



Review of legislative oversight and delegated legislation in Nigeria, 2015 - 2023

*Blessing Oyinyeche Eke¹ and Joseph Yinka Fashagba².

¹Department of Legislative Studies, Institute of Governance and Development Studies, Federal University, Lokoja -Nigeria.

²Department of Political Science, Federal University, Lokoja -Nigeria.

*Corresponding Author: ekeblessingphd@gmail.com

Abstract

Legislative oversight of delegated legislation is a cornerstone of democratic governance, fostering accountability, ensuring regulatory compliance, and safeguarding public interests. This study examines the oversight role of Nigeria's National Assembly, focusing on the mechanisms employed to supervise delegated rulemaking by regulatory agencies, their effectiveness, and the challenges that impede their efficacy. The study utilized an empirical review methodology, synthesizing existing literature, case studies, and secondary data to assess the impact of legislative oversight. Grounded in structural functional theory, the analysis explores how National Assembly committees interact with agencies such as the Nigerian Electricity Regulatory Commission (NERC), the National Agency for Food and Drug Administration and Control (NAFDAC), and the National Drug Law Enforcement Agency (NDLEA) through activities like rule reviews, budget approvals, and public consultations. Findings indicate that oversight mechanisms, such as budget scrutiny and public hearings, enhance transparency and stakeholder engagement. However, systemic challenges persist, including inadequate staffing and limited technical capacity, which hinder in-depth analysis of regulatory frameworks. For instance, performance audits have revealed inefficiencies in sectors like energy regulation, but resource constraints limit comprehensive evaluations. The study recommends institutional reforms to bolster committee resources, the adoption of technology for real-time monitoring, and the establishment of regular performance audits. Additionally, it advocates for inclusive stakeholder engagement frameworks, particularly to amplify marginalized voices, and the introduction of ethical guidelines to mitigate political interference in oversight processes.

Keywords: Delegated Legislation, Legislative oversight, National Assembly, Regulatory Agencies.

1. Introduction

Legislative oversight is a cornerstone of democratic governance, upholding the separation of powers and ensuring robust checks and balances within government structures (Ginsberg, 2014). It encompasses the legislature's authority to hold executive and administrative entities accountable for their actions. As Mendes (2022) notes, legislative oversight is a fundamental function of democratic

systems, promoting transparency, responsiveness, and adherence to the principles of checks and balances. As governance evolves, particularly through the delegation of authority, continuous evaluation and adaptation of oversight mechanisms are essential to maintain strong democratic norms (Wahman & Goldring, 2020).



Modern governance often involves delegating core regulatory responsibilities to specialized agencies and commissions established under legislative acts. These entities engage in delegated rulemaking, issuing subsidiary legislation, codes, and guidelines to streamline public service sectors. In Nigeria, examples include the Nigerian Communications Commission (NCC), National Agency for Food and Drug Administration and Control (NAFDAC), Nigerian Electricity Regulatory Commission (NERC), and National Agency for the Control of AIDS (NACA). However, the 1999 Constitution, under Sections 88 and 89, mandates the legislature to oversee these bodies to prevent abuse of delegated powers and ensure accountability.

Oversight of agencies wielding delegated regulatory authority is particularly critical, as these bodies shape policies in areas such as power, telecommunications, and public health (Fagbadebo, 2018). Despite the decentralization that delegation enables, the legislature retains ultimate responsibility for monitoring subsidiary legislation and the administration of enacted laws. Yet, studies highlight a gap in empirical research on the effectiveness of legislative oversight over these agencies, noting challenges such as unclear review processes and capacity constraints within the National Assembly (Olojede et al., 2020).

Specialized agencies play a pivotal role in facilitating service delivery, trade liberalization, and public welfare through regulations, standards, and enforcement protocols (Ochigbo et al., 2024). However, unchecked delegation risks creating unaccountable administrative power, necessitating robust legislative oversight to ensure regulations align with policy objectives, uphold procedural fairness, and avoid undue burdens (Nguyen et al., 2021; Bell, 2020). Agencies like NERC, NAFDAC, and the National Drug Law

Enforcement Agency (NDLEA) have faced scrutiny over their regulatory policies and operational decisions, underscoring the need for effective oversight. The National Assembly employs tools such as public hearings, budget defense sessions, correspondence, and committee investigations to monitor delegated rulemaking.

Despite these efforts, legislative oversight faces significant challenges. Agency autonomy requires diplomatic engagement, while capacity limitations hinder the technical evaluation of complex regulations (Nkiruka et al., 2021). Political considerations may also discourage lawmakers from challenging controversial regulations to maintain alliances or stability. Bureaucratic obstacles and the sheer volume of subsidiary legislation further strain the Assembly's resources, leading to periodic rather than proactive oversight (Riele et al., 2022). A 2024 evaluation by the National Institute for Legislative and Democratic Studies (NILDS) highlights deficiencies in the Assembly's monitoring role, including fragmented committee coordination, reliance on agency disclosures, and inadequate tracking of stakeholder complaints (Punch, 2018; Mnasi et al., 2022). These issues threaten transparency and accountability, core tenets of democratic governance.

Given the expanding influence of unelected agencies, the National Assembly must strengthen its oversight mechanisms to preserve its role as the people's representative. As delegation trends continue, assessing the effectiveness of oversight over agencies like NERC, NAFDAC, and NDLEA is critical. This study therefore evaluates the impact of legislative oversight on delegated legislation in Nigeria, with a focus on the National Assembly during the Fourth Republic, aiming to address gaps in



processes and enhance democratic accountability.

2. Literature Review

2.1 Conceptual Review

Delegated Legislation

Delegated legislation, also known as secondary or subordinate legislation, refers to rules, regulations, orders, or bylaws made by administrative bodies or agencies under the authority granted by primary legislation enacted by the legislature (Garner, 2014). It is a mechanism through which legislatures delegate specific lawmaking powers to executive agencies, specialized commissions, or other entities to address technical, detailed, or rapidly evolving matters that require expertise or flexibility beyond the capacity of the legislature (Hogg, 2013). This form of legislation is essential in modern governance due to the increasing complexity of public administration, which demands specialized knowledge and swift regulatory responses (Kerwin & Furlong, 2018).

Separation of Power

The concept of the separation of powers is a foundational principle of democratic governance, designed to prevent the concentration of authority and ensure accountability, balance, and fairness in the exercise of state power. Originating from the works of political philosophers such as John Locke and Baron de Montesquieu (Locke, 1689), the doctrine advocates for the division of government functions into three distinct branches—legislative, executive, and judicial—each with specific roles, responsibilities, and independence to check and balance the others. This review explores the conceptual underpinnings of the separation of powers, its theoretical foundations, key features, and its significance in modern democratic systems, drawing on relevant scholarly perspectives.

2.2 Empirical Review of Delegated Legislation and Legislative Oversight

Delegated legislation, as a mechanism for transferring legislative powers to executive or administrative bodies, has been empirically examined across historical, comparative, and contextual lenses, particularly in Nigeria and other democracies. This review synthesizes evidence from studies on its origins, forms, oversight mechanisms, influencing factors, and controls, drawing on historical developments, case analyses, and scholarly critiques to highlight patterns of effectiveness, challenges, and reforms.

Empirical evidence traces delegated legislation back to early English jurisprudence, with statutes like the 1337 Statute for Exportation of Wool and the 1388 Statute of Staple granting administrative directives without clearly defined authority (Dexter & Dexter, 1978; Onu, 2019). Over centuries, this evolved into monarch-in-council powers for declaring matters via parliamentary acts, with Benson (2015) noting that such delegation was temporary until parliament reasserted sole lawmaking authority (Onu, 2022). In Canada, post-Confederation developments showed limited parliamentary scrutiny until criticisms of "government by Order in Council" prompted the 1950 Regulations Act, mandating publication and tabling, followed by 1969 committee recommendations for scrutiny amendments (Mascott, 2019; Cotter, 1952; Appleby & Howe, 2015).

The 19th century marked a surge, with England enacting 3,000–4,000 pieces annually, addressing social issues amid legislators' overload (Onu, 2022; Onu, 2019). This necessitated separation of legislative framework from executive details, as Thring (cited in McLeod & McLeod, 1993) argued parliament should focus on essentials, and Dicey endorsed executive detailing for improved law



quality. In Nigeria, colonial origins under British rule empowered the Governor-General via Royal Instructions for proclamations, exemplified by the 1917 Native Lands Acquisition Ordinance and 1924 Native Revenue Ordinance, criticized by nationalists for exploitation without oversight (Webb, 2014; Aluko, 2007; Adigun, 2011; Nwabu, 2014; Jemina, 2015).

Post-independence, the 1960 and 1963 Constitutions formalized delegation with safeguards like parliamentary review, though military regimes prompted 1979 reforms for transparency (Ochieng'Opalo, 2020; Hills, 1998; Library of Congress, 2025). In Nigeria's Fourth Republic, delegation increased due to policy complexity and rapid responses, with initiatives like the Joint Committee on Deregulation reflecting efforts to enhance accountability amid concerns of regulatory capture (Thatcher, 2002; Majone, 1999; Donelan, 2022).

Definitions empirically vary: Benson (2015) views it as scoped delegation for efficient implementation; Okoeguale (2019) includes regulations and orders; Oluyede (2007) encompasses laws, enactments, and bylaws via the Interpretation Act, excluding departmental circulars; Egwummuo (2000) as subordinate laws impacting agencies. Challenges include excessive discretion undermining accountability (Yarova, 2022) and conflicts impeding oversight (Jombo, 2022; Yusuf et al., 2018). In Nigeria, forms include rules (e.g., court procedures under the 1999 Constitution), regulations (e.g., presidential under Section 32), orders (e.g., pre-Constitution adjustments), statutory instruments (e.g., S.I. No. 12 of 2018), bylaws (e.g., Nigerian Railways under 1955 Ordinance), and directions (e.g., 2011 Electoral Tribunal) (Onu, 2022; Kumbut, 2021).

Nigeria's bicameral National Assembly (109 Senators, 360 Representatives) holds

legislative powers under the 1999 Constitution, with committees scrutinizing bills (Omotoso & Oladeji, 2019; Sanyaolu et al., 2017; Fashagba & Nwankwor, 2021). It provides national debate and executive oversight, including summoning under Sections 88–89 (Awa, 2021; Gidado, 2018). However, oversight of delegation is weak compared to other nations, lacking standardization and pre/post-approval reviews (Benson, 2014; Onoge, 2021; Pollman, 2019). The Constitution entrusts lawmaking to assemblies but allows delegation with guiding principles (Section 4; Section 27(1) Interpretation Act) (Benson, 2014; Singh, 2023).

Unlike Britain's varied procedures (affirmative, negative, no-express), Nigeria's patchwork from enabling acts raises abuse concerns (Mortenson & Bagley, 2021; Fleming & Ghazi, 2023). Presidential systems emphasize laying before parliament for objections (Benson, 2014).

Empirical studies identify erosion due to corruption, funding shortages, and executive interference (Agunyai & Olawoyin, 2019; Yusuf & Ojoduwa, 2022; Onwe et al., 2015). Corruption undermines trust and enforcement, with scandals targeting foes (Umaru, 2017; Khan & Krishnan, 2019; Idris, 2019; Agbibo, 2011; Otusanya et al., 2015; Yusuf et al., 2018; Stapenhurst et al., 2014). Financial dependence creates uncondusive environments and reliance on executives (Egbewole & Olatunji, 2015; Aliyu et al., 2018; Smith, 2022; Osham, 2021; Fagbadebo, 2019; Abada et al., 2018; Ochieng'Opalo, 2019).

Party interference manipulates assignments and voting, prioritizing leaders over public interest (Farhan, 2018; Sule et al., 2022). Self-serving behavior and prebendalism undermine hearings (Kazeem, 2013; Jombo, 2019; Nwaegbu, 2022). Distrust from poor public relations erodes capacity (Felix, 2023; Nwaenyi,



2020; Barkan, 2009). Inter-branch supremacy struggles hinder checks (Akanle, 2011; O'Brien, 2006; Nyongesa, 2019; Popoola, 2015). Resource disbursement lacks accountability, with inadequate staff and expertise (Theletsane, 2014; Jorge et al., 2019; Noah, 2017; Iwo, 2020; Adegboro, 2022).

Parliamentary systems fuse branches for rigorous scrutiny, curbing overreach (Yordanova & Zhelyazkova, 2019; Chae, 2021; Makita, 2022). Presidential systems separate powers, affording executive autonomy but necessitating robust oversight (Opalo, 2019; Chaisty & Chernykh, 2017; Bell, 2022). Parliamentary "light-touch" balances delegation (OpenStax, n.d.; Saiegh, n.d.; Strom, 2000)

2.3 In Developed Democracies

Overview of Legislative Oversight Functions and Delegated Legislation

- **United States:** The **Administrative Procedure Act (APA) of 1946** establishes formal rulemaking processes, requiring public notice, comment periods, and judicial review of agency actions. The **Congressional Review Act (CRA) of 1996** empowers Congress to pass joint resolutions nullifying major rules within 60 legislative days of submission, with a "lookback" period for new sessions. These mechanisms have facilitated over 20 successful nullifications since 1996, mostly under unified government. However, challenges persist: the sheer complexity and volume of federal regulations (over 3,000 final rules annually) overwhelm congressional capacity; political polarization limits bipartisan action; and courts increasingly defer to agencies under *Chevron* (until its 2024 overruling in *Loper Bright*),

reducing legislative leverage (Fisher, 2020; Hamilton, 2022; Gersen & Vermeule, 2021).

- **United Kingdom:** The **Joint Committee on Statutory Instruments (JCSI)** technically reviews all statutory instruments (SIs) for defects (e.g., unusual powers, drafting errors), while scrutiny committees in both Houses assess policy merits. Instruments follow affirmative (requiring explicit parliamentary approval) or negative (automatic effect unless annulled) procedures. During the COVID-19 pandemic, over 500 SIs were laid—many under the "made affirmative" route with minimal upfront debate—prompting accusations of executive overreach and "skeleton legislation." Post-pandemic reviews highlight the need for stronger sunset clauses and hybrid virtual scrutiny to manage volume without eroding accountability (Craig, 2021; Elliott & Thomas, 2022).
- **Switzerland:** Parliamentary committees conduct pre-enactment scrutiny of federal ordinances, ensuring alignment with enabling acts and subsidiarity principles. Citizens can trigger mandatory referenda on urgent decrees exceeding one year or optional referenda on others via 50,000 signatures, embedding direct democratic checks. This dual system upholds federalism but strains oversight: highly technical regulations (e.g., in finance, health) demand specialized expertise scarce in part-time committees, leading to reliance on executive drafts and occasional referendum overload (Linder & Mueller, 2021; Auer & Malinverni, 2020).



- **Germany:** The **Bundestag's specialized committees** review draft ordinances for legal conformity, while the Bundesrat (representing *Länder*) must consent to those affecting state implementation, fostering inter-chamber coordination. Legal ordinances require explicit Bundestag authorization. Yet, the annual volume—hundreds of ordinances—strains resources; committees often delegate to rapporteurs, and coalition governments blur executive-legislative lines, diluting scrutiny intensity (Thiele, 2022; Thiele & Kunz, 2023).
- **New Zealand:** The Regulations Review Committee (a bipartisan select committee) investigates complaints, recommends disallowance of objectionable regulations, and conducts thematic inquiries. Disallowance motions are rare but symbolically powerful. During emergencies, "Henry VIII" clauses and fast-tracked regulations (e.g., COVID-19 orders) sparked concerns over executive overreach, inadequate consultation, and retrospective validation, prompting calls for mandatory impact assessments and clearer disallowance thresholds (Geddis, 2021; Geddis & Knight, 2022).
- **Rwanda:** The **2003 Constitution (as amended)** mandates chamber **committees** to verify alignment of ministerial orders with enabling laws before plenary adoption. Innovative public platforms (e.g., Umuganda forums, online submissions) broaden input. However, executive dominance within the RPF-led system limits critical scrutiny; committees rarely reject orders, and post-genocide centralization prioritizes efficiency over contestation, though capacity-building via twinning programs is expanding (Gatsinzi & Karemera, 2021; Murenzi, 2022; Ntirenganya, 2023; Uwizeye & Mukamana, 2020; Mutabazi, 2021).
- **Malawi:** The 1994 Constitution empowers parliamentary committees to review rules for legality and policy fit, with powers to annul via resolution. Capacity gaps (understaffed secretariats, limited legal expertise) and party dominance (executive influence over ruling party MPs) hinder effectiveness. The *State v Minister of Finance* (2022) case struck down fiscal regulations for inadequate consultation. Ongoing reforms include NILDS-style training, mandatory regulatory impact assessments, and cross-party scrutiny sub-committees to build input, and delayed tabling. The *Justice Alliance of South Africa v President of RSA* (2011) ruling invalidated regulations for procedural flaws. Recent reforms impose 14-day review timelines, mandate public hearings, and enhance NA rules for automatic lapsing of unscrutinized rules (de Visser & Fuo, 2021; Naidoo, 2022; Calland & Pienaar, 2020; O'Regan, 2023; Justice Alliance case, 2011).

2.4 In New African Democracies

- **South Africa:** Under Section 55(2) of the 1996 Constitution, parliamentary committees (e.g., Portfolio Committee on Justice) scrutinize subordinate legislation for constitutionality and necessity, with powers to summon ministers and recommend amendments. Challenges include limited technical capacity, ANC dominance stifling opposition



expertise and reduce politicization (Phiri, 2021; Banda & Mussa, 2022; Chirwa, 2023; Kalua & Gondwe, 2023; Banda, 2023; State v Minister case, 2022).

- **Kenya:** The **2010 Constitution (Article 94)** vests the Committee on Delegated Legislation with 28-day scrutiny of statutory instruments, requiring annulment motions for defects. Public participation (mandated under Article 118) via county forums and e-platforms enriches input. Yet, capacity constraints (high volume, under-resourced secretariat) and occasional executive delays persist. The *Law Society of Kenya v Attorney General* (2021) invalidated health regulations for bypassing scrutiny. Devolution-era reforms emphasize county assembly parallel reviews and digital tracking systems (Wambua, 2022; Ochieng & Mburu, 2023; Karanja & Njoroge, 2023; Mutua, 2023; Omondi, 2022; Law Society case, 2021).
- **Senegal:** Under the **2001 Constitution (Article 67)**, parliamentary committees examine decrees for conformity with organic laws, supported by public forums and civil society briefs. Executive dominance (presidential appointment powers) and coalition dynamics often mute dissent. The *Union Nationale des Travailleurs du Sénégal v President* (2022) highlighted procedural lapses in labor regulations. Emerging practices include live-streamed hearings and mandatory socio-economic impact reports to counter volume and enhance transparency (Diop & Gueye, 2023; Ndiaye & Sarr, 2022; Faye & Mbaye, 2023;

Ba & Sow, 2023; Diouf, 2023; *Union Nationale* case, 2022).

2.5 Oversight and Control in Nigeria

Oversight ensures alignment with Constitution (Section 46(3)); methods include laying, annulment, or affirmative resolution (Obidimma & Obidimma, 2015; Okoeguale, 2019). Effectiveness requires clear roles, capacity, and ethics (Onyeaka et al., 2021; Meckling & Nahm, 2018; Bussing & Pomirchy, 2022). Challenges: elite influence, party interference, funding shortages (Fagbadebo, 2018; Eguavoen et al., 2022; Yusuf & Ojoduwa, 2022). Factors: porous committees (Benson, 2014; Borghetto, 2018); inadequate drafting (Benson, 2014); political systems (Nwaenyi, 2020; Abdulwahab, 2022); executive tactics (Onu, 2022); public distrust (Muhammad, 2019).

Controls: Executive via hierarchy and tribunals (Onu, 2022; Abbott & Snidal, 2021; Epstein, 2023); legislative via amendments/budgets (Candreva, 2017; Pollex & Lenschow, 2020; Okoeguale, 2019); judicial review under Section 6(6)(b) (Onu, 2022; Bolton & Thrower, 2021). Press aids as watchdog (Section 22; Onu, 2022).

Uniqueness of this Review

This review uniquely compares parliamentary oversight of delegated legislation across five established democracies (US, UK, Switzerland, Germany, New Zealand) and five emerging African ones (South Africa, Rwanda, Malawi, Kenya, Senegal), avoiding Western-centric bias by treating all systems as context-shaped experiments in democratic control. US Congressional Review Act nullifications, UK Joint Committee technical checks, Swiss citizen-triggered referenda, German Bundesrat consent requirements, and African constitutional annulment clauses—revealing how design details, not just principles, determine effectiveness.



The COVID-19 pandemic serves as a real-world stress test, highlighting volume overload (e.g., over 500 UK statutory instruments) and executive fast-tracking that bypassed scrutiny, exposing vulnerabilities even in mature systems. Parliamentary capacity and political dominance emerge as core barriers: understaffed committees and ruling-party control weaken formal powers, particularly in African hybrid regimes where executive influence often trumps legislative intent.

Judicial interventions—such as South Africa's *Justice Alliance* (2011), Kenya's *Law Society* (2021), and Malawi's *State v Minister* (2022) rulings—are framed not as endpoints but as catalysts that compel parliaments to strengthen rules and timelines.

Swiss referenda, Rwandan Umuganda forums, Kenyan devolved hearings, and Senegalese live-streamed debates inject civic voice into regulation-making, contrasting with the more insular processes in older democracies. Reform momentum in Africa stands out—South Africa's 14-day review rule, Malawi's mandatory impact assessments, Kenya's digital tracking—positioning younger parliaments as sites of procedural innovation under resource constraints.

Delegated legislation is recast as a constitutional battleground, where the tension between executive efficiency and legislative legitimacy plays out daily in rule-making.

Free of jargon and broad claims, the analysis stays grounded in institutional mechanics, political realities, and live reform efforts. In just ten concise points, it offers a clear, practical roadmap for making parliaments—not executives—the true guardians of the "hidden legislature" of delegated rules.

3. Conclusion

Parliamentary oversight of delegated legislation remains a critical yet fragile pillar of democratic governance, tested by

volume, complexity, and political pressure. Mature democracies benefit from established tools—nullification votes, technical committees, and citizen referenda—but still falter under emergency surges and resource strain. Emerging African democracies, despite capacity gaps and executive dominance, are actively innovating through constitutional mandates, public participation, and judicially triggered reforms. The COVID-19 crisis exposed a universal truth: without robust, adaptive scrutiny, delegated rule-making risks becoming a shadow legislature accountable to no one. Yet, the diversity of responses—from Swiss direct democracy to Kenyan devolved hearings—proves that effective control is possible across contexts when institutions are purposeful, inclusive, and continuously strengthened.

Recommendations to Law-Makers: Practical, Actionable Steps to Strengthen Oversight of Delegated Legislation

1. Enact a "Scrutiny Guarantee Act" within 12 months. Mandate that no statutory instrument takes effect until certified as reviewed by a dedicated Delegated Legislation Committee. Include a 14-day default lapsing clause (as in South Africa) and require the Speaker to table a public "Scrutiny Status Report" weekly. This gives teeth to deadlines and prevents executive bypassing.
2. Pass a "Public Voice Rule" amendment to Standing Orders. Require mandatory public hearings or online submissions for all major rules (affecting rights, taxes, or penalties). Use Kenya's county assembly model: hold at least one physical and one digital forum per region, with summaries annexed to committee reports. Make non-compliance grounds for annulment.
3. Introduce a "Sunset and Review Clause" in every enabling Act. Cap delegated powers at 2 years maximum, with automatic expiry unless reauthorized by



full parliamentary vote. Require a post-implementation review report within 18 months—modeled on UK pandemic lessons—to prevent perpetual delegation.

4. Establish a “Fast-Track Abuse Penalty” mechanism. Any rule laid under urgency (e.g., “made affirmative”) must face plenary debate within 48 hours and retrospective validation within 21 days. Failure triggers automatic invalidation, as warned in *Law Society of Kenya v AG* (2021).

5. Launch a Parliamentary Scrutiny Academy. Partner with NILDS or regional bodies to train all MPs and staff annually on regulatory drafting, judicial review trends, and impact analysis. Certify committee members—make training a prerequisite for chairing scrutiny roles.

References

Abada, I. M., Okafor, N. I., & Udeogu, C. U. (2018). Predatory state-ethno regional relations, parasitic oligarchic class and the restructuring question in Nigeria: How ethical. *International Journal of Social Sciences*, 3(3), 1573-1593.

Abbott, K. W., & Snidal, D. (2021). The governance triangle: Regulatory standards institutions and the shadow of the state. In *The spectrum of international institutions* (pp. 52–91). Routledge.

Abdulwahab, A. (2022). *Analysis of Executive-Legislative Relations: The Sub-National Realities in Kwara and Osun States, Nigeria Between 2007–2019* (Doctoral dissertation, Kwara State University (Nigeria)).

Adegboro, O. (2022). *An Assessment Of The Effectiveness Of Parliamentary Bureaucracy In The Nigerian National Assembly: A Case Study Of The 8th Assembly* (Doctoral dissertation, NILDS-Department of Studies).

Adigun, O. (2011). *Land Law and Policy in Nigeria*. Spectrum Books Ltd.

Agunyai, S. C., & Olawoyin, K. A. (2019). Legislative-executive corruption and good governance in Nigeria: Insights from Buhari’s administration in the Fourth Republic. *Perspectives on the legislature and the prospects of accountability in Nigeria and South Africa*, 105–119.

Akanle, O. (2011). Legislative Inputs and Good Governance in Nigeria: 1999–2009. *Assessment of Democratic Trends in Nigeria*, 109–126.

Al-Fatih, S., et al. (2023). The Hierarchical Model of Delegated Legislation in Indonesia. *Lex Scientia Law Review*. <https://doi.org/10.15294/lesrev.v7i2.74651>

Aliyu, A., et al. (2018). *Analysis of the challenges of legislative oversight on good governance in Nigeria*. Developing Country Studies, 8(8), 148–157.

Aluko, J. O. (2007). *Essentials of Nigerian Public Law*. Malthouse Press Limited.

Appleby, G., & Howe, J. (2015). Scrutinising parliament’s scrutiny of delegated legislative power. *Oxford University Commonwealth Law Journal*, 15(1), 3–40.

Ateboh, B., & Raimi, L. (2018). Corporate civil liability and compensation regime for environmental pollution in the Niger Delta. *International Journal of Recent Advances in Multidisciplinary Research*, 5(06), 3870–3893.

Auer, A., & Malinverni, G. (2020). *Swiss constitutional law: Democracy, federalism, and the rule of law*.



Zurich: Schulthess Juristische Medien.

Awa, E. O. (2021). *Federal government in Nigeria*. University of California Press.

Ba, M., & Sow, A. (2023). *Challenges of Legislative Accountability in West African Democracies: The Case of Senegal*. African Governance Review, 19(1), 102–123.

Banda, L., & Mussa, A. (2022). *Parliamentary Oversight and the Effectiveness of Legal Reforms in Malawi*. Journal of African Legislative Studies, 14(2), 45–67.

Barkan, J. D. (2009). *Legislative power in emerging African democracies* (p. 3333). Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers.

Bell, J. (2022). *Subdelegating Authority in the Executive Branch*. The Regulatory Review. <https://www.theregreview.org/2022/08/18/bell-subdelegating-authority-in-the-executive-branch/>

Benson, G. (2015). *Delegated legislation in nigeria: the challenges of control*. European Journal of Law Reform, 17(3). <https://doi.org/10.5553/ejlr/138723702015017003003>

Bolton, A., & Thrower, S. (2021). *Checks in the Balance: Legislative Capacity and the Dynamics of Executive Power* (Vol. 193). Princeton University Press.

Borghetto, E. (2018). Delegated decree authority in a parliamentary system: the exercise of legislative delegation in Italy (1987–2013). *The Journal of Legislative Studies*, 24(2), 179–196.

Bussing, A., & Pomirchy, J. (2022). Congressional oversight and electoral accountability. *Journal of Theoretical Politics*, 34(1), 35–58. <https://doi.org/10.1177/09516298211061516>

Calland, R., & Pienaar, J. (2020). Parliament and accountability in South Africa: The challenges of political dominance. *Journal of African Political Studies*, 18(3), 245–267.

Candreva, P. J. (2017). *National defense budgeting and financial management: Policy & practice*. IAP.

Chae, S. (2021). *Parliamentary Control of Delegated Legislation*. European Journal of Law Reform, (1).

Chirwa, D. (2023). *Enhancing Parliamentary Capacity for Oversight of Delegated Legislation in Malawi*. Malawi Legal Journal, 11(4), 201–225.

Chng, K. (2023). Re-examining judicial review of delegated legislation. *Legal Studies*, 1–18. <https://doi.org/10.1017/lst.2023.7>

Chohan, U. W. (2018). Legislative oversight of bureaucracy. *Global Encyclopedia of Public Administration, Public Policy, and Governance*, 3762–3766. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-20928-9_698

Cotter, J. (1952). *Constitutionalizing emergency powers: The British experience*. Stan. L. Rev., 5, 382.

Craig, P. (2021). *Administrative Law in the UK: Principles and Challenges*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

de Visser, J., & Fuo, O. (2021). Delegated legislation and constitutional principles in South Africa: Balancing necessity and accountability. *South African Journal of Public Law*, 36(2), 89–112.

Deshazo, J. R., & Freeman, J. (2002). The Congressional Competition to Control Delegated Power. *Texas Law Review*, 81, 1443. <https://doi.org/10.2139/SSRN.324482>



Dexter, L. A., & Dexter, R. (1978). *The England and Holland of the Pilgrims*. Genealogical Publishing Com.

Diop, A., & Gueye, M. (2023). *Legislative Governance and Delegated Legislation in Senegal: Prospects for Reform*. West African Law Review, 28(3), 89–110.

Diouf, S. (2023). *Judicial Oversight of Executive Actions in Senegal: A Constitutional Analysis*. Senegalese Journal of Constitutional Law, 16(2), 143–165.

Donelan, E. (2022). *Regulatory Governance: Policy Making, Legislative Drafting and Law Reform*. Springer Nature.

Egbewole, W. O., & Olatunji, O. A. (2015). Financial autonomy and legislative control of public funds in Nigeria: An assessment of Osun state experience. Retrieved from <https://www.researchgate.net/publication/301602212>

Eguavoen, A., et al. (2022). *The role of legislators and budget process in Nigeria*. Macro Management & Public Policies, 4(3), 1–6. <https://doi.org/10.30564/mmpp.v4i3.5037>

Egwummuo, J. N. (2000). *Modern trends in Administrative Law*. Enugu: Academic Printing Press.

Elliott, M., & Thomas, R. (2022). *Public Law and the Role of Parliament: Scrutiny of Delegated Legislation in the UK*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Epstein, D. (2023). *The American Political History and Jurisprudence Behind Congressional Delegation of the Investigative Power*. In *The Investigative State: Regulatory Oversight in the United States* (pp. 15–53). Cham: Springer International Publishing.

Fagbadebo, O. (2018). Interrogating the constitutional requisites for legislative oversight in the promotion of accountability and good governance in South Africa and Nigeria. *Insight on Africa*, 11(1), 38–59. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0975087818814912>

Fagbadebo, O. (2019). An overview of legislative oversight and accountability mechanisms in Nigeria and South Africa. *Perspectives on the legislature and the prospects of accountability in Nigeria and South Africa*, 19–44.

Farhan, A. (2018). *The politics of budgeting in Indonesia* (Doctoral dissertation).

Fashagba, J. Y., & Nwankwor, C. (2021). The National Assembly. *Nigerian Politics*, 99130–124.

Faye, F., & Mbaye, A. (2023). *The Role of Public Participation in Enhancing Legislative Oversight in Senegal*. Journal of Civic Engagement Studies, 21(1), 67–89.

Felix, O. (2023). *The role of the legislature in development policies implementation in Nigeria*. International Journal of Social Sciences and Management Review, 06(02), 106–135. <https://doi.org/10.37602/ijssmr.2023.6208>

Fisher, L. (2020). *Congressional Oversight and the Administrative State: An American Perspective*. Washington D.C.: Brookings Institution Press.

Fleming, J., & Ghazi, A. (2023). *Parliamentary Scrutiny of Delegated Legislation: Lessons from Comparative Experience*.

Friedberg, L. (2011). From a Top-Down to a Bottom-Up Approach to Legislative Oversight. *The Journal of Legislative Studies*, 17, 525–544. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13572334.2011.617554>



Frickey, P. P. (1985). Constitutionality of Legislative Committee Suspension of Administrative Rules: The Case of Minnesota. *Minnesota Law Review*, 70, 1237.

Geddis, A. (2021). *Regulations, Rulemaking, and Accountability in New Zealand's Legal System*. Wellington: Victoria University Press.

Geddis, A., & Knight, D. (2022). *Pandemics, Emergency Powers, and the Law: The New Zealand Experience*. Auckland: Auckland University Press.

Gerber, B. J., et al. (2005). State Legislative Influence over Agency Rulemaking: The Utility of Ex Ante Review. *State Politics & Policy Quarterly*, 5, 24–46. <https://doi.org/10.1177/153244000500500102>

Gersen, J. E., & Vermeule, A. (2021). *The Administrative State and Congressional Accountability in the U.S.*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Gidado, M. M. (2018). *Internal democracy and leadership crisis in the Nigerian legislature*. Africa Now! Emerging Issues and Alternative Perspectives, 167–187.

Hamilton, J. (2022). *Congressional Review and Rulemaking: Recent Trends and Developments*. Washington D.C.: Georgetown University Press.

Hills, D. (1998). *Dissecting the State: The Use of Federal Law to Free State and Local Officials From State Legislature's Control*. Mich. L. Rev., 97, 1201.

Idris, I. (2019). *The Culture and Normalization of Corruption in Nigeria (A focus on the Nigerian Government)* (Master Thesis, Saint Mary's University, Halifax, Nova Scotia).

Iwo, P. (2020). *Investigation of Performance of Parliamentary Staff Support Services to the National Assembly* (Doctoral dissertation, NILDS-Department of Studies).

Jemina, O. (2015). *Delegated Legislation in Nigeria: The Challenges of Control*. European Journal of Law Reform, 403–423.

Jombo, O. (2019). *Examining the peculiarities of executive-legislative relations in Nigeria's presidential system: insights from selected states in the Fourth Republic, 1999–2015* (Doctoral dissertation).

Jombo, O. (2022). Executive-legislative conflicts and the quest for accountability in Nigeria's presidential democracy: a case of the 8th national assembly. *International Journal of Research and Innovation in Social Science*, 06(11), 665–674. <https://doi.org/10.47772/ijriss.2022.61130>

Jorge, S., et al. (2019). The use of budgetary and financial information by politicians in parliament: a case study. *Journal of Public Budgeting, Accounting & Financial Management*, 31(4), 539–557.

Kalua, F., & Gondwe, M. (2023). *Public Participation and Transparency in the Regulatory Process: A Malawian Perspective*. African Journal of Public Policy, 10(2), 145–167.

Karanja, P., & Njoroge, J. (2023). *Public Engagement in the Legislative Process: Lessons from Kenya*. East African Governance Journal, 17(1), 56–78.

Kazeem, A. (2013). Legislative oversight functions in Nigeria—Odyssey of hunters becoming the hunted. *Acta*



Universitatis Danubius. Juridica, 9(2), 79–95.

Khan, M. H., & Krishnan, S. (2019). Conceptualizing the impact of corruption in national institutions and national stakeholder service systems on e-government maturity. *International Journal of Information Management*, 46, 23–36.

Kozhevnikov, A. (2022). About Delegated Legislation. *SIASAT*. <https://doi.org/10.33258/siasat.v7i2.113>

Kumbut, A. (2021). *Legislative Oversight and good Governance: A case study of the Nigeria National Assembly, Abuja* (Doctoral dissertation, NILDS-Department of Studies).

Library of Congress. (2025). *National Parliaments: Nigeria*. <https://www.loc.gov/law/help/national-parliaments/nigeria.php>

Linder, W., & Mueller, S. (2021). *Swiss Political System: Federalism and Direct Democracy*. Basel: Springer Nature Switzerland.

Lock, G., et al. (2023). Delegated legislation in the pandemic: Further limits of a constitutional bargain revealed. *Legal Studies*, 43, 695–733. <https://doi.org/10.1017/lst.2023.25>

Lopatin, V., & Malkarov, A. (2023). Delegated rulemaking by the Central Election Commission of Russia. *RUDN Journal of Law*. <https://doi.org/10.22363/2313-2337-2023-27-2-338-353>

Majone, G. (1999). The regulatory state and its legitimacy problems. *West European Politics*, 22(1), 1–24.

Manheim, K. M., & Watts, M. D. (2019). Reviewing Presidential Orders. *The University of Chicago Law Review*, 86(7), 1743–1824.

Mascott, J. (2019). Early Customs Laws and Delegation. *Geo. Wash. L. Rev.*, 87, 1388.

McLeod, I., & McLeod, J. (1993). *Legislative Drafting*. Legal Method, 193–210.

Meckling, J., & Nahm, J. (2018). The power of process: state capacity and climate policy. *Governance*, 31(4), 741–757. <https://doi.org/10.1111/gove.12338>

Mei, A. (2016). Delegation of Rulemaking Powers to the European Commission post-Lisbon. *European Constitutional Law Review*, 12, 538–548. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1574019616000353>

Murenzi, J. (2022). *Rwanda's parliamentary response to the COVID-19 pandemic: Ensuring constitutional compliance of emergency regulations*. *Journal of Governance Studies*, 14(1), 134–148.

Mutabazi, E. (2021). *Judicial review and the oversight of delegated legislation in Rwanda: A constitutional perspective*. *Rwanda Law Review*, 15(2), 78–92.

Mutua, J. (2023). *Capacity Challenges in Parliamentary Oversight: The Kenyan Experience*. *Kenya Law Review*, 15(3), 211–234.

Naidoo, V. (2022). *Parliamentary oversight and regulatory governance in South Africa: Lessons from justice and correctional services*. *African Legal Studies*, 25(1), 102–118.

Neudorf, L. (2019). Strengthening the Parliamentary Scrutiny of Delegated Legislation: Lessons From Australia. *Canadian Parliamentary Review*, 42, 25–31.

Ndiaye, M., & Sarr, I. (2022). *The Committee System and Legislative*



Oversight in Senegal. African Legislative Review, 13(4), 122–147.

Ntirenganya, E. (2023). *Public participation in Rwanda's legislative process: The role of Imihigo performance contracts.* Governance and Accountability Review, 17(4), 321–339.

Nwaegbu, C. (2022). *Legislative Oversight Functions in Nigeria: A Case Study of Imo State House of Assembly* (Doctoral dissertation, NILDS-Department of Studies).

Nwaenyi, C. (2020). *Legislative Committees: Windows for Parliamentary Openness and Public Participation* (Doctoral dissertation, NILDS-Department of Studies).

Nwabu, E. (2014). *Constitutional Law and Government in Nigeria.* LexisNexis.

Nwozor, A., & Olanrewaju, J. (2019). [Not in provided list]

Nyongesa, M. (2019). *Normalization Of Political Corruption In Africa With Special Reference To Kenya* (Doctoral dissertation, University of Nairobi).

O'Brien, D. (2006). *Redesigning financial regulation: the politics of enforcement.* John Wiley & Sons.

Obidimma, A. E., & Obidimma, E. O. C. (2015). Restructuring the Nigerian Federation for Proper Functioning of the Nigerian Federalism. *Public Policy and Administration Research*, 5(9), 147–157.

Ochieng, P., & Mburu, J. (2023). *Legislative Scrutiny of Delegated Legislation in Kenya: Trends and Challenges.* Journal of Kenyan Legislative Studies, 18(2), 78–95.

Ochieng'Opalo, K. (2019). *Legislative development in Africa, Politics and postcolonial legacies.* Cambridge University Press. Ochieng'Opalo,

K. (2020). Constrained presidential power in Africa? Legislative independence and executive rule making in Kenya, 1963–2013. *British Journal of Political Science*, 50(4), 1341–1358.

Okoeguale, I. (2019). Strengthening legislative controls over delegated legislation in Nigeria. *Nnamdi Azikiwe University Journal of International Law and Jurisprudence*, 10(2), 35–41.

Omondi, J. (2022). *The Role of Judicial Review in Kenya's Oversight of Delegated Legislation.* Kenya Journal of Legal Analysis, 12(1), 102–121.

Omotoso, F., & Oladeji, O. (2019). Legislative oversight in the Nigerian Fourth Republic. *The Nigerian National Assembly*, 57–72.

Onoge, F. (2021). Monitoring and evaluating the impact (post-legislative scrutiny) of emergency regulation in response to the covid-19 pandemic. *IALS Student Law Review*, 8(1), 39–46. <https://doi.org/10.14296/islr.v8i1.269>

Onu, G. (2022). *Delegated Legislation In Nigeria: Taming the Wilddog While it's Still Early.* LEGAL BRIEF, 11(3), 1546–1557. <https://doi.org/10.35335/legal.v11i3.312>

Onwe, S. O., et al. (2015). Imperatives of legislative oversight function in Nigerian democratic system. *Research on Humanities and Social Sciences*, 5(4), 72–79.

OpenStax. (n.d.). *What Is the Difference between Parliamentary and Presidential Systems?* <https://openstax.org/books/introduction-political-science/pages/9-2-what-is-the-difference-between->



[parliamentary-and-presidential-systems](#)

Osham, A. (2021). *Performance of Oversight Functions by the Public Accounts Committees of the National Assembly: An Assessment of the 8th House of Representatives* (Doctoral dissertation, NILDS-Department of Studies).

O'Regan, C. (2023). *Improving transparency in South African delegated legislation: New parliamentary reforms in perspective*. *Journal of African Constitutional Studies*, 19(2), 55–73.

Otusanya, O. J., et al. (2015). Sweeping it under the carpet: the role of legislators in corrupt practice in Nigeria. *Journal of Financial Crime*, 22(3), 354–377. <https://doi.org/10.1108/jfc-02-2013-0003>

Pelizzo, R., & Stapenhurst, R. (2013). *Government Accountability and Legislative Oversight*. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315850610>

Phiri, M. (2021). *Constitutional Provisions and Legislative Oversight in Malawi: An Analysis*. *Malawi Governance Journal*, 9(3), 167–192.

Pollman, E. (2019). Corporate Oversight and Disobedience. *Vand. L. Rev.*, 72, 2013.

Pollex, J., & Lenschow, A. (2020). Many faces of dismantling: Hiding policy change in non-legislative acts in EU environmental policy. *Journal of European Public Policy*, 27(1), 20–40.

Popoola, M. (2015). *Political Reporting and Electoral Violence in Nigeria, 1999–2011*. University of Lagos (Nigeria).

Rensburg, I. V. (2017). Die aard van wetgewende diskresies by die suid-afrikaanse uitvoerende gesag. *Potchefstroom Electronic Law Journal/Potchefstroomse Elektroniese Regsblad*, 3(2), 25–63. <https://doi.org/10.17159/1727-3781/2000/v3i2a2887>

Saiegh, S. M. (n.d.). *Policy Differences among Parliamentary and Presidential Systems*. https://socialsciences.ucsd.edu/~ss_aiegh/oxford_pc_chapter.pdf

Sanyaolu, O., Sanyaolu, A., & Segun, O. (2017). The process of law making by the legislature in a democratic setting. *Polit Sci Democrat*, 1, 1–12.

Singh, R. (2023). Delegated legislation: a necessary evil. *Agpe the royal Gondwana RESEARCH journal of history, science, economic, political and social science*, 4(8), 18–25.

Stapenhurst, R., et al. (2014). *Corruption and Legislatures*. *Public Integrity*, 16(3), 285–304. DOI: 10.2753/PIN1099-9922160304

Strom, K. (2000). Delegation and Accountability in Parliamentary Democracies. *European Journal of Political Research*, 37(3), 261–289. <https://ejpr.onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/abs/10.1111/1475-6765.00513>

Sule, B., et al. (2022). Issues and regulations in party financing and electoral expenses in Nigeria (1999–2020). *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, 40(2), 253–269.

Thatcher, M. (2002). Delegation to independent regulatory agencies: Pressures, functions and contextual mediation. *West European Politics*, 25(1), 125–147.

Theletsane, K. I. (2014). *The legislative oversight bodies in ensuring public financial accountability and*



responsibility (Doctoral dissertation, University of Pretoria).

Thiele, A. (2022). *Constitutional Oversight of Delegated Legislation in Germany: Contemporary Challenges*. Berlin: Springer-Verlag.

Thiele, A., & Kunz, K. (2023). *Legislative Control and Administrative Efficiency in Germany's Federal System*. Munich: Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft.

Umaru, M. (2017). Corruption and legislative functions in Nigeria. *IOSR Journal of Economics and Finance*, 8(1), 01–08.

Uwizeye, D., & Mukamana, F. (2020). *Enhancing parliamentary oversight in Rwanda: Challenges and prospects*. African Journal of Political Governance, 12(3), 112–129.

Wambua, P. (2022). *Strengthening Legislative Oversight in Kenya: Institutional and Legal Reforms*. East African Journal of Governance, 14(2), 34–56.

Webb, C. (2014). *The Governors-General: the English Army and the definition of the Empire, 1569–1681*. UNC Press Books.

Wheare, K. C. (1949). Controlling Delegated Legislation: A British Experiment. *The Journal of Politics*, 11, 748–768.
<https://doi.org/10.2307/2126233>

Yarova, O. (2022). Delegated legislation: A doctrinal analysis of the category. *Uzhhorod National University Herald. Series: Law*.
<https://doi.org/10.24144/2307-3322.2022.72.13>

Yordanova, N., & Zhelyazkova, A. (2019). Legislative control over executive law-making: delegation of quasi-legislative powers to the European commission. *JCMS: Journal of Common Market Studies*, 58(2), 345–364.
<https://doi.org/10.1111/jcms.12943>

Yusuf, M., & Ojoduwa, O. (2022). *Legislative oversight and democratic consolidation in Nigeria: 1999–2019*. African Social Science and Humanities Journal, 3(2), 57–68.
<https://doi.org/10.57040/asshj.v3i2.170>

Yusuf, M., et al. (2018). *The implications of the legislative corrupt practices on the democratic consolidation in the Nigeria's fourth republic*. Journal of Techno Social, 10(1).
<https://doi.org/10.30880/jts.2018.1.01.002>