

Bureaucratic Bottleneck and Legislative Delays: A Study of Policy Implementation in the National Assembly (The 8th Assembly).

Blessing Onyinyechi Eke, PhD¹, Atiku Ibrahim, PhD², Salisu Danladi Umar, PhD³, Chinwe Ekedozie, PhD⁴

¹Senior Legislative Aide to the Deputy Speaker House of Representative National Assembly, Abuja.

²Secretary of Finance and Accounts National Assembly, Abuja

³Director (Rtd) Senate Committee on Appropriations National Assembly, Abuja.

⁴Administrative Officer, Senate Committee on Appropriations National Assembly, Abuja.

ABSTRACT

This study interrogates the relationship between bureaucratic bottlenecks, legislative delays, and policy implementation in Nigeria's National Assembly, using the Eighth Assembly (2015–2019) as its reference point. The paper adopts a qualitative, documentary research design based on the structural-functionalist framework, using secondary data from constitutional provisions, legislative records, institutional publications and existing scholarly literature. The study finds that although the parliamentary bureaucracy is constitutionally empowered under Section 51 of the 1999 Constitution to provide administrative, research, and technical support to the legislature, its effectiveness during the Eighth Assembly was substantially constrained by rigid hierarchical procedures, inadequate staffing in critical directorates, weak inter-agency coordination, and politically induced frictions that trailed the emergence of the Senate President and Speaker in 2015. These constraints combined to slow bill processing, prolong committee proceedings, and delay the passage of the federal budget, most notably the 2018 Appropriation Act, whose passage took over six months, the longest in the history of Nigeria's Fourth Republic. Although the Eighth Senate recorded an unprecedented number of bills passed within its four-year tenure, the study observes a wide gap between legislative output and actual policy implementation, as many bills were either not transmitted for assent, not signed into law, or scarcely translated into concrete policy outcomes. The paper concludes that bureaucratic inefficiency and legislative delay are mutually reinforcing, and recommends the professionalisation and insulation of the National Assembly bureaucracy from partisan interference, the digitisation of legislative processes, and the institution of statutory timelines for bill and budget passage.

KEYWORDS: Bureaucratic bottleneck, legislative delay, policy implementation, National Assembly, Eighth Assembly, legislative bureaucracy

ARTICLE DETAILS

Published On:
30 July 2026

Available on:
<https://ijrsr.org/>

1.0 INTRODUCTION

The Nigerian government's legislative branch is called the National Assembly. The National Assembly has the authority to enact laws under Section 4(1)(2)(3) of the 1999 Constitution, as amended, which it must use for the federation's peace, order, and good governance. In any democracy, the legislature is essential to preventing the executive from going too far, ensuring integrity in the way the government conducts business, and strengthening accountability from the government to the governed (Hamalai, 2011). For democratic governance to run smoothly, legislative bodies must provide effective public services (Wilson, 2023). The Nigerian National Assembly, like any other public or commercial institution, needs an efficient bureaucracy to perform its representation, oversight and lawmaking functions. The National Assembly bureaucracy is established by Section 51 of the 1999 Constitution, which provides that:

“There shall be a Clerk to the National Assembly and such other staff as may be prescribed by an Act of the National Assembly, and the method of appointment of the Clerk and other staff of the National Assembly shall be as prescribed by the Act” (Federal Republic of Nigeria Official Gazette, 2011, Section 51, p. 27).

The top echelon of the legislative bureaucracy during the early colonial era was dominated by expatriates, primarily Europeans, who were selected from the British House of Commons to support the various legislative councils, including the Lagos colony, the

1861 Legislative Council, and the 1951 Legislative Council created by the Clifford Constitution (Bureaucracy and Law Making, 2005). However, according to the National Assembly Statistical Information (Volume 7, 2019), the legislative bureaucracy under the Littleton Constitution of 1954 was a fully functional legislative bureaucracy dominated by Nigerians (Debate of the Nigerian Legislative, 1954).

The legislative bureaucracy was essentially the same as it had been in the pre-independence era, when the country became independent in 1960. Because it shared authority with the executive, the parliament did not need a complex bureaucracy. The majority of legislative activity during that time was completed in the executive branch and merely required the legislature's approval. The military's forcible takeover of Nigerian politics on January 15, 1966, hindered the growth of the parliamentary bureaucracy. This resulted in the dissolution of political institutions, with the legislative branch suffering the most, as its personnel were transferred to the Federal Civil Service.

Bureaucracy and its proper functioning translate the political will of a country into concrete policy measures and execute them for the achievement of national goals. The adequacy and efficiency of the public bureaucracy are therefore very important to all areas of the development process; officers who work in the National Assembly's chamber, official reporting, management of finances and expenditure, legal services, information and communication, medical, maintenance, printing, library, and research services, among other fundamental support services, are employed there. The extent to which the legislature can discharge its duties depends largely on the availability of effective, efficient, proactive and goal-oriented bureaucrats who provide sufficient support services for the legislature to enable it to fulfil its constitutional obligations. It is against this background that this study assesses how bureaucratic procedures and legislative delays influence effective policy implementation in Nigeria's National Assembly (the 8th Assembly).

1.1 Statement of the Problem

The legislative process in Nigeria has frequently been characterised by protracted deliberations, fragmented policy outputs, and recurrent executive-legislative friction. These dynamics are not merely products of political contestation but are significantly shaped by the structural and functional realities of the parliamentary administrative apparatus (Ojo & Adeyemi, 2023). In Nigeria, the extent to which this bureaucratic infrastructure is professionalised, adequately resourced, and institutionally insulated from partisan interference directly influences the quality, timeliness, and legitimacy of legislative outputs (Nweke & Eze, 2024). The proper functioning of the National Assembly is therefore virtually impossible without the bureaucracy in charge of research, documentation, processing, planning, and budgeting of both the parliament's budget and the Federation's budget (Yusufu & Fom, 2024). Equally, the bureaucratic arm of the National Assembly plays a central role in coordinating parliamentary activities, including law-making, oversight, and representation. As noted by Oni et al. (2019), the effectiveness of the legislative process largely depends on the quality, capacity, and institutional strength of this bureaucracy, which provides the administrative, procedural, and technical backbone of parliament. Without this support system, essential legislative functions such as bill drafting, policy analysis, committee operations, and oversight coordination would be significantly constrained.

1.2 Objectives of the Study

The broad objective of this study is to examine the influence of bureaucratic bottlenecks and legislative delays on policy implementation in Nigeria's National Assembly, with specific reference to the Eighth Assembly. The specific objectives are to:

- examine the nature and character of bureaucratic bottlenecks within the National Assembly bureaucracy during the Eighth Assembly;
- investigate the extent to which legislative delays affected the timeliness of policy implementation during the period under review;
- identify the institutional, procedural, and political factors responsible for bureaucratic bottlenecks and legislative delays in the National Assembly; and
- proffer measures capable of reducing bureaucratic bottlenecks and legislative delays in order to enhance effective policy implementation.

1.3 Research Questions

- What is the nature of bureaucratic bottlenecks within the National Assembly bureaucracy?
- To what extent did legislative delays affect policy implementation during the Eighth Assembly?
- What institutional, procedural, and political factors accounted for bureaucratic bottlenecks and legislative delays in the National Assembly?
- What measures can reduce bureaucratic bottlenecks and legislative delays in the National Assembly?

1.4 Significance of the Study

This study is significant both theoretically and practically. Theoretically, it contributes to the growing body of literature on legislative studies and public administration in Nigeria by extending the structural-functionalist explanation of institutional performance to the specific problem of bureaucratic bottlenecks and legislative delays. Practically, the findings and

recommendations of this study are expected to assist the leadership and management of the National Assembly, particularly the Office of the Clerk and the National Assembly Service Commission, in critically reviewing and reforming internal procedures that impede timely policy implementation.

1.5 Scope of the Study

The study is delimited to the National Assembly bureaucracy, it comprises of the Senate and House of Representatives directorates and committee secretariats while exploring the tenure of the 8th Assembly, spanning June 2015 to June 2019. In substantive terms, the study concentrated on key legislative processes—namely bill drafting and passage, budget consideration and appropriation, and legislative oversight—since these are the areas where bureaucratic and procedural delays are most evident.

2.0 LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Conceptual Review

Bureaucracy

The term Bureaucracy is widely used in public administration. The father of bureaucracy, Max Weber, sees bureaucracy as a highly structured, formalised, and impersonal organisation. He also instituted the belief that an organisation must have a defined hierarchical structure and clear rules, regulations, and lines of authority which govern it (Weber, 1905). He opined that bureaucracy was the most efficient and effective way to set up an organisation, administration, and organisations generally. Max Weber believed that bureaucracy was better than traditional structures: everyone is treated equally in a bureaucratic organisation, and the division of labour is clearly described for each employee. This is true of a typical bureaucracy, as the Senate Directorate of the 8th National Assembly is not exempted from this, because there are observable structures, division of labour among the employees, and laid-down rules and regulations for the conduct of staff and the performance of tasks. Bureaucrats in the Senate Directorate render services to the legislators such as policy formulation, motion and bill drafting, research, financial advice, and official reports, and contribute to the role of law-making through the preparation of bills for presentation in the chambers of the legislature, nursing bills from infancy to maturity when they are assented to by the Chief Executive (Maikasuwa, 2007).

Bureaucratic Bottleneck

The term "bureaucratic bottleneck" describes the administrative and procedural delays brought on by strict regulations, copious documentation, hierarchical approval procedures with multiple levels, and a culture that is reluctant to change (Aduda, 2025). It occurs when an organization's very framework—which is meant to ensure responsibility, accuracy, and order—becomes so strict or overworked that it hinders rather than speeds up the completion of organizational duties. According to the civil service tradition, bureaucratic bottleneck is a multifaceted issue that affects the majority of large public organizations in Nigeria. It is defined as the unjustified delay in getting things done, resulting from strict adherence to protocol, multiple layers of approval, and excessive red tape (Duru, 2023). Applied to the National Assembly, a bureaucratic bottleneck manifests where the legislative bureaucracy comprising the Table Office, committee secretariats, research and legal departments, and the Office of the Clerk is unable to process bills, committee reports, budget documents, and correspondence within reasonable timeframes because of understaffing, sequential rather than concurrent processing of documents, poor digitisation, and an over-centralised approval chain. Where several directorates or agencies must sign off on a single legislative document consecutively, without integrated systems, delay becomes almost inevitable, regardless of the political will of the legislators themselves.

Legislative Delays

Legislative delay refers to the postponement or prolonged passage of bills, budgets, or other policy measures beyond the planned timetable—or beyond what is normally expected—due to procedural, administrative, or political constraints within the legislative process. Legislative delay is not limited to activities during the National Assembly's plenary sessions. It also encompasses the pace at which bills progress through their first, second, and third readings, their referral to committees and public hearings, the harmonization between the two chambers, and the timing of when bills are finally sent for presidential assent. Any delay at any of these stages—whether caused by bureaucratic bottlenecks in the supporting administrative system or by political disagreements among legislators or between the legislature and the executive—ultimately postpones the moment when a policy outlined in a bill can take legal effect and be implemented. In Nigeria, the most evident form of legislative delay occurs in the annual budget cycle, where late budget submissions, extended defense sessions before committees, and slow harmonization and transmission have repeatedly resulted in the Appropriation Act being passed well beyond the January-to-December fiscal year it is intended to cover.

Policy Implementation

Policy implementation is the stage of the policy process focused on translating enacted laws, programme, and decisions into concrete actions and outcomes that achieve the objectives outlined in the policy (Dye, 2013). This stage tests the legislative and administrative machinery of government, as a policy is only as effective as the practical arrangements established to execute it. Ripley and Franklin (1982) argue that bureaucracy plays a central role in policy implementation because it is the administrative apparatus that typically transforms legislative intent into workable programs. When this apparatus is weak, overburdened, or excessively procedural, implementation suffers, even if the underlying policy is sound. Specifically, within the legislative arena, policy implementation

begins with the timely passage of enabling bills and the appropriation of necessary funds for execution. Therefore, bureaucratic bottlenecks and legislative delays during the law-making stage directly impede policy implementation, since a policy that has not been legally enacted or funded cannot be implemented.

2.2 Theoretical Framework

This study adopts the Structural-Functionalist theory, associated with Talcott Parsons (1951) and further developed for political analysis by Almond and Powell (1966), as its theoretical framework. Structural functionalism views a political system as composed of interrelated structures such as the legislature, the executive, the judiciary, and the bureaucracy, each of which performs specific functions necessary for the survival and stability of the system as a whole. Within this framework, the National Assembly is conceived as a structure comprising both political actors (legislators) and administrative actors (the bureaucracy), each assigned specific functions: legislators enact laws, exercise oversight, and represent constituents, while the bureaucracy performs the supportive functions of research, documentation, drafting, and procedural management that make law-making possible (Orhiere, 2023).

The relevance of this theory to the present study lies in its emphasis on functional interdependence: the legislature cannot effectively perform its law-making, oversight, and representative functions if the bureaucratic structure supporting it is dysfunctional. A bottleneck within the bureaucratic structure is therefore not merely an internal administrative inconvenience; it represents a breakdown in one part of the political system that reverberates throughout the entire system, manifesting externally as legislative delays and, ultimately, as delayed or failed policy implementation. Structural functionalism thus provides an appropriate lens through which to understand how the malfunctioning of the National Assembly's administrative structure during the 8th Assembly resulted in slow bill processing, prolonged budget cycles, and gaps between legislative output and actual policy implementation.

2.3 Empirical Review

Empirical evidence concerning the Eighth National Assembly (2015–2019) strongly supports the issue investigated in this study. The Assembly's tenure began with a leadership crisis, as the emergence of Bukola Saraki as Senate President and Yakubu Dogara as Speaker of the House of Representatives ran counter to the preferences of the ruling party's establishment. This set the tone for a strained relationship between the legislature and the executive, as well as within the legislature itself (Animashaun, 2021). This early instability is documented to have adversely affected the institutional efficiency of the Assembly and, by extension, the administrative bureaucracy supporting it (Animashaun, 2021).

One of the most frequently cited examples of legislative delay during this period is the passage of the 2018 Appropriation Bill, which took the Eighth National Assembly six months and ten days to approve, making it the longest a federal budget had taken to receive parliamentary approval since the return to democratic rule in 1999 (Animashaun, 2021). Related studies on executive-legislative relations during the same period found that friction between the two branches of government led the legislature to impose what has been described as undue delay on executive requests, including budget proposals and confirmation matters, further hindering the pace of policy implementation (National Institute for Legislative and Democratic Studies [NILDS], 2020). Notably, despite these bottlenecks, the Eighth Senate passed 318 bills over its four-year tenure, the highest number recorded by any Senate in Nigeria's history (Animashaun, 2021). However, the same body of evidence shows that the volume of bills passed did not correspond with a proportionate volume of policies actually implemented: many bills were either not transmitted for assent, were vetoed, or stalled after passage, while only a small number of executive bills sponsored by the presidency during the period were successfully processed into law (EiE Nigeria, 2019). The enactment of the Not Too Young to Run Act is frequently cited as a rare example of relatively swift, successful processing during an otherwise difficult legislative period (EiE Nigeria, 2019), underscoring that bottlenecks were not insurmountable but were the norm rather than the exception.

These findings regarding the National Assembly reflect broader evidence of bureaucratic bottlenecks within Nigerian public institutions more generally. Studies of bureaucratic bottleneck in state public service organisations have similarly found that multiple layers of approval, inadequate staffing, and rigid adherence to procedures reduce productivity and delay service delivery, regardless of the sector in which the bureaucracy operates (CodeMint, 2025). Taken together, the empirical literature supports the proposition that the bureaucratic weaknesses of the National Assembly during the Eighth Assembly were a significant, rather than merely incidental, contributor to legislative delays and the resulting gap in policy implementation.

3.0 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This research uses a qualitative documentary design, which is well suited to the kind of issue that is best understood by examining institutional records, legal documents, and existing scholarship, rather than relying only on primary field survey data. All information for this study comes from secondary sources, including the 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria (as amended), National Assembly gazettes and statistical publications, Hansard records, and reports and publications from the National Institute for Legislative and Democratic Studies (NILDS) and the Policy and Legal Advocacy Centre (PLAC). It also draws on scholarly journal articles and credible news coverage of the Eighth Assembly (2015–2019). The sources were purposively selected

because of their clear connection to bureaucratic bottlenecks, legislative delay, and policy implementation within the period under review. The data collected were analysed using qualitative content (thematic) analysis. Using the structural-functionalist framework applied in this study we were able to identify, cluster and interpret recurring patterns, for example, leadership instability, long budget cycles and the gap between bills passed and policies finally implemented.

4.0 FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

4.1 Leadership Crisis and Institutional Instability

The study finds that the leadership crisis which trailed the emergence of the Senate President and Speaker at the inception of the Eighth Assembly in 2015 had ripple effects that extended beyond the political leadership of the two chambers into the administrative bureaucracy that served them. Where the political leadership of a legislative chamber is engaged in a contest for legitimacy and survival, the bureaucratic structures beneath it — committee secretariats, the Table Office, and the Clerk's office tend to operate under uncertainty, with scheduling, referral, and processing of legislative business subject to the shifting priorities of a leadership preoccupied with political survival rather than institutional efficiency. This is consistent with the structural-functionalist expectation that instability in one structure of the political system diminishes the capacity of interdependent structures to perform their functions optimally.

4.2 Bureaucratic Understaffing and Weak Technical Capacity

Consistent with the conceptual review, the study finds that the departments' most central to policy-relevant legislative work; research, legal drafting, and budget and finance were not sufficiently resourced to match the volume of legislative business generated during the Eighth Assembly. Where research and drafting support is limited relative to the number of bills and motions introduced, bills are more likely to be returned for further work at committee stage, extending the time between first reading and eventual passage. This finding reinforces the argument that bureaucratic bottlenecks in the National Assembly are only partly attributable to deliberate obstruction; a significant portion arises from ordinary institutional capacity constraints operating within a rigid, sequential approval structure.

4.3 The Prolonged Budget Process

The passage of the 2018 Appropriation Bill in six months and ten days, the longest in the Fourth Republic illustrates most clearly how bureaucratic and procedural bottlenecks translate into delayed policy implementation (Animashaun, 2021). Budget defence sessions, in which ministries, departments, and agencies appear before committees, require extensive documentation and sequential processing between the two chambers before harmonisation; where any stage in this chain is slowed by inadequate secretariat support or by political friction with the executive, the entire budget cycle is pushed back, with direct consequences for capital project implementation, which cannot legally commence until appropriation is passed.

4.4 Executive-Legislative Friction and Its Bureaucratic Fallout

The study further finds that strained relations between the Eighth Assembly and the executive, particularly over budget proposals and confirmation matters, translated into deliberate as well as inadvertent delays in processing executive requests (NILDS, 2020). While such friction is essentially political, its effects were channelled through the bureaucratic process, as correspondence, memoranda, and documentation between the executive and the legislative bureaucracy were subject to the same rigid, hierarchical procedures that ordinarily governed routine legislative business, compounding delay.

4.5 The Implementation Gap: Bills Passed versus Policies Implemented

Perhaps the most instructive finding of this study is the disjunction between legislative output and policy implementation during the Eighth Assembly. Although the Eighth Senate passed a record 318 bills, a substantial proportion of these bills did not proceed to presidential assent or were not subsequently translated into implemented policy (Animashaun, 2021; EiE Nigeria, 2019). This finding demonstrates that bureaucratic and legislative delay is not confined to the pre-passage stage alone; it also affects the post-passage stage of transmission, assent, and eventual administrative implementation, reinforcing the structural-functionalist proposition that a bottleneck anywhere within the interdependent legislative-bureaucratic system diminishes the overall capacity of the system to convert political will into concrete policy outcomes.

5.0 CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Conclusion

This study set out to examine how bureaucratic bottlenecks and legislative delays affected policy implementation in Nigeria's National Assembly during the Eighth Assembly. The evidence reviewed shows that the legislative bureaucracy, though constitutionally mandated to support the National Assembly's law-making, oversight, and representative functions, operated within a rigid, understaffed, and sequentially structured administrative system that was ill-suited to the volume and pace of legislative business required of it, particularly against the backdrop of a leadership crisis and strained executive-legislative relations. The

consequence was not an absence of legislative activity but indeed, the 8th Senate passed more bills than any of its predecessors but a persistent gap between legislative output and actual policy implementation, most visibly demonstrated in the unprecedented delay in passing the 2018 budget. The study concludes that bureaucratic bottleneck and legislative delay are mutually reinforcing phenomena, and that meaningful improvement in policy implementation by the National Assembly requires deliberate reform of its administrative bureaucracy, not merely political goodwill among legislators.

5.2 Recommendations

Arising from the findings, the study recommends the following:

- Professionalisation and Insulation of the Bureaucracy: The National Assembly Service Commission should strengthen the professionalisation of legislative bureaucrats and insulate their appointment, deployment, and promotion from partisan and leadership contestation, so that changes in political leadership do not destabilise administrative operations.
- Capacity Building: Sustained investment in the training of staff in the research, legal drafting, and budget and finance departments is required to match bureaucratic capacity to the volume of legislative business.
- Digitisation of Legislative Processes: The adoption of an integrated electronic bill-tracking and document management system would reduce the sequential, paper-based bottlenecks currently associated with bill and budget processing.
- Statutory Timelines: The National Assembly should consider adopting binding internal timelines for key stages of the budget and bill process, similar to statutory deadlines used in other jurisdictions, to reduce indefinite procedural delay.
- Improved Executive-Legislative Coordination: Formal, institutionalised channels of communication between the legislative bureaucracy and Ministries, Departments and Agencies should be strengthened to reduce delays arising from ad hoc or politically mediated correspondence.
- Post-Passage Tracking: A dedicated bureaucratic unit should be created to track bills after passage through transmission, assent, and early implementation, to close the gap between legislative output and policy outcomes identified in this study.

REFERENCES

- 1) Adegboro, A. (2022). *An assessment of the effectiveness of parliamentary bureaucracy in the Nigerian National Assembly: A case study of the 8th Assembly* (Master's thesis). National Institute for Legislative and Democratic Studies Institutional Repository.
- 2) Aduda, G. (2025). *The case for simplification: Combating bureaucratic bottlenecks*. <https://gabrieladuda.com/the-case-for-simplification-combating-bureaucratic-bottlenecks/>
- 3) Almond, G. A., & Powell, G. B. (1966). *Comparative politics: A developmental approach*. Little, Brown and Company.
- 4) Animashaun, A. M. (2021). Leadership crisis in Nigeria's 8th Assembly: Implications for institutional efficiency and intra-organ stability. In F. A. Aremu & A. R. Bakare (Eds.), *Two decades of legislative politics and governance in Nigeria's National Assembly* (pp. 219–234). Springer.
- 5) CodeMint. (2025). *Effects of bureaucratic bottleneck on performance of Imo State public service: Case study of Imo State Broadcasting Corporation*. <https://codemint.net/business-management/effects-of-bureaucratic-bottleneck-on-performance-of-imo-state-public-service-case-study-of-imo-state-broadcasting-corporation/>
- 6) Duru, E. J. (2023). Administrative bureaucracy as a bottleneck to service delivery. *Journal of Arts & Social Sciences*, 13(1).
- 7) Dye, T. R. (2013). *Understanding public policy* (14th ed.). Pearson.
- 8) Egbara, E. A., & Ayogu, G. I. (2024). E-governance for functional bureaucratization in Nigeria: Benefits and challenges. *International Journal of Research and Innovation in Social Science*, 8(8), 3572–3580. <https://doi.org/10.47772/IJRIS.2024.8080265>
- 9) Elekwachi, E., & Ufomba, H. (2024). Political patronage and bureaucracy: Studies in Nigeria and Indonesia. *Jurnal Mengkaji Indonesia*, 3(1), 1–26. <https://doi.org/10.59066/jmi.v3i1.564>
- 10) EiE Nigeria. (2019). *National Assembly and the Buhari years*. <https://eie.ng/national-assembly-and-the-buhari-years/>
- 11) Federal Republic of Nigeria. (2011). *Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria 1999 (as amended)*. Federal Government Press.
- 12) Hamalai, L. (2004). *Legislative practice and procedure of the National Assembly*. National Institute for Legislative Studies.
- 13) Maikasuwa, S. (2007). *Bureaucracy and service delivery in federal legislature: A study of the National Assembly, 1999–2006* (Master's dissertation).
- 14) National Institute for Legislative and Democratic Studies. (2020). *A study of legislative-executive relations in Nigeria: 8th National Assembly*. NILDS Institutional Repository.

- 15) Nweke, C., & Eze, U. (2024). Bureaucratic bottlenecks and the trajectory of bill passage in developing legislatures: A case study of Nigeria's bicameral assembly. *International Review of Law and Jurisprudence*, 6(1), 142–156.
- 16) Nwozor, A., & Olanrewaju, J. (2019). Oiling the legislature: An appraisal of the committee system in Nigeria's National Assembly. In J. Y. Fashagba, O. R. M. Ajayi, & C. Nwankwor (Eds.), *The Nigerian National Assembly* (pp. 165–187). Springer. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-11905-8_10
- 17) Ojo, E., & Adeyemi, T. (2023). Institutional bureaucracy and legislative efficiency: Assessing policy implementation bottlenecks in the Nigerian National Assembly. *Journal of Public Administration and Governance*, 13(2), 78–94. <https://doi.org/10.5296/jpag.v13i2.2104>
- 18) Oni, S., Olawale, R., & Adebayo, K. (2019). Legislative oversight and policy implementation delays in Nigeria's National Assembly: An empirical analysis. *African Journal of Political Science and International Relations*, 13(4), 115–129.
- 19) Orhiere, P. (2023). *Lawmaking process in Nigeria's National Assembly*. National Institute for Legislative and Democratic Studies Institutional Repository.
- 20) Parsons, T. (1951). *The social system*. The Free Press.
- 21) Ripley, R. B., & Franklin, G. A. (1982). *Bureaucracy and policy implementation*. Dorsey Press.
- 22) Weber, M. (2002). *The Protestant ethic and the spirit of capitalism* (T. Parsons, Trans.). Routledge. (Original work published 1905)
- 23) Wilson, R. (2023). *Legislative delays and the mechanics of governance: Bureaucracy within modern parliaments*. Academic Press.
- 24) Yusufu, B., & Fom, D. (2024). Bureaucracy and service delivery in the Nigeria National Assembly: A study of the Senate Directorate, 2015–2019. *Berkeley Journal of Humanities and Social Science*, 5(6), 112–125.