



SOCIAL SCIENCES FOR BEGINNERS

VOL. II

**Sociology, Social Work, Criminology,
Psychology and Political Science**

Editors:

B. Salawu
U.A. Raheem
A.A. Abdullahi
L. Saka

A Publication of the Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Ilorin, Ilorin Nigeria

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter (Topics)	Page
Forward	iii.
1. Basic Concepts In Sociology	2-10
2. Sociology and Related Disciplines in the Social Sciences	11-20
3. Elements of Social Structure	21-28
4. Culture and Socialisation	29-39
5. Modernization, Civilization and the Nigerian Heritage	40-47
6. The Concepts of Culture and Heritage in Sociology	48-57
7. Social Work and Social Problems	58-64
8. Ethical Issues in Social Work	65-76
9. Gerontology and Geriatric Social Work Services	77-84
10. Fieldwork Practice and Reporting in Social Work	85-92
11. Ancient and Contemporary Nigerian Civilizations	93-104
12. Meaning, Nature and Scope of Criminology	105-114
13. The Criminological Schools of Thought: A General Overview	115-125
14. Introduction to Psychology	126-134
15. Perspectives, Theories and Personality Psychology	135-152
16. Psychoeducation of Drug Use and Abuse	153-161
17. Biological Basis of Behaviour and Human Development	162-175
18. Political Science: Methods, Approaches and Relationship with other Social Sciences Disciplines	176-185
19. Basic Concepts in Political Science	186-194
20. Government institutions and Separation of Powers	195-205
21. Legislative Process in Nigeria's National Assembly	206-217
22. Public Opinion, Pressure Groups and Political Parties	218-226
23. The Study of Comparative Politics	227-236
24. The Centrality of The State in Political Science	237-243
25. Political Parties and Pressure Groups – An Overview	244-250

Names of the Contributors

Adekeye Deborah Shade	Olatunji, Abdulganiyu	Tejideen T.O.
S. Z. Abdulbaqi	Issah, M.	Raji Abdullateef
Kelani, K. A	Salahu Tunde Saliman	Sunday Evaristus A.
Atiku Abdullateef Abiodun	Veta Oghenechoja D.	Mohammed Sanusi Y
Olanrewaju A. S.	Abdullahi A. A.	Abdullahi K. Ibrahim
Tomisin A. Akangbe	Obasanjo Solomon Balogun	Monsurat Isiaka
Olaseni, Abayomi O.	Ibrahim, B. A.	Oguntayo Rotimi.
Hassan A. Saliu	Luqman Saka	Aremu F. A.
Muhammad A. A.	Bakare Adebola Rafiu,	Aliu Fatima O.
Abubakar Abubakar	Oluwashina M. Adebisi,	Luqman Saka,
Taiye A. Awotunde	Ojo Emmanuel O.	Edun A. Jimoh
Abdulrasheed A. Isiaq		

Faculty of Social Sciences
 University Of Ilorin,
 Ilorin, Nigeria



C- Copyright Owner

The Faculty of Social Sciences
University of Ilorin, Ilorin Nigeria.

All right reserved, no part of this book should be reproduced or
transmitted in any format without prior permission of
the Dean of Faculty of Social Sciences
University of Ilorin, Ilorin Nigeria.

Published By
The Faculty of Social Sciences,
University of Ilorin, Ilorin Nigeria.

Printed and Bound in Nigeria

@

Impresmedia
Commercial Printing and Publisher

December. 2021.



ISBN 978-0-7566-3409-8

Foreword

The Social Sciences are dynamic areas of study that involve human behaviours in different settings, covering many human activities in relation to their environment. As human behaviours affect the milieus under which they exist and vice versa due to existential requirements, so also are attempts at understanding the changing times of the disciplines that come under the rubric of Social Sciences. The hallmark of the disciplines is that they are not cast in iron.

This underscores the essence of the field of Social Sciences that has many disciplines located within the broad field. We have Criminology, Economics, Environmental Management, Geography, Political Science, Psychology, Social Works, Sociology and others. These disparate disciplines are united by their common stuff, which is the study of man's attitude towards his environment.

This book titled: Social Sciences for Beginners attempts to capture the fundamental issues that are involved in studying Social Sciences as it relates to the University of Ilorin. Judging by the array of topics covered in the book, our students would no longer have to endure with the pain of having to consult the multiplicity of sources before they grasp with the basic elements that are involved in the study of Social Sciences.

I therefore congratulate the Dean of the Faculty of Social Sciences, Prof. I. P. Ifabiyi for the feat and indeed, all members of our Faculty. Our students and the general public would find value in going through the pages of the book.

Professor Hassan A. Saliu
Dean, FBSS, 2004 – 2008

CHAPTER TWENTY ONE

LEGISLATIVE PROCESS IN NIGERIA'S NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

BAKARE Adebola Rafiu, ALIU Fatima O. and ABUBAKAR Abubakar

Department of Political Science

INTRODUCTION

The legislature is sine qua non to democratic governance. Democracy cannot exist without the legislature. This is because it is the key institution that sustains the existence of democracy and distinguishes a democratic government from other forms of government. The legislature serves as the engine of democratic governance, because it is an organization that makes laws and the laws set the agenda for the government and regulate the conduct of the people. As important as the three arms of government are, democratic survival is largely anchored on the legislature. This is due to the strategic position which the legislature occupies in the democratic practice. It is the core institution that gives direction to people's participation in governance which is the epitome of democracy. Its significance and centrality stem out of the fact that it is un-dissociated from representative democracies as they are constructed around it or on the basis of it. Its inviolability is seen on the grounds that any attack against its composition or functioning is seen as a blow against democracy.

The legislature makes laws for the good governance of the polity and performs oversight functions on the executive to prevent democratic tyranny. The legislature also represents the people's interests in the government. The duties of the legislators are enormous. In performing the duties, there are certain established and documented procedures that the legislators must follow, failure to do so render the outcome null and void. It is against this backdrop that this chapter highlights the procedures of the legislature in performing its functions.

Definition and Functions of the Legislature

There are different definitions which explain the legislature from different perspectives. Oni (2013) defined the legislature as the primary mechanism of popular sovereignty that provides for the people's representation in governance and accommodates their diverse interests in a multicultural and sub-national society. This definition shows that the legislature as the product of people's choice determines what happens in the institution. In another perspective, the legislature is often defined on the basis of function and institutional composition. In this regard, it is seen as the representative Assembly of persons statutorily empowered to make laws for a locality, state or country.

Ihedioha (2012) defined the legislature as an assemblage of the representatives of the people elected under a legal framework to make laws for the good health of the society. It is also defined as "the institutional body responsible for making laws for a nation and one through which the collective will of the people or part of it is articulated, expressed and implemented" (Okoosi-Simbine, 2010:1). The legislature is defined as an institution having the role of

revising, amending and repealing laws for the advancement and well-being of the citizenry that it represents. Lafenwa (2009) shared this perspective when he defined the legislature as an official body, usually chosen by election, with the power to make, change, and repeal laws; as well as powers to represent the constituent units and control government.

However, Best (2014) agreed that the legislature makes and changes laws, but was quick to caution that there is limitation to the power through delegated legislation as the executive sometimes have the power to also make laws. Similarly, the legislature is also defined on the basis of its watchdog roles as captured in the doctrine of checks and balances. It is seen as an institution through which the people make the political elites to be accountable to them and also check their excesses. Carey (2006) noted this when he conceptualized the legislature as a body with large membership that offers the possibility both to represent more accurately the range of diversity in the polity and to foster closer connections between representatives and voters. This portrays the legislature as a control mechanism using legislation to control all economic, social and political activities of the nation. It also scrutinizes the policies of the Executive and provides the framework for the judiciary to operate.

From the foregoing definitions, four functions of the legislature can be identified.

These are:

- i. Lawmaking:** This is the act of making laws for the regulation of citizens' activities and government's conduct. The essence of the laws is to create a peaceful atmosphere that can guarantee the safety of lives and properties of all the inhabitants of the country as well as prevent some privileged people from subjugating others. Laws are made through the processing and passage of Bills. A Bill must be signed by the executive or vetoed by the legislators before such becomes law.
- ii. Representation:** Since direct democracy as practiced in the ancient Greek-city states is no more possible, electing or appointing some people to represent others in the legislative assemblies becomes inevitable. These appointed or elected people represent the interest of their constituencies during the debates on how government will be administered and how scarce resources will be distributed.
- iii. Oversight:** In politics, it is often said that "absolute power corrupts absolutely". In view of this, the legislature serves as a watchdog to other arms of government to avoid abuse of power and administrative recklessness in line with the principle of checks and balances. The essence of this function is to ensure that the executive strictly complies with the rules guiding the execution of government policies and projects to avoid corruption.
- iv. Budgeting/Appropriation:** The legislature debates and passes proposed budget prepared by the executive. By this, the legislature appropriates fund which the executive can spend on policies and projects. This is to avoid financial recklessness, embezzlement and misappropriation of public fund. It is as a result of this function that the legislature is said to have the 'power of the purse'.

Committee System in the Legislature

By human nature, the larger the number of people in a group, the more difficult it is to arrive at a decision. In view of this, given the largeness of the legislature, it becomes extremely

difficult to meet up with the expectations as decision making process is very slow. To solve this problem, the legislature creates Committee System to conduct its businesses. Members are distributed into committees based on cognate experience, interest or hobby. However, a legislator may belong to more than one committee. In fact, he/she can be the Chairman of a committee and, at the same time, an ordinary member of another committee. The committee system is a major way by which the legislature conducts its business. The committees carry out specific assignments and report to the plenary where the whole members of the legislature approve or reject such reports. The committee system is very important because most of the works of the legislature are done at the committee level. In Nigeria, section 62 of the 1999 constitution (as amended) provides for the possibility of the establishment of Committees and grants the National Assembly the express power to determine the type and number of such Committees as well as the membership strengths and regulation of the Committees. This is not peculiar to Nigeria. All legislatures across the world give prominence to Committee system because it is central to legislative effectiveness (Patterson, 2002; Ijaiya, 2010; Alabi, 2017; Mayhew, 2000; and Fashagba, 2010).

There are six (6) types of committees in the legislature. These are:

- i. Committee of the Whole:- This committee has all legislators as members and the presiding officer of the legislature as its chairman. The committee meets to consider the report of other committees. Based on this, it is most powerful committee in the legislature.
- ii. Special Committee:- These are committees statutorily created to set the template for the workings of the legislature. They are usually permanent for all Assemblies and the number can neither be increased nor decreased. The members and functions are also specified by laws. They are as important as the legislature itself because their activities are crucial to the legislative proceedings.

These committees in Nigerian legislature are:

- (a) Committee on Selection
- (b) Committee on Rules and Business
- (c) Committee on House services
- (d) Committee on Public Petitions
- (e) Committee on Public Accounts
- (f) Committee on Ethics and Privileges
- (g) Committee on Media and Public Affairs.
- iii. Standing Committee:- These committees are established as socio-economic and political situations of a country dictate. Several factors such as number of ministries, departments and agencies (MDAs), policy direction, personality politics, and party and external actors' priority, among others, influence the number and membership of the Committees. The implication is that the number of the Committees may increase or decrease in successive Assemblies, unlike the Special Committees whose number is static.
- iv. Ad hoc Committee:- This committee is created as the need arises and it stands dissolved once the specific assignment that necessitated its creation is concluded.
- v. Conference Committee:- This is a committee whose members are drawn from both

chambers in a bicameral legislature to harmonize the differences that exist in the Bill passed by both chambers. Its essence is to resolve the differences of both chambers and take a middle position acceptable to both chambers. The committee is also like an ad hoc committee because, once the differences in the Bill are harmonized and report is submitted to the legislature for approval, the committee stands dissolved immediately the Bill is passed.

- vi. **Joint Committee:-** This committee also has members that cut across both chambers in a bicameral legislature. Unlike the conference committee, the joint committee is permanent and mostly created by law. For example, section 62(3) of the 1999 constitution of Nigeria (as amended) mandated the Senate and House of Representatives to establish a 'Joint Committee on Finance' with equal number of members from each chamber. In addition, the provision also empowers both chambers to willfully establish such other joint committees as deemed fit should the need arise.

Basic Concepts in the Legislature

There are a number of concepts used in the legislature. These include legislative terminologies as well as instruments used in the performance of legislative activities.

- i. **Mace:** This is regarded as the symbol of authority of the legislature. It is usually made in the form of a long stick with the coat of arms of the country on it. It is usually placed on the table in front of the presiding officer. Without the mace, no legislative activities can hold in the legislature.
- ii. **Gavel:** This is a wooden hammer which the presiding officer bangs on a flat wood to signal approval of a decision taken in the legislature. It is used both on the floor of the legislature and during committee hearings.
- iii. **Clerk:** This is a person, usually a civil servant, who records and takes minutes of legislative proceedings.
- iv. **Sergeant-at-arm:** This is a person who carries the mace and also responsible for its safe keeping in the legislature.
- v. **Gallery:** The gallery is the place that looks like a theater where all legislators meet to debate and take decisions. It is also referred to as the floor of the legislature or hallowed chamber
- vi. **Public Hearing:** This is a meeting usually conducted by the standing and ad hoc committees to allow the public to make input to legislative activities
- vii. **Plenary:** This is the meeting of the whole legislators at the gallery where they debate and take decisions. It is an open meeting that can be aired on the television and could be witnessed by interested observers who will only sit at a place provided for that purpose in the gallery but cannot contribute to discussions of the legislators.
- viii. **Voice Voting:** This is a process of voting by voice. After a debate, the presiding officer will raise the issue and those who agree with it will say 'aye' (meaning 'Yes') and those who oppose it will say 'nay' (meaning 'No'). The louder voice wins the debate. The presiding officer will pronounce the winner as he bangs the gavel on the round flat wood.

Sources of Legislative Procedure

Legislative procedures simply refer to the process and institutional framework that guide the activities of the legislators both in the legislature and on the field. It also refers to the rules and regulations that guide the conduct of legislators while performing their duties. The primary responsibility given to the legislature by the constitution is to make law but the art of making these laws is guided by legislative procedures. Basically, there are four (4) sources of legislative procedures.

These are:

- i. **Constitution and Statutory Authority:** This contains the detail provisions dealing with the operations of the legislature as stated in the constitution of a country. For example, it is required that the legislators choose a member among themselves to preside over the affairs of the legislature. Similarly, a quorum must be formed before legislative proceedings can commence.
- ii. **Standing Orders:** These are rules and regulations enacted by the legislature to guide the affairs and conduct both in the house and outside. The power to make such rules and regulations and their binding force is usually stated in the constitution. For example, section 60 of the Nigerian 1999 constitution (as amended) gives the legislature power to establish such rules and regulations.
- iii. **Traditional or Customary Practices:** These are practices and conventions that are neither derived from the constitution nor standing orders which are commonly used and have become binding over time. Any member who violates it can be sanctioned. An example is the rule that legislators should not discuss any matter of the legislature with journalists except a particular legislator appointed as spokesperson is authorized to do so.
- iv. **Rulings from the Chair:** These are decisions taken by the presiding officers on matters before the legislature. If there is a debate or voice voting, the presiding officer gives the final verdicts (National Assembly, 2011).

Definition and Origins of Bills

A bill is the draft of a proposed law to be discussed by the legislators. All laws regardless of their classification emanated from Bills. A Bill only becomes law when such is signed by the executive or vetoed into law by the legislators through the power of legislative veto (two-third majority approval). There are basically two types of Bills. The first is *Money Bill* which deals with issues relating to how public fund will be spent. The other one is *Ordinary Bill* which relates to other laws excluding monetary issue. Regardless of the type, Bills can originate from four (4) sources.

These are:

- i. The Executive
- ii. Members of the Legislature
- iii. Judiciary
- iv. Individual Citizen, Interest Groups or Association

A Bill can be initiated by the executive (executive Bill), legislators (members Bill) or the judiciary (called judicial Bill). Bills can also emanate from any member of the public,

organizations, development partners, political parties, interest groups, among others. In this case, such Bill must be given to a legislator (regardless of the constituency) who shares the position or ideology of the Bill. The legislator will be the one that will present the Bill as its sponsor in the National Assembly. In addition, the judiciary, though with the power to sponsor a Bill, seldom does (National Assembly, 2011). This is, perhaps, as a result of the power of the bench to make laws which if it is done by a superior court becomes a judicial precedence for courts of the same and lower jurisdiction.

Stages of Bill Processing (How a Bill becomes Law)

The process of making laws in all legislatures across the world is similar especially in countries using presidential system of government. There is procedural uniformity among legislatures on how a Bill becomes law. Though the difference between that of the bicameral and unicameral legislatures is not more than the fact that under a bicameral setting all Bills passed by one chamber must be passed by the other while it is not under a unicameral setting. In a democratic setting, all laws emanate from Bills. This shows that the first point in the process of lawmaking is the submission of a proposed law in the form of Bill to the legislature which is constitutionally required to debate and pass such Bill if found to be useful for the promotion of good governance.

The process is expressly stated in the constitution of a country. However, there are other laws guiding the process but not stated in the constitution, though such laws must be acknowledged by the constitution and must be without prejudice to the provision of the constitution. For instance, while section 4 (1-5) and section 58 (1-5) of the Nigerian 1999 constitution (as amended) grants the National Assembly the power to make laws, the art of making the law is guided by legislative procedure as provided for in section 60 of the constitution. The legislative procedure is found in Standing Orders (of both Senate and House of Representatives), various Statutes, Conventions and presiding officers' ruling, among others.

Regardless of how a Bill emanates, all Bills follow the same procedure. The process of lawmaking typically entails nine stages which must be followed sequentially. Patterson (2002: 324) asserted that the process of lawmaking in most democracies can be short circuited. In this way, some Bills could be considered by the legislature before bypassing some stages. For instance, Bills that are of national importance and urgency (such as supplementary appropriation in case of emergency or drafting of the military during wars) can be discussed at the Committee of a Whole bypassing the Standing Committee. In other way, Bills considered not worthwhile may be killed right at the third stage (i.e. during floor debate and 2nd reading) and/or the sponsor(s) may be asked to recast them for further consideration. Using Nigeria as a point of reference, every Bill must statutorily receive three readings before its passage. Though there are other stages in-between the three readings. The first stage entails that a Bill emanating from the executive, legislators or judiciary must be accompanied by a covering memo personally signed by the President in the case of executive Bill, sponsoring legislator(s) in the case of members Bill or the Chief Justice in the case Judicial Bill and addressed to the Senate President or the Speaker of the House.

The presiding officer (where applicable) in turn instructs the Clerk to number and publish such Bill in the Schedule of Bills in the official gazette or National Assembly journal and send to all the lawmakers. This serves as a notice of presentation to all lawmakers (National Assembly, 2016). A copy of the Bill will also be given to the Rules and Business Committee who will schedule the Bill for first reading. On the scheduled date for first reading, the Clerk of the Senate or House (where applicable) is called upon by the presiding officer to read the short title of the Bill. At this stage, no debate will be allowed on the Bill. It is usually a formality stage to acquaint the lawmakers with the schedule of the Bill.

The Rules and Business Committee will then give a date for the second reading thereby giving the lawmakers enough time to read, digest and research on the Bill (National Assembly, 2011). This is regarded as the second stage of the Bill making process. On the other hand, if the Bill in question is a 'Money Bill' (i.e. appropriation Bill, Supplementary appropriation Bill or any other Bill for payment, issue or withdrawal from the Consolidated Revenue Fund), the President or his/her representatives will on the day of its presentation to the joint sitting of the Senate and House of Representatives read the summary of the content to the hearing of all present. This is considered as the first reading in such case.

This is followed by the third stage which is one of the most important stages in the lawmaking process. This is because it is mostly the date a Bill can be killed or made to proceed to the next stage. On the scheduled date, the presiding officer calls the Senate or House Leader to announce the Bill and subsequently calls on the sponsor (or lead sponsor in the case of joint sponsorship) to move a motion that the Bill be read the second time. A seconder is required before the presiding officer can open the floor for debate on the importance or otherwise of the Bill. While moving the motion, the sponsor(s) usually uses the opportunity to explain the importance of the Bill and tactically solicits for support of the members in passing the Bill. At this stage, there is room for amendment to the Bill during the debate.

After the debate for and against the Bill, the presiding officer will put it in question on whether the Bill is approved or not. If the Bill scales through, the presiding officer calls the Clerk to read the Bill title and the presiding officer declares it to have been read the second time and commits it to a relevant Committee for further legislative activities. It is pertinent to note that a Bill can be committed to two or more Committees depending on the scope of the Bill. In such case, the Committee with major stake will be the main Committee, while other(s) will be Sub-Committee(s). This is referred to as 'joint referral'. For example, if there is a Bill in the House of Representatives to establish a University of Science and Technology, such Bill could be committed to three Committees: House Committee on Tertiary Education and Services; House Committee on Science and Technology; and House Committee on Information Technology.

The Speaker can use his/her prerogative power to decide which of the three Committees becomes the main one and others to become the Sub-Committees. In any case, the presiding officer is statutorily empowered to single-handedly decide which Committee to handle the Bill based on his/her judgment. It is worthy to note that a Bill can be killed at this stage if the highest number of lawmakers oppose it during the debate and voting.

The fourth stage is when the Standing Committee engages in the clause by clause consideration of the Bill. As noted by Patterson (2002), most of the legislative works take place at the Committee stage, especially by the Standing Committees. The Committee also has the technical power to kill a Bill when, in the wisdom of members, such Bill is

considered not worthwhile for further legislative actions. Though the Committee has no final say on it, rather it can only make recommendations to the House which is empowered by section 62(4) of the 1999 constitution (as amended) to decide the fate of such Bill. If a Bill is considered by the Committee to have merit or potential, the Committee can organize public hearings by inviting stakeholders that have *locus standi* on such Bill. The contributions at the public hearings assist the Committee members in taking decision during the preparation of its recommendation (whether positive or negative). At this stage, the Committee can also amend the Bill where necessary (Patterson, 2002). If the Bill is considered to be of merit, the Committee will recommend it for further legislative actions in its report to be submitted at Plenary. The Chairman of the Standing Committee will request for a date from the Rules and Business Committee to submit its report. On the assigned date, the Chairman of the Standing Committee will be called to present the report on the Mace table. The report will be circulated to members and five days or more may be given to them to study the report and prepare their contributions (National Assembly, 2011).

The fifth stage is the consideration of the report by the Committee of the Whole. On the scheduled date, the Senate or House retires into a Committee of the Whole where the presiding officer becomes the Chairman and is addressed as such. The presiding officer will descend to the lower chair (where the Clerk normally sits), the Clerk takes the place of his/her assistants, the Mace will be lowered to the lower bracket and the legislative proceeding is conducted in informal way where members are allowed to talk while sitting. After the discussion, the Senate/House goes back to Plenary and the Mace is brought back to the upper bracket. Upon the approval of the Bill at the Committee of the Whole, the presiding officer gives the summary of the decision taken at the Committee of the Whole and put up a question on whether or not such is the true reflection of what transpired at the Committee of the Whole. If approved, the leader of the Senate/House then moves a motion that the report of the Committee of the Whole be adopted.

If adopted, all is set for the third reading. Though, order 12, rule 10(1) of the House of Representatives (likewise the Senate's) makes provision for re-committal of a Bill to another Committee of the Whole if fresh provision, amendment or deletion of a section of the Bill is desired by a member(s) provided the House approves such motion. The sixth stage is the final stage of the three phase that a Bill is statutorily read. On the scheduled date as decided by the Rules and Business Committee, the presiding officer put up a question on whether the Bill be read the third time. At this stage, there is room for minor amendments. If approved, the presiding officer orders that the Bill be read the third time and declare it passed.

The Clerk is instructed to produce a 'clean copy' of the Bill to be sent to the other chamber for concurrence passage. This leads to the seventh stage. For instance, if a Bill is passed in the Senate, the Clerk of the Senate prepares and signs the clean copy of the passed Bill, endorsed by the Senate President and forwarded to the Clerk of the House of Representatives with a covering memo desiring its concurrence (National Assembly, 2011). The Bill will follow the above described procedure from the beginning to the passage stage. Section 58(1-3) of the 1999 constitution (as amended) expressly makes provision for this process as a mode of

exercising general federal legislative power. If passed in the House exactly as passed in the Senate, a clean copy will be prepared by the two Clerks, signed and endorsed by the two presiding officers and forwarded to the Clerk of the National Assembly for enrolment (the 8th stage).

However, if there are differences in the Bill as passed by the two chambers (i.e. if a Bill is not passed in an identical form), a Conference Committee will be requested by the originating House. Such Committee will comprise members from both chambers with the objective of reconciling the differences between the two chambers over the provisions of the Bill. Each chamber is expected to appoint members of the Conference Committee in accordance with the provisions of its rules. Upon their appointment by the presiding officers, the members are referred to as 'Conferees' or 'Managers' (National Assembly, 2011: 91). The major duty of the Conference Committee is to reach a compromise and agreement on the versions of the two chambers. The outcome of the meeting is put as a Conference report to be considered at a date scheduled by the Rules and Business Committees of each chamber. If the conference report (or any part of it) is rejected by one or the two chambers, a new Conference Committee is set up to re-consider the disputed area(s).

However, if the report is adopted as presented (in an identical form), the Clerk of the chamber where the Bill originated from will be instructed to prepare a clean copy and forward same to the Clerk of the National Assembly who is statutorily expected to compare same with the version of the other chamber to ensure correctness and identical nature in line with the Section 2 of the Authentication Act 2004. The eighth stage is the enrolment stage. The Clerk to the National Assembly, having certified the authenticity of the Bill, will prepare two clean copies to be forwarded to the President for his/her assent. The authority to do such is provided for in Section 2(1) of the Authentication Act 2004 which states that:

"The Clerk to the National Assembly shall forthwith after enactment, prepare a copy of each Bill as passed by both Houses of the National Assembly embodying all amendments agreed to, and shall endorse on the Bill and sign a certificate that the copy has been prepared as prescribed and is a true copy of that Bill (as cited in National Assembly, 2011: 93)."

The final stage is the Presidential assent. The two copies of the Bill sent by the Clerk to the National Assembly are expected to be signed into law by the President if he/she is satisfied with the content. Upon signing the passed Bill into law, it becomes an Act of the National Assembly and takes enforcement from the date of assent. The President will keep a copy and send a copy back to the Clerk of the National Assembly who in turn will instruct the Government Printer to print the Act in triplicate on vellum or parchment paper. The Clerk of the National Assembly retains one copy for the National Assembly's record; send one to the President for executive record and implementation purpose and forward the third copy to the Chief Justice of Nigeria where it is finally enrolled in the Supreme Court's record for interpretation purpose. However, if the President is dissatisfied with the provisions of the Bill, he/she can withhold his/her assent. This is a way of checking the excesses of the National Assembly and it is referred to as 'executive veto'. In response to this, section 58(5) provides that:

(a) "Where the President withholds his assent and the Bill is again passed by each House by two-thirds majority, the Bill shall become law and the assent of the President shall not be required"

This provision gives the National Assembly the authority to check the power of the President such is referred to as 'legislative veto'. However, this power can only be enforced with a caveat as provided in Order 12, Rule 12(b-c) of the House of representatives that:

"(b) Where the President withholds his assent to a Bill or does not communicate his assent within 30 days from the date the Bill was sent to him for assent, the House shall again deliberate on the Bill."

"(c) If the House rejects the President's amendment and agrees to override the President's veto, then the Bill shall become Law if it is again passed by the House and the Senate by two-thirds majority, and the assent of the President shall not be required."

This shows that the law allows the President the period of 30 days to either assent or withdraw his assent before the National Assembly could override his veto. However, if the President is dissatisfied with the legislative veto, he can approach the Supreme Court to challenge the validity of such law. For instance, if the Judiciary finds such law to be in conflict with the provisions of the constitution or in its wisdom believes that such law is not made in the interests of the country and for the purpose of good governance, the court can declare it null and void. This is referred to as 'judicial review'. In such case, if the National Assembly is not satisfied with the judgment, it can re-initiate a fresh Bill with same content under a modified heading or slight changes especially in the area(s) of contention and follow the legislative procedure from beginning to have the new Bill passed and send same to the President for assent. The cycle can continue as long as possible.

In conclusion, a number of issues could be deduced from the foregoing analysis. It can be deduced that there are various critical actors involved in the lawmaking making process aside the lawmakers. These include: the executive, judiciary, civil society organizations, political parties, developmental partners and the citizens. The lawmaking procedure is somewhat complicated, tedious and time consuming. Perhaps, this is why the gestation periods of many Bills are very long thereby militating against legislative effectiveness of the National Assembly. The analysis also shows that an average lawmaker must be a good salesman. This is because good salesmanship skills are needed to galvanize and attract support for a Bill to be passed. A good Bill without prior lobbying is likely to be killed, regardless of the potential benefits, except in few cases (Solomon, 2016).

The process allows for actions and reactions. For instance, a killed Bill can be repackaged for fresh presentation as long as the sponsor(s) addresses the area(s) that led to the death of the Bill in the first instance. The same applies to passed Bills which the President denies assent. In essence, the process also allows for separation of powers and checks and balances which are the hallmarks of democracy. It also allows for the people's participation in the determination of how they are governed. This is done through submission of memoranda and oral contributions during public hearings; a situation which seldom happen with other

organs of government as well as non-democratic systems. This is why many scholars of democracy and legislative practitioners argued that the legislature epitomizes the presence of democracy in any polity (Saliu&Bakare, 2016; Alabi&Fashagba, 2010; Volden& Wiseman, 2013). The process is highly procedural and can hardly be manipulated by powerful or dominating groups or individuals. The procedure is already documented in statutes and legislative traditions and it is almost the same in all democracies practicing bicameral legislature. The analysis in this paper shows the importance and indispensability of the Rules and Business Committee in the lawmaking process. Perhaps, this shows why most Assemblies show concern over who becomes Chairman and members of the Committee in every dispensation.

REFERENCES

- Alabi, M. O. A. and Fashagba, J. Y. (2010). The Legislature and Anti-corruption Crusade under the Fourth Republic of Nigeria: Constitutional Imperatives and Practical Realities. *International Journal of Politics and Good Governance* 1. 1:2 Quarter II.
- Alabi, O. (2017). Parliament within Parliament: The Committee System of the Legislature. Available on line at <https://www.abusidiqu.com/parliament-within-parliament-committee-system> (Accessed on November 22, 2017).
- Best, S. G. (2014). The Legislature in a Democratic Setting. In S. G. Tyoden (ed.) *Legislators and the Legislature: A Guide for Legislators in Nigeria*. Kuru: National Institute for Policy and Strategic Studies (NIPSS).
- Carey, J. M. (2006). Legislative Organisation. In R. A. W. Rhodes, S. A. Binder and B. A. Rockman (eds). *The Oxford Handbook of Political Institution*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.pp:431-454.
- Fashagba, J. Y. (2010). The Committee System and Legislative Efficiency: The Case of Kwara State House of Assembly. *Nigeria Journal of Legislative Affairs*, 3(1&2):.
- Federal Republic of Nigeria. (1999). *Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria*. Lagos: Federal Government Printer.
- Ihedioha, E. (2012). The Legislature: Roles, Misconceptions and Experience in Democratic Nigeria. A Paper Presented at a Public Lecture Organized by the Department of Political Science, University of Lagos in July 2012.
- Ijaiya, G. (2010). Legislative Committees and Oversight Functions in Nigeria. *Nigerian Journal of Legislative Affairs* 3.1&2:159-169.
- Lafenwa, S. A. (2009). The Legislature and the Challenges of Democratic Governance in Africa: the Nigerian Case. A Draft Seminar Paper Prepared for Distribution at a Conference Organized by the Politics and International Studies (POLIS), Centre for African Studies, University of Leeds with assistance from EADI Working Group on Governance and Development on "Democratization in Africa: Retrospective and Future Prospects", December 4-5, 2009, at University of Leeds, United Kingdom.
- Mayhew, D. R. (2000). *America's Congress*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- National Assembly. (2011). *A Handbook on Legislative Practice and Procedure of the National Assembly*. Abuja: NASS.
- National Assembly. (2016). *Standing Orders of the House of Representatives, Ninth Edition*. Abuja: House of Representatives.
- Okoosi-Simbine, A.T. (2010). Understanding the Role and Challenges of the Legislature in the Fourth Republic: the Case of Oyo State House of Assembly. *Nigerian Journal of Legislative Affairs*, 3(1&2), 1-27.
- Oni, S. (2013). The Legislature and Constituency Representation in the Fourth Republic of Nigeria's Democratic Governance. *Ife Psychologia*, 21(2): 232-242.
- Patterson, T. E. (2002). *We the People: A Concise Introduction to American Politics*. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Saliu, H. A. and Bakare, A. R. (2016). An Assessment of the Performance of the 7th National Assembly in Nigeria. Paper presented at the National Conference on the Dynamics of Democratic Practice in Nigeria, 1999-2015, organized by Aminu Kano Centre for Democratic Research and Training, Mambayya House, Bayero University, Kano on November 9-10.
- Solomon, G. O. (2016). Interview with Sen. Ganiyu O. Solomon [Senate 6th and 7th (Minority Whip) Assemblies; House Member, 5th Assembly; Executive Chairman, Mushin Local Government, Lagos State (1999-2003)] in his Lagos residence on February 9.
- Volden, C. and Wiseman, A. E. (2013). *The Lawmakers*. Available online at (Accessed on July 13, 2013). http://polisci.emory.edu/home/cslpe/conference_2013/papers/Craig_Volden_Ch2_Ch4.pdf