respondents representing one percent (1%) agreed that it is true that Mace snatching affects parliamentary proceedings negatively. The first target when Mace is

to be snatched is the chamber staff who were in charge of the Mace. Four (4) respondents representing two percent (2%) strongly disagreed and four (4) respondents representing two (2%) disagreed as well that Mace snatching does not bring parliamentary proceedings to an end. According to them, there is always a second Mace in the store that can be brought into the chamber for proceedings to continue. But despite a second Mace which is always hidden, before it is brought into the chamber there is always a break in the transmission of parliamentary proceedings. On whether the management of National Assembly has secured arms for the Sergeant-At-Arms, five (5) respondents representing two-point three percent (2.3%) strongly agreed and five (5) respondents representing two-point three percent (2.3%) agreed. Thirty (30) respondents representing fourteen-point three percent (14.3%) were neutral. One hundred and sixty (160) respondents representing seventy-six-point one percent (76.1%) strongly disagreed that the Sergeant-At-Arms were not armed while ten (10) respondents representing five percent (5%) disagreed that the Sergeant-At-Arms were not armed. They said that though it was discussed in the House of Representative during the leadership of Yakubu Dogara but nothing has been done about it. The leadership of National Assembly needs to train and re-train the Sergeant-At-Arms in the use and protection of the Mace. Whenever the Mace was snatched democracy was put in trouble and the will of the people was not at peace. So, Mace needed to be properly protected to allow for parliamentary businesses to go on smoothly without any interruption from the underworld (thugs). On whether the legislators lack professionalism which led to mace snatching, five (5) respondents representing two percent (2%) strongly agreed, six (6) respondents representing three percent (3%) only agreed, seven (7) respondents representing three percent (3%) were neutral. One hundred and eighty (180) respondents representing (86%) strongly disagreed and only twelve (12) respondents representing (6%) disagreed. The legislators were not in charge of the Mace so they did not need any professionalism in the protection of the Mace. The

legislators needed professionalism in term of law making, oversight and representation. The Mace protection is actually the duty and responsibility of the Sergeant-At-Arms who were expected to be trained on the current and most professional ways of handling of the Mace. The Sergeant-At-Arms were also expected to give protection to the legislators, the National Assembly staff and the National Assembly precinct in order for workers to work in a conducive and safe environment.

Table 4.6 How effective is the Mace during parliamentary proceedings?

S/N	Question	Answer	Frequency	Percentage
23	Did you agree that the mace bearer uses the Mace to calm down rowdy session during proceeding?	S.A	4	2
		A	6	3
		N	10	5
		SD	140	67
		D	50	23
24	Did you agree that the Mace gives legislators the authority to discuss national issues?	SA	200	95
		A	10	5
		N	-	-
		SD	-	-
		D	-	-
25	Did you agree that in the absence of the Mace there would be procession into the chamber?	SA	190	90
		A	20	10
		N	-	-
		SD	-	-
		D	-	-

Source: Field work, March, 2022.

Table 4.6 above showed how effective was the use of the Mace during parliamentary proceedings.

Table 4.6 revealed that four (4) respondents representing two percent (2%) strongly agreed that the Mace bearer uses the Mace to calm down rowdy session during parliamentary proceedings. Six (6) respondents representing three percent (3%) just agreed. Ten (10) respondents representing five percent (5%) were neutral. One hundred and forty (140) respondents representing sixty-seven percent (67%) strongly disagreed while fifty (50) respondents representing twenty-three percent (23%) disagreed, that the Sergeant-At-Arms do not have any control on the legislators. So, he could not use the Mace to control them.

On whether the Mace gave legislators the authority to discuss national issues, two hundred (200) respondents representing ninety five percent (95%) strongly agreed and ten (10) respondents representing five percent (5%) agreed. They were with the view that national issues are discussed in the chamber only in the presence of the Mace.

On whether there would be procession into the chamber without the Mace? One hundred and ninety (190) respondents representing ninety percent (90%) strongly agreed that in the absence of the Mace there would be no procession into the chamber. Twenty (20) respondents representing ten percent (10%) agreed that no Mace, no procession into the chamber. The Mace always precedes the presiding officer into the chamber. When the Mace is laid on the upper bracket and any member who passes it must bow down to it to accord the respect it deserves.

4.3 Testing of Hypothesis

Hypothesis one

Ho: There is no significant relationship between the Mace and parliamentary proceedings in term of law making from 2015-2020.

H_i: There is significant relationship between the Mace and parliamentary proceedings in term of law making. In testing hypothesis one (1), question eleven (11) was selected. The question was, does the Mace have any significant impact on parliamentary proceedings? Karl Pearson invented the Chi-square (χ^2) in 1900 and applied it to test the goodness of fit for frequency curve. In 1904, he extended it to contingency table test for independence between rows and column (**Magnello 2005**).

Table 4.7 Testing of hypothesis one (1)

Option	FO	FE	FO-FE	(FO-FE)²	$\frac{(FO-FE)^2}{FE}$
Strongly agreed	168	42	126	15,876	378
Agreed	17	42	-25	625	14.9
Neutral	3	42	-39	1,521	36.2
Strongly disagree	12	42	-30	900	21.4
Disagree	10	42	-32	1,024	24.3
Total	210	210	-	-	474.8

Source: Field work, March, 2022

Degree of freedom $(5 - 1) (5 - 1) = 4 \times 4 = 16$

$\chi^2 = \sum \frac{(FO-FE)^2}{FE}$ Where, \sum = summation, FO = observed frequency in a cell

FE = expected frequency of that cell. χ^2 Calculated = 474.8; χ^2 Tabulated with degree of freedom at 16 = 26.30

Level of significance = 0.05 and confidence level at 95%.

In using the Chi-Square, the obtained (calculated) value is compared with the critical (tabulated) value. If the obtained value is larger than the critical value, it then implies that it is unlikely to occur by chance. The obtained value above is larger than the critical value.

Decision Rule: The rule stated that if X^2 calculated is greater than X^2 tabulated, then the null hypothesis should be rejected and the alternative hypothesis should be accepted and vice versa.

Conclusion: Since X^2 calculated (474.8) is greater than X^2 tabulated (26.30), It indicated strong evidence against the null hypotheses and therefore be confident in concluding that the observed frequencies are significantly different from the frequency that would be obtained if all categories were equally distributed. In order words Mace is related to parliamentary proceedings in term of law making. The null hypothesis was rejected and the alternative hypotheses was accepted which stated that there is great significant relationship between the Mace and parliamentary proceeding in term of law making from 2015-2020.

If on the other hand the obtained Chi-Square value is smaller than the one in the table the null hypothesis cannot be rejected. It could be concluded that the variables are unlikely to be associated. In order to reject the null hypothesis, the final answer for the Chi-Square calculated must be greater or equal to the critical value.

Hypothesis two

H_0 : There is no specific significant role of the Mace in parliamentary proceedings.

H_1 : There is specific significant role of the Mace in parliamentary proceedings.

In testing hypothesis two (2) question 18 was selected. The question was, is it true that the Mace contributes to efficiency and effectiveness of the National Assembly?

Table 4.8 showed the responses of respondents to whether the Mace contributed to parliamentary practices especially when bills were to be considered in the chamber.

Table 4.8 Testing of hypothesis two (2)

Option	FO	FE	FO-FE	(FO-FE)²	$\frac{(FO-FE)^2}{FE}$
Strongly agreed	140	42	98	9,604	228.6
Agreed	63	42	21	441	10.5
Neutral	0	42	-42	1,764	42
Strongly disagree	4	42	-38	1,444	34.4
Disagree	3	42	-39	1,521	36.2
Total	210	210			351.7

Source: Field work, March, 2022

Degree of freedom $(5 - 1) (5 - 1) = 4 \times 4 = 16$

Using the chi-square Test with the formular

$X^2 = \sum \frac{(FO-FE)^2}{FE}$ Where \sum = summation, FO = observed frequency in the cell,

FE = expected frequency of that cell, level of significance at 0.05 and confidence level at 95%

X^2 Calculate =351.7, X^2 Tabulated at 16 degree of freedom was = 26.30

Decision Rule: The analysis of the result in table 4.8 revealed that the value of the calculated Chi-Square was 351.7 while the table value at 5% level of significance and degree of freedom at 16 was 26.30. The rule stated that if x^2 calculated is greater than x^2 tabulated, then the null

hypothesis should be rejected and the alternative hypothesis should be accepted and vice versa.

Conclusion: Since χ^2 calculated (351.7) is greater than χ^2 tabulated (26.30). This indicated strong evidence against the null hypothesis, therefore it was rejected and the alternative hypothesis was accepted which stated that there is specific significant role of the Mace in parliamentary proceedings.

Hypothesis three

H_0 : There is no significant relationship between the Mace snatching and parliamentary proceeding from 2015-2020.

H_1 : There is significant relationship between the Mace snatching and parliamentary proceedings from 2015-2020.

In testing hypothesis three (3) question twenty (20) was selected, the question was, did you agree that Mace snatching can bring parliamentary proceedings to a sudden end?

The Likert scale which assigned numbers to the options was used. According to **Meckaa (1992)** Likert invented a means of measuring responses to survey in 1932 where numbers were assigned to each option as shown; Strongly Agree = 5, Agree = 4, Neutral = 3, Strongly Disagree = 2, Disagree = 1

Table 4.9 Testing of hypothesis three (3)

Options	SA = 5	A = 4	N = 3	SD = 2	D = 1
Responses	200	2	0	4	4

Source: Field work, March, 2022

Substituting the formular; $r = \sum (SA \times 200) + (A \times 2) + (N \times 0) + (SD \times 4) + (D \times 4) \div n$

Where r = Likert measure of responses to survey, \sum = summation, n = total number of respondents (210)

$$\begin{aligned} r &= \sum (5 \times 200) + (4 \times 2) + (3 \times 0) + (2 \times 4) + (1 \times 4) \div 210 \\ &= \sum (1000 + 8 + 0 + 8 + 4) \div 210 \\ &= 1020 \div 210 = 4.666 = 4.7 = 5 \text{ to the nearest whole number.} \end{aligned}$$

Decision Rule: The rule stated that if r (Likert response to survey) was close to any of the options or was the same as any of the options (SA, A, N, SD or D). So, it was believed that the responses given was the same as the answer in the option. In this case r was the same as or equal to 5 which was the same as option A, which was Strongly Agreed.

Conclusion: Since r (Likert response to survey) was 5 which was the same as option A (Strongly Agree), it was therefore concluded that the respondents strongly agreed with the alternative hypothesis which stated thus, “there is significant relationship between the Mace snatching and parliamentary proceedings” from 2015-2020. The null hypothesis was therefore rejected.

Hypothesis four

H_0 : There is no significant effectiveness in the use of the Mace during parliamentary proceeding in the National Assembly.

H_1 : There is significant effectiveness in the use of the Mace during parliamentary proceeding in the National Assembly. In testing this hypothesis, question twenty-four (24) was selected. The question was, did you agree that the Mace gives legislators the authority to discuss national issues? Meckyaa (1992) stated that Rensis Likert invented a means of measuring responses to a survey in 1932. Likert assigned numbers for each option. That is; Strongly Agree (SA) = 1, Agree (A) = 2, Neutral (N) = 3, Strongly Disagree (SD) = 4, and Disagree (D) = 5.

Table 4.10 Testing of hypothesis four (4)

Items	SA =1	A =2	N =3	SD =4	D =5
Responses	200	10	0	0	0

Source: Field work, March, 2022

Substituting using the formular;

$$r = \frac{\sum (SA \times 200) + (A \times 10) + (N \times 0) + (SD \times 0) + (D \times 0)}{n}$$

where r = Likert measure of responses o survey.

Σ = Summation, n = total number of respondents (210)

$$r = \frac{\sum (1 \times 200) + (2 \times 10) + (3 \times 0) + (4 \times 0) + (5 \times 0)}{210}$$

$$= \frac{\sum (200 + 20 + 0 + 0 + 0)}{210}$$

$$= \frac{220}{210} = 1.04 = 1 \text{ to the nearest whole number.}$$

Decision Rule: The rule stated that if r (Likert responses to survey) was close to or the same as the options (SA, A, N, SD or D), so it was believed that the responses given was the same as the answer to option. In this case r = 1.0, which was the same as option A which was strongly agree.

Conclusion: Since r (response to Survey) was 1.0 which was the same as strongly agreed which was 1. Most respondents strongly agreed with the alternative hypothesis which stated that, there was a great significant effectiveness in the use of the Mace during parliamentary proceedings. This indicated strong evidence against the null hypothesis and was therefore, rejected.

4.4 Discussion of Findings

The study assessed the effectiveness of the Mace as a symbol of authority of the National Assembly from 2015-2020. In the course of carrying out this research, the demographic distribution of respondents showed that there were more male legislators than the female legislators. Considering the age in the National Assembly, it was found out that there were older legislators than the younger ones. That was the legislators were within the age bracket of forty (40) years to sixty-one years old. Also, it was found out that the legislators were all married. None of them was single, widow, widower nor divorce. Nigerians believe in religion. The study revealed that the respondents were either members of Christianity or Muslims. None of them was a member of the traditionalist nor Pegan. They either went to church or mosque. The legislators must be educated to a certain level before they were elected into the National Assembly. The study revealed that a lot of the respondents had their first-degree certificate and HND certificate. None of them was an o'level certificate holder as their highest academic qualification. The legislators were all educated with some having master degree and Ph.D certificates. The study revealed that all the legislators were politicians who either belonged to All Progressive Congress (APC) or People's Democratic Party (PDP). This did not mean that other political parties did not exist in the National Assembly. But the numbers of these political parties were very small compared to these two (2) major political parties of APC and PDP.

In considering the membership of the principal officers in in the National Assembly, there were only ten (10) principal officers in the senate and ten (10) in the House of Representatives from 2015-2020. The study revealed that only three (3) respondents were members of the principal officers. The remaining respondents were non principal officers. The numbers of principal officers compared to the numbers of all the legislators was infinitesimal (extremely small or minute) when compared.

The study revealed that most legislators have spent up to ten (10) years to fifteen (15) years in politics. Very few of them have spent from sixteen (16) years to twenty (20) years. Others were from twenty-one (21) years to twenty-five (25) years and twenty-six (26) years to thirty (30) years.

On term spent as a parliamentarian, considering 1st, 2nd, 3rd, and 4th term, the study revealed that legislators who were in their first term were more than the others. There were other legislators who have spent more than two terms and others were more than four terms. On category of respondents, the study revealed that members of legislators in the House of Representatives were more than those in the senate.

On general information of respondents, it was found out that the Mace had significant relationship with parliamentary proceedings. Many legislators agreed to this. It was also found that the legislators were of the view that the Mace enhanced parliamentary businesses. The Mace as being the authority and power of the National Assembly, a good number of them strongly agreed to this. To them, the National Assembly did not have any power of law making if the Mace was not in the chamber. Furthermore, it was found out that the Mace played a significant role in the parliamentary chamber during parliamentary proceedings. It was also revealed that the Mace gave protection to the presiding officers. But the protection was not absolute. This was because thugs can over-power the Sergeant-At-Arms to snatch the Mace and to some extent puts the life of the presiding officer in danger. It was found that it is mandatory for the Mace to be in the chamber during bills consideration. Bills can only be enacted into laws only when the Mace was presence in the chamber. The presence of the Mace was to guide against inappropriate law making. Also, it was found that Mace snatching during parliamentary which often brought parliamentary proceedings to a sudden stop. Again, it was found out that despite the fact that giving arms to the Sergeant-At-Arms to protect the Mace was discussed in the House of Representatives during the leadership of Hon. Yakubu

Dogara, nothing had been done to that effect. If the Sergeant-At-Arms were armed, the Mace will be protected and to a great extent the presiding officer would also be protected. The study also revealed that the legislators were not in charge of the Mace. Consequently, they did not need any professionalism in the handling of the Mace. They were just parliamentarians and not security personnel. The study revealed that to some extent the mace bearer used the Mace to calm down rowdy session. But this was not absolute as some legislators looked down on the mace bearer. The Mace was the only power and authority of the legislators when they were in the chamber.

It was revealed that Mace snatching was done only during parliamentary proceedings. The essence of Mace snatching was either to disrupt bills consideration, disrupt the parliamentary activities, remove the presiding officer or just on political ground. Finally, the effectiveness of the Mace was paramount to legislative activities. This was because the presiding officer relied on the Mace for proper deliberation and bills consideration. The use of the Mace in the chamber had made law making to be possible by the parliamentarians.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This chapter presented the summary and conclusion derived in the conduct of the study. It also provided recommendations that can be pursued by the benefiting authority concerned.

5.1 Summary of Finding.

The study was conducted at the National Assembly, Abuja, 2015 – 2020, on the topic, ‘Assessment of the effectiveness of the Mace in parliamentary proceedings as symbol of Authority of the National Assembly’. The respondents were the legislators and the chamber staff. The research work was conducted in the year 2022.

The respondents were arrived at using the random sampling technique. It employed the quantitative research survey method. Data was obtained through the administration of questionnaires. The statistical tools used were the simple percentage, tables, chi-square and the Likert scales.

The objectives of the study were to:

- (i) examine the relationship between the Mace and parliamentary proceedings in term of law making;
- (ii) examine the specific roles of the Mace during parliamentary proceedings;
- (iii) analyze the relationship between Mace snatching and parliamentary proceedings in regard to law making; and
- (iv) assess the effectiveness of the Mace in parliamentary proceedings in the National Assembly.

Anchored on the above the following findings were revealed:

- (i) Data gathered revealed that the value of X^2 calculated was greater than the value of X^2 tabulated at a significance level of 0.05, hence with 95% degree of freedom, there was significant relationship between the Mace and parliamentary proceedings in term of Law

making. Therefore, the null hypothesis was rejected while the alternative hypothesis was accepted.

(ii) Also, there was specific significant roles of the Mace in parliamentary proceedings. The null hypothesis was rejected and the alternative hypothesis was accepted.

(iii) Furthermore, data analyzed revealed that there was significant relationship between the Mace snatching and parliamentary proceedings. The null hypothesis was rejected and the alternative hypothesis was accepted.

(iv) Finally, there was specific effectiveness in the use of the Mace during parliamentary proceedings.

The implications of these findings for practice were that:

(a) the Mace should be properly protected to enable the law makers make laws for good governance without disruption,

(b) the National Assembly is the first arm of government saddled with the responsibility of law making. As such they need conducive environment to work,

(c) The Mace played a vital role in the chamber, snatching it meant lack of patriotism on the state and non-challan attitude of legislature and the politicians in general, and

(d) Snatching the Mace resulted to lack of trust by the electorates to the legislators.

The research work would be beneficial to the senators, members, House of Representatives, chamber staff, students and the general public at large. The limitations of the study were financial constraints, time factor, data collection and location of offices of respondents. These were discussed; literature review, parliamentary system of government, parliamentary procedures in Nigeria, origin and historical development of parliament in Nigeria, effectiveness of the Mace in the National Assembly, protocols surrounding the Mace, the mace bearer, Mace snatching, legislative quorum, empirical review and theoretical framework.

The methodology discussed the research design, study population, sampling technique, administration of questionnaires, methods of data collection and data analysis. The population of the study was 477, but using the Taro Yamane sampling technique, a sampled size of 218 respondents were arrived at. Out of the 218 questionnaires distributed only two hundred and ten (210) questionnaires were retrieved for analysis. Data was collected through the administration of questionnaires. The data were analyzed, presented, interpreted and discussed. Mace snatching and grabbing in the National Assembly was undemocratic to the parliament and needed to stop. The Mace is used during enactment of bills into laws, but, when the Mace is snatched, laws can no longer be made for good governance. Mace was often snatched during parliamentary proceedings which brought proceedings to a standstill.

5.2: Conclusion

Undoubtedly, the National Assembly is an indispensable institution of the state. The Mace has significant roles to play in enhancing sustainable development of the country through effective law making. To this effect successive parliamentarians have been using the Mace during bills consideration for effective law making. Through parliamentary convention that guides the use of the Mace in the chamber, which the Mace must not be taken out of the chamber, some legislators have not adhered to the convention. There is therefore, the need to embark on a strict measure to guide against the Mace in the chamber. The study has brought to bear in mind that the place of the Mace in parliamentary practices is paramount to the sustenance of democracy in Nigeria. In the absence of the Mace, there would not be law making and the judiciary would not have any law to interpret and the executive would have no law to implement. Legislative ethics is inevitable in guiding the conduct of legislators to avert corruption in the discharge of their official responsibilities of law making, oversight and representation. The impacts of corruption in the legislature have far reaching effects given the fact that this is the first arm of government that illuminates in any democratic system of

government. It is worth noting that, any calculated action of the legislators that would affect the effectiveness of the Mace will attract negative effects on the general outlook of the country. Mace snatching is a viral and antithetic to democratic ethos and as such demands firm, elaborated and codified ethical standards with spelt out penalties and enforcement against person(s) that may tend to deviate from those standards. The results suggested that, it is laudable to note that, legislators have made successive achievements in the use of the Mace. But unfortunately, the ugly incidences of corruption in the system have cast in a negative light due to failure to adhere to legislative ethics and conventions.

5:3 Recommendations

Today, the Nigerian state was faced with the problem of under-development. There was therefore, the need to embark on a realistic approach, workable and practical reform that has human face rather than the usual cosmetic on the proper protection of the Mace in the National Assembly. The following recommendations were proposed. First of all, there was the need for the legislators to enact laws which would be religiously implemented to guide against Mace snatching and grabbing in the parliament. This had to do with some negative reward like life imprisonment, outright removal from office and being banned from holding further political offices, if it was proven by a prudent court of law that such a person was involved in Mace snatching. Secondly, another realistic approach was for the management of National Assembly to focus on the Sergeant-At-Arms to give them proper protection for the Mace and the legislators. The National Assembly as a matter of urgency should train and retrain the Sergeant-At-Arms in the use of fire-arm and ammunitions in order to safeguard the Mace. Thirdly, sacrosanct to legislative businesses, the role of the Mace should be brought to the knowledge of the legislators at the point of entry into the National Assembly especially during orientation or inauguration such that no parliamentarian would have the right to touch or remove the Mace from the chamber. Fourthly, there was also the need to promote sound

policies on recruitment, training and re-training of the legislators on the use of the Mace in parliament for effective service delivery. These policies will contribute to enhancing and promoting professionalism and ethical values of honesty, integrity, confidentiality, political neutrality, accountability, discipline and transparency in the conduct of legislative businesses. Fifthly, more to this was the enforcement of legislative ethical standard with focus on ensuring consequences to those who may tend to subvert the ethical standards put in place. Hence, there was the need to strengthen and reposition the legislative instrument to guide the conduct of legislators. By so doing, the uppermost desire for good governance by the citizens will be ensured and the nation will be saved from moving aimlessly into regrettable political consequences arising from an effect of corruption that leads to Mace snatching.

Finally, since the effectiveness of the Mace as a symbol of authority of the National Assembly has been proven, the legislators should incorporate good ethical standard in the chamber to maintain quality law making for the country. Furthermore, the danger of corruption that had led to Mace snatching which truncate the process of law making and the survival of the National Assembly as a political entity should compel the leadership to devise more proactive measure to arrest the scourge.

Suggestions for Further Studies

Research is a continuous process; therefore, the researcher cannot claim to have done extensively well. In view of this, the researcher suggested that other researchers can conduct research work on the same topic or other related topics as it would produce an avenue for future researchers to develop upon. Such topic as:

- i. Assessment of the behavior of the legislators in the chamber.
- ii. What is the role of the Sergeant-At-Arms in handling the Mace in the chamber?
- iii. Maintenance of the parliamentary Mace.

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APPENDIX I

NATIONAL INSTITUTE FOR LEGISLATIVE AND DEMOCRATIC STUDIES (NILDS)
UNIVERSITY OF BENIN POST GRADUATE PROGRAMMES.

20th February, 2022

Letter of Introduction

Dear Distinguished Senator/Honorable Member/Chamber staff,

I am a Post Graduate student of the above-named institution with Matriculation Number PG/NLS1900074 undertaking a research work on the topic, “**Assessment of the effectiveness of the Mace in parliamentary proceedings as symbol of authority of the National Assembly, Abuja**” from 2015 – 2020 as part of the requirement for the award of Master’s Degree in Parliamentary Administration (MPD).

Your able assistance in releasing every information will be appreciated. Hence, your response shall be treated with strict confidentiality and used mainly for the purpose of this research work.

I would be grateful if my request shall be given due consideration.

Yours faithfully,

Dan Ringshak MUSA

APPENDIX II

Questionnaire

The questionnaire was divided into two (2) sections.

Section A. Personal Information.

Please tick, circle or underline as appropriate.

1. Sex A. male B female
2. Age. A. 30-40 years, B. 41-50years, C. 51-60years, D. 61 years and above.
3. Academic qualification A. O'Level B. SSCE C. ND/NCE D. HND/First Degree
E. Masters/PHD
4. Religion. A. Islam. B. Christianity C. Traditionalist D. Pegan
5. Marital Status. A. Married B. Single. C. Window D. Divorce
6. What is your political party? A. APC B. PDP C. APGA. D. Others.
7. Are you a member of the principal officers in the National Assembly? A. Yes B. No
8. How many years have you been into politics? A. 10-15 B. 16-20 C. 21-25 D. 26-30
9. Term (s) spent as a parliamentarian. A. 1st term B. 2nd term C. 3rd D. 4th term.
10. Category of respondents. A. Senator B. Member C. Chamber Staff

Section B. General Information

The keys to rating are Strongly Agreed (SA), Agreed (A), Neutral (N), Strongly Disagreed (SD) and Disagreed (D).

Question one. Is there any significant relationship between the Mace and parliamentary proceedings in term of law making from 2015-2020?

S/N	QUESTION	SA	A	N	SD	D
11	Does the Mace have any impact on parliamentary proceedings?					
12	Do you agree that the parliamentary proceedings can be enhanced through the use of the Mace?					
13	Is the Mace the only power and authority of the National Assembly?					
14	Is it true that the Mace gives protection to the presiding officers?					

Question two. What is the usefulness of the Mace during parliamentary proceedings from 2015-2020?

S/N	QUESTION	SA	A	N	SD	D
15	Is it mandatory for the Mace to presence in the chamber during bills consideration?					
16	Do you agree that bills can be enacted into laws in the absence of the Mace?					
17	Is the Mace used during inauguration of a new assembly?					
18	Is it true that the Mace contributes to efficiency and effectiveness of the National Assembly?					
19	Do you agree that bills can only be considered and enacted into laws only when the Mace is presence in the chamber?					

Question three. Is there any significant relationship between Mace snatching and parliamentary proceedings in the chamber from 2015-2020?

S/N	QUESTION	SA	A	N	SD	D
20	Do you agree that Mace snatching can bring parliamentary proceedings to an end?					
21	Do you agree that in order to give protection to the Mace the management of National Assembly has secured arms for sergeant-at-arms?					
22	Do you agree that lack of professionalism on the part of the parliamentarians leads to Mace snatching?					

Question four. How effective is the use of the Mace during parliamentary proceedings from 2015-2020?

S/N	QUESTION	SA	A	N	SD	D
23	Do you agree that the Mace bearer uses the mace to calm rowdy session during proceedings?					
24	Do you agree that the Mace gives the legislature the authority to discuss national issues?					
25	Do you agree that in the absence of the Mace there would not be procession into the chamber?					