



UNIVERSITI PUTRA MALAYSIA

***EXECUTIVE-LEGISLATIVE RELATIONSHIP AND ITS EFFECT ON
POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT IN NIGERIA***

IHEMEJE CHIDIEBERE CHINWEUBA GODSWEALTH

FEM 2017 7



**EXECUTIVE-LEGISLATIVE RELATIONSHIP AND ITS EFFECT ON
POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT IN NIGERIA**

By

IHEMEJE CHIDIEBERE CHINWEUBA GODSWEALTH

**Thesis Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies, Universiti Putra Malaysia,
in Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Degree of Master of Science**

February 2017



COPYRIGHT

All material contained within the thesis, including without limitation text, logos, icons, photographs, and all other artwork, is copyright material of Universiti Putra Malaysia unless otherwise stated. Use may be made of any material contained within the thesis for non-commercial purposes from the copyright holder. Commercial use of material may only be made with the express, prior, written permission of Universiti Putra Malaysia.

Copyright© Universiti Putra Malaysia



DEDICATIONS

This research work is dedicated to God Almighty. Also, to my parents, Lay-Reader & Mrs. Christian Chukwuemeka and Hulda Udochi Ihemeje for all their never ending prayers, love and tremendous care in my academic pursuit in a foreign land.



Abstract of the thesis presented to the Senate of Universiti Putra Malaysia in
fulfilment of the requirement for the degree of Master of Science

EXECUTIVE-LEGISLATIVE RELATIONSHIP AND ITS EFFECT ON POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT IN NIGERIA

By

IHEMEJE CHIDIEBERE CHINWEUBA GODSWEALTH

February 2017

Chairman : Professor Zaid Bin Ahmad, PhD

Faculty : Human Ecology

The focus of this study is on the executive and legislative relationship in Nigeria's Fourth Republic. The executive and legislative relationship in model government is crucial to any meaningful institution, inter-dependency, and harmony. It discusses the fundamental roles, personnel and constitutional powers of the executive and legislature. The executive-legislative relationship ought to promote harmony, checks and balances and political development. However, in Nigeria this relationship has witnessed suspicion, blackmail, intrigues and acrimony. The Military in Nigeria politics has relegated the legislative institution and allocated more powers to the executive which has contributed to executive interference in the legislative process. This has had negative implication on the independent of the legislative in Nigeria. Based on this, this study focuses on examining the factors influencing executive and legislative conflicts and harmony. It explains the extent of executive interference in the legislative functions and the implications of this relationship on political development in Nigeria's Fourth republic.

A qualitative method is used in the research and the data are collected mainly through document analysis and supported with interviews from twelve informants. The informants are selected among the executive ministers, legislators, academicians, and seasoned politicians. All informants are well informed with over ten years working experience. The interviews were tape-recorded and transcribed which supported document data analysis. This research used content analysis to descriptively analyze the results from documents and interviews.

The importance of this study is to help administrators of the Nigerian State crafts on whose shoulder much is anticipated, to harmonious and interdependently work for the development of the nation. It is also important to help aspiring leaders to understand the working relationship between the executive and legislatures in a presidential setting.

Evidence from findings showed that there is a sour and injurious relationship between the executive and legislative, and this has had a negative impact on political development. Again, the extent of legislative independence is crucial to a presidential system, but findings showed that executive supremacy over legislature has undermined the institution from successfully performing the roles of representing the people through law-making and oversight.

This study emphasizes and recommends the need for a Constitution Drafting Committee and Constituent Assembly to totally draft a fresh Constitution for Nigeria to address the current unjust political structures, other than the constitution in use as handed down by the Military. This will promote adherence to the rule of law and prosecution of political offenders, and by so doing, the executive and legislative arms of government will confine themselves to their constitutional roles and be partners in progress in nation building and development.

Abstrak tesis yang dikemukakan kepada Senat Universiti Putra Malaysia sebagai memenuhi keperluan untuk ijazah Master Sains

HUBUNGAN EKSEKUTIF-UNDANGAN DAN KESANNYA TERHADAP PEMBANGUNAN POLITIK DI NIGERIA

Oleh

IHEMEJE CHIDIEBERE CHINWEUBA GODSWEALTH

Februari 2017

Pengerusi : Profesor Zaid Bin Ahmad, PhD
Fakulti : Ekologi Manusia

Kajian ini mengenalpasti hubungan antara eksekutif dan perundangan di Republik Keempat Nigeria. Hubungan eksekutif dan perundangan dalam kerajaan contoh adalah penting bagi mana-mana institusi utama, kebergantungan, dan keharmonian. Ia membincangkan peranan-peranan asas, kuasa individu dan perlembagaan yang dipunyai oleh ahli eksekutif dan badan perundangan. Hubungan eksekutif perundangan sepatutnya menggalakkan keharmonian, kewangan yang stabil dan perkembangan politik. Walau bagaimanapun, di Nigeria, hubungan ini telah mewujudkan keraguan, pemerasan ugut, komplot dan kekerasan. Tentera dalam politik Nigeria mengenyepikan institusi perundangan dan memperuntukkan lebih kuasa kepada eksekutif yang menyumbang kepada gangguan eksekutif dalam proses perundangan. Ini memberikan implikasi negatif ke atas kebebasan perundangan di Nigeria. Berdasarkan maklumat ini, kajian ini memberi tumpuan dalam mengkaji faktor yang mempengaruhi konflik perundangan dan keharmonian eksekutif. Ia menerangkan sejauh mana campurtangan eksekutif dalam fungsi-fungsi perundangan dan implikasi hubungan ini kepada perkembangan politik di republik keempat Nigeria. Kaedah kualitatif digunakan dalam kajian ini dan data dikumpulkan terutamanya melalui analisis dokumen yang disokong oleh wawancara dari 12 pemberi maklumat. Pemberi maklumat dipilih di kalangan menteri eksekutif, penggubal undang-undang, ahli akademik, dan ahli politik berpengalaman. Semua pemberi maklumat dimaklumkan mempunyai lebih 10 tahun pengalaman bekerja. Wawancara direkodkan dan ditranskripsikan bagi menyokong data analisis dokumen. Kajian ini menggunakan analisis kandungan bagi menganalisis keputusan dokumen dan temu bual secara deskriptif.

Kajian ini adalah penting bagi membantu para pentadbir Nigeria yang banyak terlibat untuk bekerja secara harmoni dan bergantung antara satu sama lain dalam membangunkan negara. Ia juga penting untuk membantu bakal pemimpin dalam

memahami hubungan kerja antara eksekutif dan badan perundangan dalam suasana yang sesuai.

Bukti daripada hasil kajian menunjukkan bahawa terdapat hubungan buruk dan memudaratkan antara eksekutif dan perundangan yang memberikan kesan negatif terhadap perkembangan politik. Sekali lagi, kemerdekaan sesuatu perundangan adalah penting bagi sesebuah sistem pimpinan. Akan tetapi, kajian mempamerkan bahawa kuasa eksekutif ke atas badan perundangan telah melemahkan institusi itu daripada berjaya melaksanakan peranannya dalam mewakili rakyat melalui penggubalan undang-undang dan pemantauan.

Kajian ini menekankan dan mencadangkan keperluan Jawatankuasa Penggubal dan Majlis Perlembagaan untuk merangka perlembagaan baru Nigeria bagi menggariskan ketidakadilan dalam struktur politik semasa, berbeza daripada perlembagaan semasa yang diturunkan oleh tentera. Ini akan menggalakkan pematuhan kepada kedaulatan undang-undang dan pendakwaan pesalah-pesalah politik. Dengan demikian, para eksekutif dan perundangan kerajaan akan lebih tertumpu kepada peranan mereka dalam perlembagaan dan bersatu dalam memajukan dan membangunkan negara.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My acknowledgement first and foremost, goes to God, who has kept me safe and sound throughout this master research work. I would have achieved nothing without Him by my side. However, no one is an icon of knowledge and none can claim a monopoly of knowledge. An exercise of this nature can only be completed with the true assistance of other experts. A determination is the first step toward success, no matter the obstacles confronting the goals, courage determines excellence.

I will not hesitate to acknowledge many people who have assisted and gave their professional advice throughout this research. I owe it as a debt to my advisor, Prof. Dr. Zaid Bin Ahmad, and assistant supervisor Prof. Jayum Anak Jawan for their tremendous encouragement, advice, guidance and attention to my study even in the midst of their tight schedules. They exhibited a high level of tolerance and patience, making corrections and suggestions in a friendly disposition and excellent supervision to my work. They were not tired proofreading all my manuscripts and showed professionalism in student-supervisors' relationship in the course of my work.

When it comes to parental love, I cannot fail to acknowledge the unconditional love of LR and Mrs. Christain and Hulda Ihemeje for their constant prayers asking God to see me through in whatever I decide to do. Their vision, revelations, words of encouragement and spiritual support did wonderfully and kept me going when I needed them most. My own family was with me and through their ever present I was able to fight doggedly not to disappoint them. I will like to mention my wife: Josephine Ebere, and Kids: Joyce, Gift, and Josephine-Ijeoma. You guys are the reason for my struggles.

My special thanks go to Dr. Ifeanyi Severus Odoziobodo; you have been my mentor from graduate level until now. Your efforts to my success are tremendous and I dare not fail to acknowledge you. Other people include my siblings, peers, and friends for all your support and advice while I undertook my postgraduate research studies.

I certify that a Thesis Examination Committee has met on 6 February 2017 to conduct the final examination of Ihemeje Chidiebere Chinweuba Godswaalth on his thesis entitled "Executive-Legislative Relationship and its Effect on Political Development in Nigeria" in accordance with the Universities and University Colleges Act 1971 and the Constitution of the Universiti Putra Malaysia [P.U.(A) 106] 15 March 1998. The Committee recommends that the student be awarded the Master of Science.

Members of the Thesis Examination Committee were as follows:

Elistina binti Abu Bakar, PhD

Senior Lecturer
Faculty of Human Ecology
Universiti Putra Malaysia
(Chairman)

Abdul Razak bin Abdul Rahman, PhD

Senior Lecturer
Faculty of Human Ecology
Universiti Putra Malaysia
(Internal Examiner)

Dato' Samsu Adabi bin Hj. Mamat, PhD

Associate Professor
Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia
Malaysia
(External Examiner)



NOR AINI AB. SHUKOR, PhD

Professor and Deputy Dean
School of Graduate Studies
Universiti Putra Malaysia

Date: 22 March 2017

This thesis was submitted to the Senate of Universiti Putra Malaysia and has been accepted as fulfilment of the requirement for the award of degree of Master of Science.

The members of the Supervisory Committee were as follows:

Zaid Bin Ahmad, PhD

Professor
Faculty of Human Ecology
Universiti Putra Malaysia
(Chairman)

Jayum Anak Jawan, PhD

Professor
Faculty of Human Ecology
Universiti Putra Malaysia
(Member)

ROBIAH BINTI YUNUS, PhD

Professor and Dean
School of Graduate Studies
Universiti Putra Malaysia

Date:

Declaration by graduate student

I hereby confirm that:

- this thesis is my original work
- quotations, illustrations and citations have been duly referenced
- the thesis has not been submitted previously or currently for any other degree at any institutions
- intellectual property from the thesis and copyright of thesis are fully-owned by Universiti Putra Malaysia, as according to the Universiti Putra Malaysia (Research) Rules 2012;
- written permission must be owned from supervisor and deputy vice –chancellor (Research and innovation) before thesis is published (in the form of written, printed or in electronic form) including books, journals, modules, proceedings, popular writings, seminar papers, manuscripts, posters, reports, lecture notes, learning modules or any other materials as stated in the Universiti Putra Malaysia (Research) Rules 2012;
- there is no plagiarism or data falsification/fabrication in the thesis, and scholarly integrity is upheld as according to the Universiti Putra Malaysia (Graduate Studies) Rules 2003 (Revision 2012-2013) and the Universiti Putra Malaysia (Research) Rules 2012. The thesis has undergone plagiarism detection software

Signature: _____ Date: _____

Name and Matric No: Ihemeje Chidiebere Chinweuba Godsw wealth, GS34562

Declaration by Members of Supervisory Committee

This is to confirm that:

- the research conducted and the writing of this thesis was under our supervision;
- supervision responsibilities as stated in the Universiti Putra Malaysia (Graduate Studies) Rules 2003 (Revision 2012-2013) were adhered to.

Signature: _____

Name of Chairman of
Supervisory Committee:

Professor Dr. Zaid Bin Ahmad

Signature: _____

Name of Member of
Supervisory Committee:

Professor Dr. Jayum Anak Jawan

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
ABSTRACT	i
ABSTRAK	iii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	v
APPROVAL	vi
DECLARATION	viii
LIST OF TABLES	xiv
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	xv
 CHAPTER	
1 INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 Introduction	1
1.2 Background of the Study	1
1.3 Statement of Research Problem	5
1.4 Research Questions	6
1.5 Research Objectives	7
1.6 Significance of the Study	7
1.7 Scope or Limitation of the Study	7
1.8 Organization of the Study	8
 2 LITERATURE REVIEW	 10
2.1 Introduction	10
2.2 Overview of Definition and Concept of Political Development	10
2.3 The Executive	13
2.4 The Legislative	19
2.5 Implications of Executive and Legislative Relationship	25
2.6 Factors Influencing Executive and Legislative Relationship	26
2.6.1 The Constitutional Provision	26
2.6.2 Conflicts of Roles between the Executive and Legislature	27
2.6.3 Executive Dominance	29
2.6.4 Legislative Oversight Function	29
2.6.5 Literature Gap	31
2.7 Executive Interference towards Legislative Functions	31
2.8 Separation of Powers and Political Development	33
2.9 Theoretical Framework	35
2.10 Summary	37
 3 METHODOLOGY	 38
3.1 Introduction	38
3.2 Research Approach	38
3.3 Criteria for selecting key informants	39
3.4 Location of Study	40
3.5 Sources of Data	40
3.6 Research instrument	41
3.7 Data Collection Procedure	41
3.8 Credibility of the Study	42

3.9	Method of Data Analysis	43
3.10	Summary	44
4	PRESENTATION OF FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION	45
4.1	Introduction	45
4.2	Presentation of Findings	45
4.3	To identify the factors influencing the executive and legislative conflicts in Nigeria	45
4.3.1	Constitutional Issues	46
4.3.2	Executive Interferences	48
4.3.3	Legislative Oversight	49
4.3.4	Inexperience	51
4.3.5	Resource Allocation	52
4.4	To explain the effect of executive interference in the legislative process in the Nigerian fourth republic	53
4.4.1	The Internal Legislative Procedures	53
4.4.2	Lack of Legislative Financial Autonomy	55
4.5	To evaluate the implications of executive and legislative conflict in the development of the country and proffer solutions	56
4.5.1	Implications of executive and legislative conflicts on Development.	56
4.5.1.1	Negative Implications	58
4.5.1.2	Positive Implications	59
4.6	Remedies to the Implications of Executive and Legislative Conflict on Development	60
4.7	Discussion	62
4.8	Summary of Chapter	69
5	SUMMARY, CONCLUSION, AND RECOMMENDATIONS	70
5.1	Summary of Findings	70
5.2	Conclusion	73
5.3	Recommendations	74
	REFERENCES	75
	APPENDICES	86
	BIODATA OF STUDENT	89

LIST OF TABLES

Table		Page
1.1	The Military and Civilian Regimes in Nigeria by Year, 1960-2016	4
3.1	Background List of Research Informants	39
4.1	Factors influencing the Executive-Legislative Conflicts	46
4.2	Implications of the Executive-Legislative Conflict on Development	57



LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AU	Africa Union
CBN	Central Bank of Nigeria
CAR	Constituent Assembly Report
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
FRN	Federal Republic of Nigeria
ICPC	Independent Corrupt Practices Commission Acts
INEC	Independent National Electoral Commission
K1-K12	Key informant 1 - Key informant 12
MDA	Ministries, Departments, and Agencies of Government
NA	National Assembly
NCSL	National Conference of State Legislatures
NOA	National Orientation Agency
NDDC	Niger Delta Development Commission
NFR	Nigeria Fourth Republic
NNPC	Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation
PTDF	Petroleum Trust Development Fund
PTF	Petroleum Trust Fund
PHCN	Power Holding Company of Nigeria
UNO	United Nations Organization

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

This chapter provides a general overview of the background of the present study, including, the statement of the problem, objectives, and significance of the research. The chapter also discussed the scope and limitation of the study, and the Organization of the thesis.

1.2 Background of the Study

The relationship between the Legislative and Executive branches of government has always been a constitutional means of running the affairs of any state. Each of these arms has a function that is so inter-dependent on the duties and responsibilities they play to maintain their existence and promote development in the polity. However, there seems to be a constant, unavoidable tussle between the executive and legislature that may result in mutual understanding or conflicts in the implementation of their constitutional obligations. But the system of checks and balances has a lot to do to determine how these two arms unite to foster democratic standard in the Nigerian context.

Co-existence of the relationship between executive, legislative and judiciary as organs of government can lead to political development which is imperative for every country. The political development indicates the level of social, political and economic progress (Pye & Verba, 2015). The pattern of political development of a country has three major dimensions; this includes the political, cultural and social aspects (Ogai, 2003). Political development is the institutional capacity to meet the demands and challenges of people in modern society in carrying out public policies which are a necessary condition for realizing higher standard; this involves the systemic political capacity to manage public affairs and controversy as well as cope with popular demands (Pye & Verba, 2015). Ideally, political development is considered development from a state that seems to be undesirable to a state that is more attractive and desirable; that is tradition versus modernity (Kingbury, 2007).

Traditional institutions, for example, Great Britain survives series of violent ideological confrontations; this does not necessarily mean that the traditional system must change to modern society to prove its higher level of political development (Grew, 2015). Political development is not the same as a political power; it represents progress that affects the institutional structures (La Palombara, 2015). Thus, Oxford Dictionary viewed political development as institutions, attitudes, and values that form the political power system of society. Political development is also considered as the process of adjustment of the political system at any historical stage of the overall development, to the functions required by this system as they arise from socio-

economic to structural political conditions (Jaguaribe, 1968). The author was of the view that the executive and the legislative relationship is the key to modern socio-political development.

According to the National Conference of State Legislatures (NCSL, 2016), the success of the executive and legislature relations can be considered on the ability to maintain a sustained political development through law making and policy implementation, and the extent to which these arms of government are separated functionally between them. The executive and legislative relationship is crucial to both the parliamentary and presidential system. For instance, countries like the United Kingdom and the United States have significant demarcation of the success rate of executive and legislative relations over policy issues (Diermeier & Vlaicu, 2011).

In the United Kingdom where the parliamentary system of government is in practice, it is observed that there is a high rate of mutual relationship between the prime minister and the legislature regarding policy issues compared to the United States which is at an average level. However, the rate of the relationship between executive and legislature in other parts of the world such as Argentina and Italy are considered to be significantly lower than the rate in the United States (Diermeier & Vlaicu, 2011). The most distinct quality of the presidential government is the independence of the legislative and executive, but the parliamentary system has a high rate of success in the executive and legislative relationship because of fusion of powers which is not so in the presidential democracies because of the doctrine of separation of powers (Amie, 2009).

In Africa, the power relationship between the executive and the legislature is interesting to study. Understanding the executive and legislative relationships in Africa like Mozambique and Nigeria gives a clear view on her level of political development and what democratic principles means to them (Kotzé 2013). African leaders assume powers through democratic procedures but their behaviors after that have contributed to the level of development most of the African countries face. Most African executive and legislatures have designed a better interdependent means of achieving democratic progress, while some of the African presidents prefer to deal with robots instead of the independent legislators, and this has explained the reason behind the executive attitudes towards the legislatures in Africa, and why the conflicts have no end. For the African political elites, the African executive often seeks to turn the legislative assembly into a cheerleader, they reject and ridicule any issues that do not fit their views but only believe in their opinions (Oko, 2014).

Arter (2013) contends that the African Executive, who cannot work in a vacuum, demands cooperation from the legislature and create room for negotiation and commitment towards a genuine interaction between them. The extent of collaboration or contempt between these arms in Africa is a signal that both the executive and legislature can foster or manipulate the process to achieve a political goal. Meanwhile, for the lawmakers to remain a partner in progress they see confrontation instead of cooperation as the only way out of executive impunity to assert their authority (Oko,

2014). In Africa and most parts of developing world, political development is recognized as the most critical challenge (Fortes & Evans-Pritchard, 2015).

Leaders at the inception of political freedom in Africa were more concerned about controlling the political power, which as a result neglected its institutional structures that would have been a pace setter to harmonizing the conflicts whatsoever that come from intra-governmental issues (Kotz é 2013). However, efforts were made to include a national character in the sharing of political offices as there were multiple tribes in Nigeria. Failure of these elites (new political leaders at independence) in providing the necessary political will to tackling the decay institution and none provision of basic infrastructures, coupled with the overzealous and greediness of the new breed of politician led to the abandonment of the various policies and this gave way to a military takeover.

Nigeria started off with the Westminster parliamentary system of government after independent which was discovered to have had a serious constitutional problem for both the founding fathers as well as its practices by those in government. There was no clear separation of powers from the functions and duties of the executive and that of the legislature (Momoh, 2000; Akinwumi, 2004). In their opinion, the uncertainties of Nigerian's experience with the Parliamentary system led to the adoption of the American Presidential model at the First Republic in 1963. Sequentially, the Military struck and set aside this democratic setup and ushered in dictatorial regimes. Upon Military takeover, there were suppression and victimization of the press and extra-judicial murder.

According to Constituent Assembly Report (CAR, 1977/78), for thirteen years the Military appropriated what was left and do away with the legislative structure and rule by laws and decrees, invariably making the institution of legislature inactive within the time it occupied the office. However, the Military Head of State also served as the chief administrator and executive in the government of the day, preserving the executive institution and assigning more powers to it until in October 1979, when the Military restored back civilian rule in Nigeria (Oni, 2013).

It is important to note that, Nigeria upon civilian handover never returned to Westminster type of government, but adopted the American style of government for unity and separation of powers inherent in the presidential system. The report suggests that the President will have a clear role and powers which do not infringe on the duties of the legislative as an independent organ, so as to enhance both institutions of government function and perform effectively and efficiently. In this regards, each arm is vested with the constitutionally defined powers to work as well as collaborate with one another in the function and use of their powers (Fasagba, 2010). The separation of roles between the executive and the legislature is viewed as respect for the Constitution because each organ will have to derive its powers from general elections in the form of a direct vote, as well as from the constitution (Ekweme, 2005).

The separation of authority between the executive and legislature was distorted when the Military returned to power in 1983. It took the efforts of the press, the international community, and some political stakeholders to come to the rescue of Nigerians for the Military to hand over the mantle of leadership to an elected President in 1999. Hence, there was a handing over of constitution reform of 1999 by the former Head of State Abdulsalami Abubakar. On May 29, 1999, Nigeria evolved into a democratic dispensation. Below is a chronology of Military and Civilian regimes in Nigeria.

Table 1.1: The Military and Civilian Regimes in Nigeria by Year, 1960-2016

Year	Regime	Year	Regime
1960	Civilian	1989	Military
1961	Civilian	1990	Military
1962	Civilian	1991	Military
1963	Civilian	1992	Military
1964	Civilian	1993	Military
1965	Civilian	1994	Military
1966	Military	1995	Military
1967	Military	1996	Military
1968	Military	1997	Military
1969	Military	1998	Military
1970	Military	1999	Civilian
1971	Military	2000	Civilian
1972	Military	2001	Civilian
1973	Military	2002	Civilian
1974	Military	2003	Civilian
1975	Military	2004	Civilian
1976	Military	2005	Civilian
1977	Military	2006	Civilian
1978	Military	2007	Civilian
1979	Civilian	2008	Civilian
1980	Civilian	2009	Civilian
1981	Civilian	2010	Civilian
1982	Civilian	2011	Civilian
1983	Military	2012	Civilian
1984	Military	2013	Civilian
1985	Military	2014	Civilian
1986	Military	2015	Civilian
1987	Military	2016	Civilian
1988	Military		

Source: Umez, B.N (2000). Nigeria: Real Problems, Real Solution.

Based on the 1977/78 report as stated earlier, the 1999 constitution was to be in force provided that Nigeria shall be a Federation comprising of 36 States and the Capital City in Abuja. Therefore, the 1999 constitution made more emphasis on the roles of the executive and the legislature; indicating that no arm of government shall neither be neither superior nor subordinate to the other arms. The stipulation further said that each branch of government would be independent in its area of jurisdiction irrespective of the constitutional procurements that all legislative powers be vested in the legislature. However, Part II Sec. 4 of 1999 Nigeria Constitution stated that the executive, regardless of the fact that they execute laws equally has legislative powers to formulate public policy that would be examined and sanctioned by the legislature since the executive proposed the majority of the bills approved by the legislature.

Intermittently, the president may propose legislation which is accepted as crucial and similarly has the power of veto (Oni, 2013).

To further understand the position of law on the roles of the executive and legislature, Oshio (2004) argued that by separating the function of both arms of government does not necessarily mean a strict division that would create vacuum in government; rather it was done to uphold the doctrine of separation of powers, in order to maintain a functional government. Meanwhile, the legislature is empowered to impeach the president for any conviction of a misdemeanor or other crimes irrespective of the president's power of veto over any bill passed by the legislature. Also, the President's public office holder nominees like the chief justice of Nigeria or other administrators are also subject to confirmation by the legislature (Taiwo, 2010).

The legislature also exercises oversight functions, among which include; the power to conduct an investigation relating to any matter of governance (Ahmadu and Ajiboye, 2004). Another area of control by the Legislature in its oversight is the power over public finance. The legislature also scrutinizes government spending with annual budgets. Saffell observed that in all the functions of the legislature the power to examine the public finance or budget seems to be more crucial and more jealously guarded, than its powers to make laws (Saffell, 1989). The Judicial arm, though not the subject of this study also has a constitutional mandate to mediate through court action, the power of judicial review over the lawmakers and the executive actions respectively. For these arms of government to work harmoniously without conflicts of infringement, it depends on how both the executive and legislatures position themselves in carrying out their constitutional functions and abide by the doctrine of separation to avoid impunity so as to render accountability to the people that voted them into power.

Nevertheless, there is a need for a meaningful relationship to exist between these two arms of government in Nigeria, because it is imperative to the vibrant functioning of the political structure (Kopecky, 2004). To this extent, it is pertinent to know whether the relationship between the executive and the legislature is cordial or conflictual. According to Magill, (2001) and Kopecky, (2004), some intellectuals find this relationship as a positive precondition for harmony. However, Aiyede, (2005) view these conflicts as bringing about deadlock and gridlock over policy decisions, hence make government ineffective.

1.3 Statement of Research Problem

The understanding of the separate but interrelationship between the executive and legislature would help in promoting the doctrine of checks and balances as well as resulting in apparent political development. Some scholars in their views see the executive and legislative performance as a relationship that ought to ensure harmony and guarantee the independence of the legislature (Dudley, 1982 & Fasagba, 2009). However, the relationship between these arms has become a struggling exercise for policy influence. Conflicts, wherever it occurs, can dent the image of the nation. These

conflicts are seen as a beneficial precondition to controlling government (Madison, 1992; Magil, 2001). Magil continued to state that for any policy output to become more meaningful, the executive and legislative arms of government must, as a matter of coexistence and cooperation, work mutually hand-in-hand for the actualization of the good governance.

However, studies have shown that executive and legislative relationship has been that of mutual suspicion, blackmail, and backsliding, lots of intrigues and acrimony (Aiyede, 2005; Nwannekanma & Ogbodo, 2010). This inherent problem is attributed to an unstable political system, factionalization of the polity, separatist agitation, and lack of trust, amongst others (McCandless & Karbo, 2011). Studies within and outside Africa also examined the constitutional problem and formation of public policies (Lewis, 2011; Momodu & Ika, 2013). It is against this backdrop that this study intends to look at the factors influencing the executive and legislative conflicts in Nigeria.

The executive interference in the affairs of the legislature has been observed as a major impediment to the success and independence of the legislature's performance of representing the people (Bernick & Bernick, 2008). The manner in which the legislative arm has become a rubberstamp in legitimizing laws made outside its fold is worrisome as if they have lost the original constitutional powers of lawmaking to the executive (Heywood, 2007). Furthermore, some scholars have viewed the Nigeria legislative institutions as underdeveloped and are unable to carry out its legislative functions respectfully (Okoosi-Simbine, 2010; Saliu & Mohammad, 2010). The failure of existing studies to look into the executive interference in the failed republics that causes underdevelopment may not be unrelated to the bigger constitutional crisis. It is against this backdrop therefore that this study gears towards examining the executive interference in the legislative process that affects Nigeria development in the fourth republic.

Besides, there are literatures which focused on the implication of executive and legislative relationship to historical trends in Europe, America, Asia, and Africa (Kopecky, 2004; Aiyede, 2005; Fasagba, 2010). Meanwhile, to unravel these implications, as well as discover the areas of the executive dominance over the dependent legislatures, this study, therefore, tries to evaluate the implication of conflicts between the Nigerian executive and legislative relationship and proffer solutions on how to enhancing them for the better.

1.4 Research questions

This research in trying to understand the relationship of the Nigerian executive and legislatures adopted the following research questions:

- (i) What are the factors influencing the executive and legislative conflict in Nigeria?

- (ii) How does the executive interference in the legislative process affect development in Nigerian fourth republic?
- (iii) What are the implications of the executive and legislative conflict in the development of the country?

1.5 Research Objectives

The objectives of this study are as follows:

- (i) To identify the factors influencing the executive and legislative conflicts in Nigeria
- (ii) To explain the effect of executive interference in the legislative process in the Nigerian fourth republic.
- (iii) To evaluate the implications of executive and legislative conflict in the development of the country and proffer solutions.

1.6 Significance of the Study

This study will have an immense contribution and advantage to the administrators of the Nigerian states crafts on whose shoulder much is anticipated, and assist in rebuilding and ensuring a stable political framework that will be receptive to the necessities of the citizens in the democratic dispensation.

Moreover, the work serves as a useful piece of learning that will contribute to the existing literary works available to use; a resource material for the government strategy functionaries and the society as a whole and subsequently strengthen debates for further research.

Also, this study will equally support and help future aspiring leaders, as well as the present political actors to comprehend the working relationship of the executive and legislative in the presidential setting.

1.7 Scope and limitation of the study

The scope of this study is to examine the nature of executive and legislative relationship with its effect on political development in Nigeria. The research covers the period between 1999 and 2007 of the fourth republic in the history of Nigeria's nascent democracy. There are some reasons for selecting this time. The period covered the first democratic regime of the Fourth Republic Nigeria. The former President Olusegun Obasanjo was elected for two tenures of four year each, making it eight years rule from 1999 until 2007. The former president was a Military, who later became the Military Head of State in Nigeria between 1976 and 1979. As a result, the

scope of this study covers the experiences of former President Olusegun Obasanjo's executive democratic regimes in Nigeria.

Before the present study, the executive and legislative operated under different forms of government; the parliamentary and presidential system of government in Nigeria. The relationship was not sustained which brought in Military regimes consecutively. The Military interruption continued until 1999 when the last Military Head of State finally agreed to return political powers to the civilian government, which will uphold the principles of checks and balances and respect the fundamental human right that is enshrined in the 1999 constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria as amended. This study also provided a comprehensive analysis of the level of independence of the legislative as an arm of government. Specifically, there were in-depth interviews, focusing on the degree of executive interference in the legislative functions in Nigeria; the implications of the unhealthy relationship between the executive and legislative were also analyzed as a guide that will foster social and political development in Nigeria.

This study also has several limitations. One of the limitations is the secondary source of data, which is the interview with serving executive and principal leaders of the legislative as informants of the study. Secondly, this study was restricted to individuals who are experienced in the working of the population. Finally, conducting a study based on existing documents and supported by the opinions of informants may encounter distinct challenges.

1.8 Organization of the Study

The study concentrates on the executive and legislative relationship in the Nigeria Fourth Republic. It discusses constitutional responsibilities, checks and balances and separation of powers between the executive and legislatures in promoting political development.

This study will constitute five chapters. Chapter one is a descriptive introduction to the study background. It also highlighted the statement of the research problem, research questions and objective, the significance of the study as well as the scope and limitation of the study, definition of terms as well as chapterisation.

Chapter two is the literature review. It constitutes reviews both empirical and theoretical literature related to the study. It provides subheading such as introduction, the theoretical and empirical literature on factors influencing the executive and legislative conflicts, executive interference in the legislative process that affects Nigeria development, implications of this conflict and theoretical framework.

Chapter three focused on methodology. It outlines the varied methods exploited for this study. It constitutes a Preamble, Research design, Rationale for using qualitative Research method, Sample and sampling size technique, Ethical reviews, Data

collection procedures, Data analysis, reliability and validity, Limitations of the research, Informants criteria of selection and justification and a brief conclusion.

Chapter four emphasize on data analysis and presentation of findings. Chapter five present the Summary, Conclusion, and Recommendation.



REFERENCES

- 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. Abuja: Federal Government of Nigeria.
- Abiodun. (2000, May). Budget War. Retrieved March 2013. Newswatch.
- Abonyi, N. (2006). Intergovernmental Relations in Democratic Federations. Enugu: John Jacob's Classic Publishers Ltd.
- Adebo, A. (1988). The Legislature: Overview and Performance. In V. & Ayeni, Nigeria's Second Republic (pp. 85-106). Lagos: Daily Times Publications.
- Adedoya, T. (2006, April 21). Anti-3rd Time Lawmakers Meet Civil Society Groups. Retrieved March 2013. Day Newspaper.
- Adegbamigbe, A. (1999, August 2). Jitters in the House. Retrieved November 2014. The News Newspapers Lagos.
- Adesina, S.O. (2009). The Myths Surrounding Ethnic Politics in Nigeria. Journal of Politics, pp. 34-40.
- Ahmadu, R.A & Ajiboye, N. (2004). A Handbook on Legislative Practice and Procedure of the National Assembly. Abuja: National Secretariat of Nigerian Legislatures.
- Aiyede, R & Isumonah, V. (2002). Towards Democracy Consolidation in Nigeria. Executive-Legislature and the Budgetary Process.
- Aiyede, R. E. (2005). Executive-Legislative Relations in Nigeria's Emerging Presidential Democracy. UNILAG Journal of Politics. Vol. 2 No. 1, pp. 65-87.
- Ajayi, M.O. (2007). The Soccer Pitch and the Political Arena in Nigeria. Public Lecture Series. Ota-Ogun State: Covenant University.
- Akinwumi, O. (2004). Conflicts and Crisis in Nigeria: A Political History since 1960. Munster, Germany: LIT Verlag.
- Alfa, P.I. (2011). Political parties and democratic consolidation in Nigeria. Journal of Policy and Development 5(2), 149-160.
- Almond, G. & Powell G. B. (1975). Comparative Politics: Development Approach. Boston: Little Brown.
- Almond, G. (1969). Political Development: Analytic and Normative Perspectives. Comparative Political Studies, Vol. 1, 449.
- Amadi T. (2005). Power and Politics in the Nigerian Senate. Abuja: Northwood Resources Ltd.
- Ameh, John (2012). Treat of Impeachment Threat –Investigation. Punch Newspaper, August 4.
- Amie Kreppel (2009) Executive-Legislative Relations and Legislative Agenda Setting in Italy: From Leggine to Decreti and Deleghe. Bulletin of Italian Politics. Vol. 1, No. 2, 2009, 183-209
- Amusa, K.O. (2013). Legislative Oversight Functions in Nigeria. Odyssey of Hunters becoming the Hunted. Acta Universitatis Danubius: Juridica, 9(2).

- Anderson, B. (2005). "The Value of a Nonpartisan, Independent, Objective Analytic Unit to the Legislative Role in Budget Preparation." Washington DC.
- Anifowose, R. (2008). "Constitution and Constitutionalism." In R. & Anifowose, Elements of Politics (pp. 157-170). Lagos: Sam Ironsi Publications.
- Anifowose, R. (2008). "The Structure and Organization of Government". In R. & Anifowose, Elements of Politics. (pp. 171 -190). Lagos: Sam Ironsi Publications.
- Anyaegbunam, E. O. (2000). Assembly handbook: "a legislators'[sic] companion". Friedrich Ebert Foundation.
- Appadorai, A. (1975). The Substance of Politics. Delhi: Oxford University Press. Archers.
- Arter, D. (2013). Comparing and classifying legislatures. Routledge.
- Awotokun, A.M. (1998). Legislative, Executive and Judiciary Duties in Sustaining Democracy: A Theoretical Discourse in Nigeria. Indian Socio-Legal Journal. Vol XXIV No 1 & 2, 53-60.
- Barkan, J. D. (2004). "Emerging Legislatures: Institutions of Horizontal Accountability." In B. & Levy, Building State Capacity in Africa (pp. 211-56). Washington: World Bank Institute.
- Barnard, A. (2000). History and theory in anthropology. Cambridge University Press
- Bassey, A. (2000). Issues in legislative affairs: A study of Cross River State House of Assembly. Legislative Fellow Research. Ibadan: The Institute of Social Science and Administration (TISSA), Vol. 1, 2, 3.
- Benjamin, S. A. (2010). "National Assembly: The Limit of Party Politics In Legislative Process." Nigeria Journal of Legislative Affairs, Vol. 3 No. 1& 2, 44-72.
- Berg, B. (1989). Qualitative Research Methods for Social Science. Boston: Allyn and Bacon.
- Berg, B. L. (2001). Qualitative research methods for the social sciences. (6 ed.) Boston: Allyn and Bacon.
- Berg, B. L., Lune, H., & Lune, H. (2004). Qualitative research methods for the social sciences (Vol. 5). Boston, MA: Pearson.
- Bernick, Ethan M. & Bernick, Lee E. (2008). "Executive-Legislative Relations; Where You Sit Really Does Matter." Social Science Quarterly. Vol. 89. No. 4., 969-986.
- Bola, D. A. (2011). Social Policy: A bag on the path. Nigerian Management Review, 5(2), 13-18.
- Bradbury-Jones C., Irvine F. & Sambrook S. (2010). Phenomenology and participant feedback: Convention or contention. Nurse Researcher. 17(2), 25-33.
- Bromley, D. B. (1990). Academic contributions to psychological counseling: I. A philosophy of science for the study of individual cases. Counselling Psychology Quarterly, 3(3), 299-307.

- Bunch, C. (2005). Not by Degress: Feminist Theory and Education. In W. E. Kolmar, *Feminist Theory* (2nd Ed.). Boston: McGraw-Hill.
- Burnell, P. (2003). "Legislative-Executive Relations in Zambia: Parliamentary Reform on the Agenda." *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*. Vol. 21. No.1, 47-68.
- Charlesworth, J. C. (1968). *Contemporary Political Analysis*. New York: The Free Press.
- Cheibub, J. A. (2007). *Presidentialism, Parliamentarism, and Democracy*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Cheibub, J. A. (2009). *Presidentialism, Parliamentarism, and Democracy*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Chikendu, P. N. (2003). *Introduction to Political Science*. Enugu: Academic Publishing Company.
- Creswell, J. W. (1998). *Choosing among five traditions. Qualitative inquiry and research design*. London: Sage.
- Creswell, J. W. (2003). *Research design: qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approaches*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Creswell, J. W. (2012). *Qualitative inquiry and research design: Choosing among five approaches*. Sage.
- Creswell, J. W. (2013). *Qualitative Inquiry and Research Design*.
- Crossman, R. H.S. (1972). *The Myths of Cabinet Government* Cambridge. Harvard University Press.
- Davies, A. E. (2004). "The Role of the Legislature in Fostering an Efficient System of Public Finance." In F. (eds), *Fiscal Federalism*. CEMA/ACBE.
- De Montesquieu, C. (1748). *The Spirit of the Law: Book V. The Constitution Society*.
- Denzin, N. K., & Lincoln, Y. S. (1994). *Handbook of qualitative research*. Sage Publications, Inc.
- Diermeier, D., & Vlaicu, R. (2011). Executive control and legislative success. *The Review of Economic Studies*, 78(3), 846-871.
- Dudley, B. (1982). *An Introduction to Nigerian Government and Politics*. London: Macmillan Press Ltd.
- Dulani, J. K. & Donge, V. (2006). A Decade of Legislature-Executive Squabble in Malawi, 1994-2004. In M. A. (ed.), *African Parliaments. Between Government and Governance* (pp. 201-24). New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Ede D.I. (2002). *Nigerian Legislature: Practices and Politics*. Enugu: Mekanad Publications.
- Edigheji, O. (2006). Political Representation in Africa: Towards a Conceptual Framework. *African Development*. Vol. XXXI, No. 3, 93-119.
- Edosa, E. & Azelama, J. (1995). *Institutions of Government*. In A. O. Ikelegbe, *Politics and Government: An Introductory and Comparative Perspective* (pp. 35-55). Benin City: Uri Publishing Ltd.

- Ekweme, A. (2005). *The Constitution and Sustainable Democracy in Nigeria: Challenges and Prospects*. Foundation for Good Governance and Development in Nigeria.
- Emezi C.E & Ndoh C.A. (1998). *African Politics*. Owerri: Achugo Publications.
- Eminue, O. (2006). Executive–Legislative Relations: Some Preliminary Observations on the Budget Process. In e. E.O. Ojo, *Challenges of Sustainable Democracy in Nigeria*. (pp. 155-183). Ibadan: John Archers, 155–183.
- Esebagbon, R. (2005). *The Nigerian legislative process: bills, budgetary control & committee system*. Abuja: Law-link Consults.
- Eze, R. C. (2013). An Overview of the Executive, Legislature Relations and the Consolidation of Democracy in Nigeria. *International Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities Review*.
- Farmer, R. (2007). *Legislating without experience: case studies in state legislative term limits*. Lexington Books.
- Fasagba (2009). Legislative Oversight under the Nigerian Presidential System. *The Journal of Legislative Studies*.
- Fasagba, J. Y. (2010). “De-Constitutionalising? Democratic Governance in Nigeria: Assessing Executive-Legislative Handling of Executive Power Vacuum in the Fourth Republic”. *Africana*, 7-44.
- Finer, H. (1932). *The theory and practice of modern government*.
- Fish, M. S. (2006). Stronger legislatures, stronger democracies. *Journal of Democracy*, 17(1), 5-20.
- Fortes, M., & Evans-Pritchard, E. E. (2015). *African political systems*. Routledge.
- Frank, E. O., & Ukpere, W. I. (2012). The impact of military rule on democracy in Nigeria. *Journal of Social Sciences*, 33(3), 285-292.
- Gerring, J., Thacker, S. C., & Alfaro, R. (2012). Democracy and human development. *The Journal of Politics*, 74(01), 1-17.
- Grant, M. (1967). *The Modern Presidency*. New York: St. Martins Press.
- Grew, R. (Ed.). (2015). *Crises of Political Development in Europe and the United States*. (SPD-9) (Vol. 9). Princeton University Press.
- Hagopian, F. (2000). Political development, revisited. *Comparative political studies*, 33(6-7), 880-911.
- Heywood, A. (2007). *Politics* (3rd Edition). New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Holme, R. (2007). *Relations between the Executive, the Judiciary and Parliament*. London: The Stationery Office Limited.
- Holmwood, J. (2005). Functionalism and its Critics. *Modern social theory: an introduction*, 87-109.
- Hsieh, Hsiu-Fang; Shannon, Sarah E. (2005). *Three approaches to qualitative content analysis*. *Qualitative Health Research*. Sage Publication.

- Idahosa, S. A. & Ekpekurede, W. (1995). "Ideas and Forms of Organization of Government." In A. O. Ikelegbe, *Politics and Government: An Introductory and Comparative Perspective* (pp. 23-34). Benin City: Uri Publishing Ltd.
- Igbokwe-Ibeto, C. J., & Anazodo, R. O. (2015) *Managing Executive-Legislative Working Relationship for Good Governance and Service Delivery in Nigeria*.
- Ikoronye, I. (2005). "Legislative-Executive Relationship and Powers Functions of the Legislature in Local Government Administration." *Journal of Nigerian Government and Politics*. Vol. 1, No. 1.
- Jaguaribe, H. (1968). *Economic and Political Development*. Cambridge, M.A.: Harvard University Press.
- Jennings, G. (2001). *Tourism research*. John Wiley and Sons Australia, Ltd.
- Katigbak, K. (November 23, 2006.). *Presidential and Parliamentary System: A Comparism. Political and Government System*.
- Katyal, N. K. (2006). *Internal Separation of Powers: Checking Today's Most Dangerous Branch from Within*. Yale Law Journal, 115.
- Kazeem, A. O. (2013). *Legislative Oversight Functions in Nigeria. Odyssey of Hunters Becoming the Hunted*. Acta U. Danubius Jur., 79.
- Kenney, C. D. (2003). *Horizontal accountability: concepts and conflicts*. Mainwaring, Scott, & Welma, Christopher. *Democratic Accountability in Latin America*, Oxford: Oxford University Press (Oxford Studies in Democratization), 165, 55.
- Kesselman, M., Krieger, J., Joseph, W. A., & Abrahamian, E. (2011). *Introduction to politics of the developing world: Political challenges and changing agendas engage Learning*.
- Kingbury (2007). "Power of the Purse: An Analysis of the Legislative.
- Kingsbury, N., & Scanzoni, J. (2009). *Structural-functionalism*. In *Sourcebook of family theories and methods* (pp. 195-221). Springer US.
- Kopecky, P. (2004). "Power to the Executive! The Changing Executive – Legislative Relations in Eastern Europe". *Journal of Legislative Studies*. Vol. 10 No. 2/3., 142-153.
- Kotz é D. (2013). *Executive-legislative relations and quality of governance, Participation*, 37(1): 6-7
- La Palombara, J., & Weiner, M. (2015). *Political Parties and Political Development*. (SPD-6). Princeton University Press.
- Lafenwa, S. A. (2009). "The Legislature and the Challenges of Democratic Governance in Africa: The Nigerian Case." *Governance and Development on Democratization in Africa: Retrospective and Future, Prospects*. University of Leeds, United Kingdom.
- Lafenwa, Stephen. A. & Gberevbie, Daniel E. I. (2007). "Legislative Oversight and Cost of Governance in Nigeria." In A. S. Akpotor, *Cost of Governance in Nigeria. An Evaluative Analysis*. (pp. 216-244). Ekpoma: Ambrose Ali University Publishing House.

- Lane, R. (1994). Structural-functionalism reconsidered: a proposed research model. *Comparative politics*, 461-477.
- Ledyaev, V. G., & Chirikova, A. (2016). Power in the Local Russian Communities Patterns of Interaction between Legislative and Executive Branches of Local Government. *Urban Affairs Review*, 1078087416649755.
- Leedy, P., & Omrod, J.E. (2001). *Practical Research: Planning and Design*, 7th Edition. New Jersey: Prentice Hall, Inc.
- Lewis, Peter M. (2011). *Nigeria Country Report*. Cape Town: University of Cape Town Centre for Social Science Report.
- Lijphart, A. (1999). *Patterns of Democracy: Government Forms and Performance in Thirty-Six Countries*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press.
- Lijphart, A. (2004). "Constitutional Design for Divided Societies." *Journal of Democracy*. Vol. 15. No. 2, 96-109.
- Madison, J. (1788). Federalist no. 47. *The Federalist Papers*, 301.
- Magill, E. M. (2001). "Beyond Powers and Branches in Separation of Powers Law." *University of Pennsylvania Law Review*, Vol. 150, No. 2, 603-660.
- Mark, R. (1996). *Research made simple: A handbook for social workers*. Sage.
- Martin, S. (2011). Parliamentary Questions, the Behavior of Legislators, and the Function of Legislatures: An Introduction. *The Journal of Legislative Studies*, 17:3, 259-270.
- Mason, J. (2002). *Qualitative researching*. Sage.
- Mato, K. (2007) "Power of the Purse: An Analysis of the Legislative".
- Mayring, P. (2000). Qualitative content analysis. *Forum on Qualitative Social Research*, 1(2).
- Mbah, P. (2007). Executive-Legislative Relations in Nigeria: The Presidency and the National Assembly, 1999 -2006. *Nigeria Journal of Social Sciences*. Vol. 1.
- McCandless, E., & Karbo, T. (Eds.). (2011). *Peace, Conflict, and Development in Africa: A Reader*. University for Peace, Africa Programme.
- Merriam, S. B. (1988). *Case study research in education: A qualitative approach*. Jossey-Bass.
- Merriam, S. B. (1998). *Qualitative Research and Case Study Applications in Education*. Revised and Expanded from. Jossey-Bass Publishers, 350 Sansome St, San Francisco, CA 94104.
- Merriam, S. B. (2002). *Qualitative research in practice: Examples for discussion and analysis*. Jossey-Bass Inc. Pub
- Meyer, C. B. (2001). *A case in case study methodology*. Sage Publication.
- Mill, J. S. (1869). *On liberty*. Longmans, Green, Reader, and Dyer.
- Momodu & Ika. (2013). The Implications of Executive-Legislative Conflicts on Good Governance in Nigeria. *Public Policy and Administration Research*, 2013, 3, 8, 30-42.

- Momoh, A. (2000). "The History and Politics of Constitution Making in Nigeria (1922 – 1999)." In A. A. Jegede S., Path to People's Constitution. Lagos: Committee for the Defence of Human Rights.
- Moreno, Erika, Brian C. and Matthew S. S. (2003). 'The Accountability Deficit in Latin America.' In E. Scott M. and Christopher W., Democratic Accountability in Latin America. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Morgenthau H.J. (1991). Politics among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace 6th Edition. India: Kalyani Publishers.
- Nachmias, D. & Nachmias, C. (1976). Content analysis. Research methods in the social sciences, 132-139.
- National Conference of State Legislatures (NCSL, 2016). Accessed Online: <http://www.ncsl.org/research/about-state-legislatures/separation-of-powers-an-overview.aspx>
- National Democratic Institute (2000) Strengthening Legislative Capacity in Legislative-Executive Relations: Legislative Research Series. Washington, D.C: The National Democratic Institute for International Affairs.
- Natufe, I. (2006). "Governance and Politics in Nigeria" A lecture delivered at the staff and graduate seminar, department of political science and public administration, University of Benin. November 21, 2006.
- Newspapers, T. N. (2013, October 25). The Nation. Retrieved April 4, 2016, from The Nation Newspapers: <http://thenationonlineng.net/new/n255m-bulletproof-cars-deal-illegal-panel-told>.
- Newswatch Magazine. (2001, April 23). Newswatch. Retrieved October 2013, from Newswatch Magazine.
- Newswatch Magazine. (2003, February 1). Newswatch. Retrieved November 2013, from Newswatch Magazine.
- Nijzink, Lia, Mozaffar, Shaheen & Azevedo (2006). "Parliaments and the Enhancement of Democracy on the African continent: An Analysis of Institutional Capacity and Public Perceptions." The Journals of Legislative Studies, Vol. 12. No. 3-4, 311-335.
- Nwabueze, B. O. (1985). Nigeria's Presidential Constitution: the Second Experiment in Constitutional Democracy. London: Oxford.
- Nwabueze, B. O. (2003). Constitutional Democracy in Africa: Forms of Government (Vol. 4). Spectrum Books Limited.
- Nwannekanma, Betram & Ogbodo, John-Abba (2010). "Constitution Review Needs President's Assent, Court Rules." The Guardian. November 9. Vol. 1.
- Ogai, J.O. (2003). "Understanding Development." Owerri: New Generation Publishers.
- Ogbonna C.A. (2005). Group and Party Politics in Nigeria. Enugu: D-Ideal Ventures Ltd.
- Ojo A.O. (1973). Political Science and Government of Nigeria for West African Students. Akure: Ilesannri Press Ltd.

- Ojo, L. I., & Ojo, B. B. (2012). Effective Leadership: Tool for Achieving Political Stability and National Development in Nigeria. *Journal of Education and Practice*, 3(2), 7-16.
- Okereke (2006). *Presidential Power: The Politics of Leadership*. Department of Government and Public Administration. Imo State University.
- Oko, O. (2014). *Legislators in Changing and Challenging Times: An Analysis of the Nigerian National Assembly*
- Okoli & Okoli (2006). *Foundations of Government and Politics*. Onitsha: Africana-Feb Publishers.
- Okoli E. (2002). *The Political Economy of Africa*. Sapele: Iyiowas Nigeria Ltd.
- Okon (2013). *An Examination of Causes and Consequences of Conflict between Legislature and Executive in Cross River State, Nigeria*.
- 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." *Nigeria Journal of Legislative Affairs*, Vol. 3 No. 1& 2, 1-27.
- Okoye J.C.; E.A. Egboh & Emma E.O. C. (2012). *Changing Perspectives of Nigeria Political Development: From militarism to incumbency and godfatherism*. *Journal of Political Studies*, Vol. 19, Issue - 1.
- Olojede, I. (2008). *Democracy and Corruption: Executive-Legislature Relations in Nigeria's Fourth Republic*. In Ojo, E. O. (ed.). *Challenges of Sustainable Development in Nigeria*. Ibadan: John Archers Publishers Limited.
- O'Malley, E., & MacCarthaigh, M. (2011). *Governing Ireland: From Cabinet Government to Delegated Governance*. E. O'Malley & M. MacCarthaigh, eds., Institute of Public Administration
- Omotola, J.S. (2007). *Democratization, Good Governance and Development in Africa: The Nigerian Experience*. *Journal of Sustainable Development in Africa*. 9, (4), 253.
- Oni, S. O. (2013). *Legislature-Executive Relations in the Presidential System: A Study of Lagos and Ogun States, Nigeria, 1999-2011*. Ogun and Lagos.
- Osaghae, E. E. (2002). *Nigerian since Independence: Crippled Giant*. Ibadan. Nigeria.
- Oshio, P.E. (2004). "The Local Government System and Federal/State Legislature Competence under the 1999 Constitution." *Journal of Constitutional and Parliamentary Studies, India*. Vol. 38, Nos. 1- 4, 159-173.
- Oyelowo, O. (2007). *Constitutionalism and the Oversight functions of the Legislature in Nigeria*. African Network Constitutional Law Conference on Fostering Constitutionalism in Africa. Nairobi, Kenya, April 2007.
- Packenham, R. A. (1964). *Approaches to the study of political development*. *World Politics*, 17(1), 108-120.
- Peet, R., & Hartwick, E. R. (2009). *Theories of development: Contentions, Arguments, alternatives*. Guilford Publication.
- Pennock, J. R. (1966). *Political development, political systems, and political goods*. *World Politics*, 18(3), 415-434.

- Peter, Guy B. (2005). *Institutional Theory in Political Science. The New Institutionalism*. NY: Continuum.
- Peterson, P. E., & Greene, J. P. (1994). Why executive-legislative conflict in the United States is dwindling. *British Journal of Political Science*, 24(01), 33-55.
- Pieterse, J. N. (2009). *Development theory*. SAGE Publications Limited.
- Pita, O. A. (2003). "Power and Leadership in Contemporary Nigeria." *The Constitution* Vol. 2, No.3, 2003, 8-10.
- Polit D.F. & Beck C.T. (2008). *Nursing Research: Generating and Assessing Evidence for Nursing Practice*. 8th edition. Great Britain. Lippincott, Williams & Wilkins.
- Posner, Daniel N. And Young, Daniel J. (2007). "The Institutionalization of Political Power in Africa." *Journal of Democracy*. Vol. 18. No. 3.
- Poteete, Amy R. (2010). *Renegotiation of Executive Powers and Executive-Legislative Relations in Botswana*. Montreal: Concordia University Press.
- Powers (2nd ed.). *Online Library of Liberty (OLL)*; Accessed online: <http://oll.libertyfund.org/titles/vile-constitutionalism-and-the-separation-of-powers>
- Puke, T. A. (2007). *Substance of Government*. Lokoja: JHL Printing and Publications.
- Pye, L. W., & Verba, S. (2015). *Political culture and political development*. Princeton University Press.
- Rasch, Bjørn E. (2011). "Why Minority Governments? Executive-Legislative Relations in the Nordic Countries". In T. & Persson, *Parliamentary Government in the Nordic Countries at a Crossroads. Coping with Challenges from Europeanization and Presidentialisation*. Sweden.
- Ray, S. N. (2004). *Modern Comparative Politics. Approaches, Methods and Issues*. New Delhi: Prentice-Hall Private Ltd.
- Riggs, Fred W. (1997). "Presidentialism versus Parliamentarism: Implications for Representativeness and Legitimacy." *International Political Science Review*. Vol.18, No. 3, 253 – 278.
- Roberts, F. O. Nyemutu. (2002). "Performance Evaluation of the New Democracy." In D. O. In Ajakaiye, *Meeting the Challenges of Sustainable Democracy in Nigeria*. Ibadan: NISER.
- Russo, F. and Wiberg, M. (2010). *Parliamentary Questioning in 17 European Parliaments: Some Steps towards Comparison*. *The Journal of Legislative Studies*, 16 (2), 215–232.
- Saffell, D.C. (1989). *Essentials of American Government: Change and Continuity*. Pacific Grove, CA: Brooks/Cole.
- Saliu, Hassan A. & Muhammad, Abdulrashid A. (2010). "Exploring the Parliament." *Nigeria Journal of Legislative Affairs*, Vol. 3 No. 1& 2, 73 – 89.
- Samuel P. H. (1965). "Political Development and Political Decay." *World Politics*, xvii, 386-430.

- Samuels, David & Eaton, Kent. (2002). "Presidentialism and, or, and Versus Parliamentarism: The State of the Literature and an Agenda for Future Research." *Consequences of Political Institutions in Democracy*. Duke University, April 5-7.
- Sanyal, K. (2009). *The Executive versus the Legislature*. New Delhi: PRS Legislative Research.
- Schwandt, T. A. (2001). *Dictionary of qualitative inquiry* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Shija, W.F. (2008). *The Secretary General's File*. In: Commonwealth Parliamentary Association Secretariat. , UK First Reading, 14 May.
- Shively W.P. (2003). *Power and Choice: An Introduction to Political Science*. New York: McGraw-Hill Publishers.
- Shugart, Mathew S. (2006). "Comparative Executive-Legislative Relations." In R. A. Rhodes, *Political Institutions* (pp. 1-31). New York: Oxford University Press.
- Shugart, Matthew S. & John M. Carey. (19992). *Presidents and Assemblies: Constitutional Design and Electoral Dynamics*. New York: Cambridge.
- Simmons, Charlene W. (2002). *Legislative Oversight of the Executive Branch*. CA: California Research Bureau.
- Smith, Raymond A. (2010). *Importing Democracy Ideas from Around the World to Reform and Revitalize American Politics and Government*. California: Greenwood Publishing Group.
- Taft, W.H. (1989). *The limitations of the Presidents' Powers*. In e. R.B. Ripley and E.E. Slotnick, *Readings in American Government and Politics* (pp. 411-420). New York: McGraw-Hill Book.
- Taiwo, E. A. (2010). Executive immunity under the Nigerian Constitution and its impact on the anti-corruption crusade. *East African Journal of Peace and Human Rights*, 16(2), 216-247.
- Taiwo, Israel. O. & Fajingbesi, Adeyemi, A. (2004). *Fiscal Federalism and Democratic Governance in Nigeria*. Ibadan: National Centre for Economic Management and Administration (Nigeria).
- The Daily Trust, Editorial. (March 30, 2007). "The Senate Review Committee Report on the PTF. The Daily Trust.
- Thomas, M. A. & Sissokho, O. (2005). "Liaison Legislature: The Role of the National Assembly in Senegal." *Journal of African Modern Studies*. Vol. 43.No. 1, 97-117.
- Tongco, M. D. C. (2007). Purposive sampling as a tool for informant selection.
- Uchechukwu, H.W. (2005). "Women political participation in Nigeria- a critical view." *Journal of Policy and Development Studies*, 1(2), 6.
- Ugwu S.C. (2006). *Public Policy Analysis: Issues, Principles, Theories and Application*. Enugu.Chiezugo. Ventures.
- Ugwu, S. C. (1998). *Federal System. The Nigerian Experience*. Enugu, Nigeria. Mary Dan Printing Company.

- Umez, B. N. (2000). Nigeria: Real Problems, Real Solutions. Umez.
- Wade, E. C. S & Bradley, A. W. Phillips (1970). Constitutional and Administrative Law. 9th ed. Longman.
- Weeks, O. D. (1936). Legislative Power Versus Delegated Legislative Power. *Geo. LJ*, 25, 314.
- Wehner, J. (2004). "Back from the Sidelines? Redefining the Contribution of Legislatures to the Budget Cycle". World Bank Institute, Washington DC.
- Wurman, I. (2016). Constitutional Administration. *Stanford Law Review*, Forthcoming.
- Yin, R. K. (1994). Case study research: Design and methods (2nd ed.). Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.
- Yin, R. K. (2003), Case study research. Design and Methods. London.